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FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF NONPROFITS: A CASE STUDY OF EXTENSION ASSISTED ORGANIZATIONS IN MICHIGAN

By

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ABSTRACT

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF NONPROFITS: A CASE STUDY OF EXTENSION ASSISTED ORGANIZATIONS IN MICHIGAN

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Many nonprofit organizations are being encouraged to develop and operate within various communities in the state of Michigan. Because the Michigan State University Extension (MSUE) is one of the driving forces behind them, a better understanding of the support provided to these organizations after their conceptualization was needed. Further, there was also a need to identify the activities and processes that these organizations underwent to maintain viability, and survive to become permanent entities in the nonprofit community. This research was therefore descriptive and exploratory with purpose: to understand and expose how three nonprofit organizations in Michigan, some initially sponsored by MSUE at the time of conceptualization, arrived to now be considered as effective institutions. The methodology applied to develop the theories for this study involved in-depth, structured open-ended interviews, and an inductive grounded theory approach to data collection, codification and analysis.

Overall, the findings from this study suggested that organizations were better advised to operate within the limits of their definitions for effectiveness while they express and accumulate the "trappings of institutionalization." Transformational

leaders and characteristics of transformational leadership contributed to the framework of institutionalization variables that an analyst or organization practitioner could use to measure their movement along the institutionalization continuum.

In Memoriam

Marie Thérese Hérissé Louis

Dedicated With Love

To

Ms. Rose Brune Jean-Pierre Hérissé
Mr. Max Raoul Hérissé
(Parents)

Mr. Alfred Orélien
Ms. Marie Alice Hérissé Louis
(Godparents)

Ms. Justine Jean-Pierre Estimé
Ms. Marie Sulfida Jean-Pierre
(Primary/Natural Educators)

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his wisdom, friendship, generosity, scholarship and our many philosophical jaunts during my tenure at the University.

Frank A. Fear fueled my already existing interests in organizations. As a major proponent of the scholar-practitioner, he helped me give meaning to the experiences I was gaining while serving as an administrator for a nonprofit. For many others, he personifies and serves as an example of a transformational leader.

Frank L. Brewer gave me most insightful guidance early when considering processes for the doctorate. He introduced me to the examples of nonprofit work in the international setting always cognizant of my focus on international development. Throughout, he has been probing, effective and most supportive.

Other individuals and circumstances may go unmentioned by name and are not slighted by their absence. For example, my many fine colleagues in the Department of Agricultural and Extension Education and the College of Agriculture and Natural Resources, the professional and student support staff for the Department (especially Ms. Diane Davis and Ms. Mary Pierce), my early experiences in organizations with help from Mr. James Dugan, Mr. Hector Pagan and Mr. Clinton Gardner, all have been most helpful. Thank you. I am also grateful to the national society for Minorities in Agriculture, Natural Resources and Related Sciences (MANRRS), my personal organization theory learning laboratory, the participants in this study, and those considered my "Holistic Friend in the Membership" (You know who You are--"Let us now begin to create our world!").

In all, this work was made possible in part by the love and inspiration expressed and felt from Ms. Rose Brune Jean-Pierre and family, Ms. Marie Alice

Hérissé Louis and Hérissé family, Mr. Jacques Louis, Ms. Tracy V. Dunbar, my

cousins, sisters and brother, my gods, and the Arawak spirit. Thank you.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Use every letter you write, every conversation you have, every meeting you attend to express your fundamental beliefs and dreams. Affirm to others the vision of the world you want. You are a free, immensely powerful source of life and goodness. Affirm it. Radiate it. Think day and night about it and you will see a miracle happen: The greatness of your own life.

--Dr. Robert Mueller, Former U.N. Assistant Secretary General

Introduction to the Study

In the last decade of the 20th century, writings on the growing population of diligent laypersons mobilizing to positively change their communities were commonplace in postmodern America. Preceding their zeal was a group of visionaries who had done much to provide a rich literature on the sociology of organizations. The literature, with references in the BC era, does well in schematically depicting the typologies that were present in the marketplace. There is room, however, to augment the theory governing the establishment and sustenance of effective organizations.

Sofer (1972) generalized that ". . . there is a persisting strain in all work organizations toward the maintenance or increase in rationality or efficiency with which resources are related to ends" (p. 224). As he saw it, this pressure emanates from ". . . sources outside the organization" (Sofer, 1972, p. 224). From within, the pursuit was marginally different and could be associated to inter-organizational dialogues or the significance its members ascribed to the organization's work and

worth. An increasing number of collections could attest to the growing interest in the topic of organizational effectiveness (Scott, 1981, p. 317). Still, some analysts eschewed the topic on grounds of subjectivity. Scott (1981) quoted W. Ross Ashby as saying: "There is no such thing as 'good organizations' in any absolute sense. Always it is relative; and an organization that is good in one context or under one criterion may be bad under another" (p. 317). This high variability in the structure of organizations contributed to the indefinite nature of the literature on organizational effectiveness.

Callen and Falk (1993) exposed Fama and Jensen's (1983) argument that an initial assessment of organizations would be to assume that nonprofit organizations are generally inefficient by comparison to profit-seeking organizations (p. 50). Such an analysis is a forced comparison of dissimilar variables. Going beyond that argument, they maintained that the nonprofit organizational form is optimal for charitable activities because charities, unlike profit-seeking institutions, have access to low-cost capital (low-interest loans) from donors (p. 50). This apparently inconsistent posture is further proof that they were not exactly sure of the complexities involved in theorizing for voluntary associations. Other evidence was available detailing why broad theories were applied with difficulty in this area. And as further revelation, nonprofits found themselves conducting business in an equally competitive environment that profit-seeking organizations operated. These developments were particularly significant within the agricultural sector because of the implications for the greater society. There was available testimony that ". . . farmers are searching for improved modes of organization to help them relate adequately to a society in which the

fortunes of individuals are increasingly tied to the fortune of large scale organiza-

tions--voluntary and otherwise" (Morrison, 1969, p. 8). This truism remained as a

part of the consciousness of waning late 20th century family farmers and the hallmark

of the American cooperative movement.

An early call went out by the National Program of Research for Agriculture

recommending a substantial increase in research on problems of people and their

organizations at a rate disproportionately larger than that recommended for technical

and other research (Morrison, 1969, p. 8). The U.S. Department of Agriculture's

Extension system (formerly Cooperative Extension Service, now Cooperative State

Research, Education, and Extension Service, a merger of Cooperative State Research

Service and Extension System-USDA [CSREES]), itself an outstanding organization,

was analyzed for its entrepreneurial development role in the communities (Jones,

1987). CES was among the many institutions offering education as an aid to entre-

preneurship development. At times, entrepreneurs appeared at the same rate as

community builders and organization founders. Yet, the significance of voluntary

associations in the food system and natural resources sector failed to appear in all the

chronologies of organization theory (see Shafritz & Ott 1987, p. 10-18). Meanwhile,

there was adequate historical evidence from the first agriculture clubs in Pennsylvania

and granges in the U.S. that the system of organizing was already established in the

farm sector.

Similar convincing arguments for the need to study organizations stemmed

from the fact that associations were our best manifestation of democracy (de Tocque-

ville, 1900; Nall, 1967; Weber 1947) and served as the basis of other new major

institutions, such as political parties, unions, and religious organizations (Smith & Freedman 1972, p. 20-21). Voluntary associations ". . . performed an important role in integrating changing West African societies" (Little, 1965); they promote the modernization of society (Smith & Freedman 1972; Weber 1947); and they help immigrants recreate traditional institutions within their new environment by reinforcing traditional values and institutions and providing an education in modern ways (Anderson, 1971; Schlesinger, 1944; Wirth, 1951). At the end of fiscal year 1992, U.S. charities numbered 546,100, up 49% from the 36,000 that existed in 1985 (Gold 1993, p. 46).

The mitigating role of nonprofit organizations could be seen by considering the case of Haitians and subsequent Haitian-Americans in the diaspora. Some accounts suggest that they had at least 1,000 community organizations (estimate from 1994) functioning in the United States. Some of these nonprofits were registered with the Internal Revenue Service as such and recognized within the benefiting milieu. Most were only recognized by their beneficiaries and donors. If indeed these associations extended services beyond those made possible by the community at-large (i.e., fundraising for hunger relief in Haiti; acculturation; galvanization and coordination of other Haitian/Haitian-American organizations, etc.), the collective greater good, it follows, would have been to assure their longevity and viability. However, although there was no complete information about the state of these entities, organization theorists and extension practitioners continued to encourage new organization start-ups but often provided little in the form of consistent help to sustain effective associations.

The Problem

As the postmodern society members of the late 20th century and its leading theorists extolled the virtues of organizers and their resulting organizations, there was bound to be a continued proliferation of these enterprises. The focus of this study was on associations, also known as nonprofits, not-for-profits, charitables, foundations and tax-exempts. [Similar to the existing literature, this study used these terms interchangeably.] "Far more Americans now participate in the activities of nonprofit organizations than in those of profit-seeking organizations. About half of the organizations and enterprises in the United States is now non-profit in nature" (Oleck, 1988). In 1990, there were close to one million of these organizations in the U.S., causing organizational researchers to take notice and add to the existing literature on organization theory (Dobbs, 1991 p. 68). In the process, some basic conclusions were reached about the nature of these organizations, the people involved in them, their form and functions and the interactions that they maintained. This study went beyond those conclusions to be informed about their staying power as functional organizations.

Schein (1965) defined an organization as "the rational coordination of the activities of a number of people for the achievement of some common, explicit purpose or goal, through division of labor and function and through a hierarchy of authority and responsibility (p. 8). John Dewey (1944), speaking during a time considered by most as "the managerial revolution," viewed the world as a greater system. The organizations existing within the world were considered subsystems providing balance and symmetry that are essential for a democracy (p. 20-21). He

referred to these subsystems as groups rather than associations as was done by Sofer

(1972). From this identification, the sense of interrelated parts and symmetrical

functions usually associated with organizations is lost. The concept of groups

communicates these relationships in a crude and uninventive fashion. The result,

however, is still a formal entity with discernible elements for comparison and

analysis.

The literature on these associations could be categorized into two types. The

first was an academic literature in which voluntary associations were "objectively"

studied and modeled by university researchers. The second was practitioner literature

in which individuals involved in the daily routines and maintenance of these organiza-

tions offered anecdotal stories, advice and "how-to" prescriptions (Gartner, 1993, p.

103; Porras & Robertson, 1987). There were reasons for this dichotomy. The

marketplace was invigorated by an evolving class of nonprofit managers and entrepre-

neurs looking for the winning edge to lead their organizations. Academics, mean-

while, were striving to track the enterprising managers and frame their organizations.

During some organizational assessments, their question simply was, "What is going

on here?" Otherwise, they were in search of those strategies and organizational

designs that worked better than some others considered less effective. The result was

a further segmentation of the literature on organization theory.

At issue was the extent to which organizations and their founders parlayed

their initial accomplishments into sustainable, effective organizations. According to

Gartner (1993):

The voluntary association organizer must consciously appeal to the interests and needs of other individuals in order for an association to grow in members. Through increases in the number and commitment of members come power for the voluntary organization to effect change. (p. 105)

The implications were directly related to agricultural extension and its effort to empower others and stimulate the emergence of new leaders in the communities. The voluntary association organizers, as a product of these empowerment campaigns, believed that organizations were the best vehicle for solving social and community problems (Gartner, 1993, p. 105). In their minds, individual action has less potency than the combined and coordinated efforts of many individuals working together (Gartner, 1993, p. 105). Many examples could be found in Michigan where individual work with certain communities had yielded organizations that had gone beyond expectations and continued to positively impact communities. One of the cases from this study exemplified this sentiment.

The Cooperative Extension System, albeit federated in structure, had been able to withstand the threats and challenges of the marketplace. Its flexibility and organizational development strategies had a tremendous influence on the lives of many people reaching into the very fabric of their communities. However, larger organizations such as Extension and their programs, as well as the larger social system, invariably facilitated the start-up of new organizations that could barely strive to fulfill their objectives, let alone remain viable well beyond the start-up years. Case in point, "how-to" business manuals, such as Schilit's (1990), thoroughly listed the types of activities necessary to form an association. Still, the question remained: How do these foundations move beyond those steps in the start-up manuals to maintaining effectiveness and thus become institutionalized organizations?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify the characteristics of effective and institutionalized organizations initially assisted by the Michigan State University Extension (MSUE--formerly Michigan State University Cooperative Extension Service) in the state of Michigan as a basis for analysis and modeling by newly inspired organizations. This task was completed by pursuing the following three broad questions:

1.   How do organizations establish the necessary procedures to deal with change(s) in the marketplace?

2.   How does effectiveness contribute to the institutionalization of non-profits?

3.   How do the following Seven-C's--Communication, Control, Culture, Commitment, Capital, Compliance, and Consensus on values (Coherence)--contribute to the institutionalization of the nonprofits identified for this study?

Warner (1969) detailed some research needs in farm organizations and suggested some of the above as possible research questions. Other examples of such questions pertained to the organizations' adjustment(s) of policies and programs over time to compensate for the changes in the marketplace. For this study, however, the specific objectives were to:

1.   Address the research questions through literature reviews, interviews, document reviews and participant observations;

2. Define institutionalization and the efforts made by three nonprofits in Michigan to accomplish that status; and

3.   Develop a conceptual framework, by using the findings from this study, that may serve as a new model for analysis and use by emergent organizations.

Operational Definitions

The following terms added to the full understanding of the problem. The contribution is even more pronounced when they are seen in context to the grounding effect they have had on the literature. This effect was expressed by representing the pioneering or best thinking currently available on these key terms. While there may have been varying definitions of these key terms, those selected for this study are as follows:

Communication--"The process by which information, decisions and directives are transmitted among actors and the ways in which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified by interaction" (Loomis, 1960 p. 30).

Compliance--The art or process of obeying another's desire, proposal, demand or coercion (Etzioni, 1961).

Culture--"The integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thought, speech, action, and artifacts and depends upon man's [sic] capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations" (Wilson, Goodall, Jr. & Waagen, 1986, p. 127).

Control--"To engage in a set of behaviors that will ensure that the planned performance (goals) is actually accomplished" (Wilson, Goodall, Jr. & Waagen, 1986, p. 247).

Effectiveness--The extent to which group objectives are obtained (Zander, 1985 p. 147). This concept was magnified in the review of literature section.

Institutionalization--"The process through which organizations are given structure, and social action and interaction are made predictable. . ."; a process marked by a routinization of charisma, codification and standardization of ends, beliefs and norms of a system (Loomis, 1960 p. 36 and p. 205). The process of becoming an institution.

Leadership--Assisting followers to transcend their own self-interests for the good of the group, organization and society; to consider their long-term needs to develop themselves rather than their needs of the moment; and to convert from followers into leaders (Bass, 1990, p. 53). To manage attention and meaning; to articulate visions of what is possible; and to empower the collective effort of the followers (Bennis, 1984). "The process of influencing others to achieve mutually agreed upon purposes for the organization" (Patterson, 1993, p. 3). Please see transformational leadership.

Legitimacy--"A structural characteristic of a group as seen by members of its audience; it develops from pre-existing sentiment patterns in reference to the interests of those members and the performance of the group in the decision-making process" (Sim, 1956, p. 11).

Organizations--"A collectivity oriented to the pursuit of relatively specific goals and exhibiting a relatively highly formalized social structure" (Scott, 1981, p. 21). "Associations of persons grouped together around the pursuit of specific goals" (Sofer, 1972, p. 3).

Values--"The criteria employed in selecting the goals of behavior" (Scott, 1981, p. 14). The basic philosophy of an organization; its base (Peters & Waterman, Jr., 1984, p. 15). "Conceptions, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or

characteristic of a group, of the desirable that influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (Hellriegel & Slocum, 1974, p. 22).

Research Setting

The research involved three distinct nonprofit organizations operating in Michigan. Michigan is a midwestern state dominated by the automotive, agriculture and tourism industries respectively. While based in East Lansing, on the campus of Michigan State University, the researcher first communicated with the leaders of the prospective participating organizations and secured their willing involvement in the case study. They also agreed to involve individuals from the staff, general membership, leadership, board of directors, collaborators and users of their organizations' services. One of the three organizations, Youth Development Corporation, Inc., was represented and operated out of Lansing, Michigan. This urban capital city boasted a population of about 200,000 inhabitants and numerous nonprofit community organizations.

The other two organizations were Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association based in Kalkaska, Michigan and Tuscola 2001, Incorporated with headquarters in Caro, Michigan. These cities were described as rural and representative of the activities undertaken by the nonprofit organizations. For example, the one organization that concentrated on agriculture, natural resources and wildlife concerns was in a farm-dominated area. The other organization had multiple purposes and was taxonomically categorized under community and economic development signifying the many concerns faced by most of rural North America during the latter part of the 20th century.

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Philosophical Grounding

As a constructivist exploration, this research rests on the assertion that there may be multiple and paradoxical "truths" from the cases as experienced by the subjects. Furthermore, as Guba and Lincoln (1989) defined it, ". . . truth is the best informed and most sophisticated construction on which there is consensus" (p. 84). Later, the concept of consensus was projected on the cases in this study for further iteration and implied even greater subjectivity. The result of this philosophizing method is an interactive, defining and analysis, redefining and reanalysis, until a dually constructed "truth" is achieved or discovered. Lincoln and Guba (1985) called this process the naturalist paradigm while Bogdan and Bilken (1992) related it to the philosophical approaches known as phenomenology and symbolic interactionism.

The significance of symbolic interactionism rests on its logic, which allows for individuals in similar situations or having similar experiences, to develop similar conceptions and attribute certain effects to certain causes. Patterns, regularities, cultural nuances, cause and effect relationships, among other searches, can continue throughout the iterative processes. Doing so is necessary because knowledge that is generated or reinvented within this constructivist framework is viewed as relative to the time and context in which it is generated and to the individuals involved in generating and interpreting it. Still, the interconnectivity of nonprofits and ubiquitousness of "truth" render organization theory development metaphysical.

Overview of the Research Design

The methodology of this qualitative study was in-depth, structured, open-ended, tape-recorded interviews of three organizations, their members, leaders,

directors, collaborators and users. An inductive, constant comparative approach to data analysis was applied. Glaser and Strauss' (1967) proven methodology as used in this study focused on generating theory closely related to the phenomena studied rather than validating it.

Using archival data, researching material artifacts, interpreting language, and using on-site participants to research stories and myths were popular qualitative procedures (Van Maanen, Dabbs, Jr. & Faulkner, 1982). The goal was to find evidence or recommendations from respondents supported by their experiences that organizations had manifested characteristics, such as adaptability, coordination, growth, use of the environment, and flexibility among other possible characteristics at various levels toward institutionalization. In qualitative research, particularly those that use interviews as this study did, the researcher was advantaged by developing a relationship of familiarity and comfort with potential interviewees.

Assumptions

Organization and organizational development theory building processes were undergirded by many assumptions. The first assumption was that this study would identify representative participants and invoke the applicable theoretical frames to this topic. This was a well-grounded assumption considering the variabilities found among organizations in the nonprofit sector. There was a need, however, to sort through propositions, generalizations, conceptions and prescriptions as the dichotomies in the literature were reviewed.

The second assumption was that this study would secure willing and committed respondents to help address the core research questions. The subjects would not

only need to be experienced in organizational development. They would need a historical perspective on their own organization's experiences and its efforts toward institutionalization. Moreover, there would need to be a willingness to allow for the perusal through and exposure of the organization.

Third, it was assumed that all organizations would strive for institution status. Not many tax-exempts cited within their goals and objectives the growth and institutionalization of their endeavors, yet they were implied. The researcher had been involved in a case wherein this goal was in the vision of the organization's leader. It occurred while the researcher served as an administrator for a U.S.-based nonprofit. The executives of the organization were at the critical stage of programming for long-term viability and adjusting for the emergent environment through strategic planning. They were advised to envision the functioning of their non-profit in the 21st century. This futuring exercise was received in askance by the group. Inquiring further, one official was asked, "What will happen to the organization once all your goals and objectives have been met?" The response was as sure as it was short; "Then we will cease to exist."

One last assumption was that this study would deal with effectiveness and institutionalization and not the efficiency of those organizations. The difference could be found in the qualitative nature of the former over the quantitative focus of the latter.

Limitations of the Study

Perhaps the most significant of the limitations of this study is that it would be taking place after the fact. The participants in this study accomplished a particular

feat pursued by many others. Not as a primary witness, the researcher attempted to frame the steps taken by those in the study to arrive at their status.

The events reported in this study might have been sufficient to understand all the processes leading to effectiveness and institutionalization. Those processes would need to be assessed according to several conditions, situations and time. In essence, this study did not encompass all there is to establish effective institutions in the marketplace.

There was an inherent limitation borne by the subjective nature of the research methodology. For situational reasons and that organizations were live entities with distinct personalities, this study would not generalize to all organizations. Instead, as a qualitative study, the primary concern was on particularizability or, in Erickson's (1986) terms, discovering universals as manifested concretely and specifically, not in abstraction or generality (p. 130).

Another limitation was the small sample size. The decision to limit the size of respondents revolved around the exploratory nature of the research, that non-profit organizations were the subjects and the goal of building theory as opposed to general-izing findings. Reliability and validity were addressed in this study, although the latter often does not create a problem for ethnographies. The specific focus of this study was on generating theories rather than validating them.

Chapter Summary

This study was conducted to better understand the processes that organizations were undergoing to become lasting and successful entities within the community of nonprofit organizations (being referred to here as institutionalized organizations or

institutions). There were particular variables that appeared in the preliminary analysis of the phenomena and review of the literature. Once reviewed, it appeared that the literature was broken down into two categories--"how-to" guides and theoretical explorations--creating a dearth for scholars of organization and organizational development theory. Concomitantly, the literature revealed the most effective method for generating the related theory involved qualitative and interactive meaning iteration and reiteration. Qualitative research approaches were found as an underapplied yet useful practice because of the dynamic nature of organizations and the particularizability of data jointly generated while using such methodologies. The existing body of knowledge would be advanced from the findings, "truths" and meanings brought forward by this study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Min anpil, chaj pa lou. (Translated: Many hands, load ain't heavy.)
--Haïtian proverb

Review of Literature

The varying approaches to presenting the literature on organizations contribut-

ed to the extensive breadth and depth of the construct predicating the discipline.

Previous work on this area had used the systems approach. It was a methodology

used to understand the totality of the phenomena, here, being the institutionalization

of nonprofit organizations. With the systems approach, the viable parts and their

interrelationships were explainable both to internal and external stakeholders. Hence,

an organization was viewed as a network member with a number of elements that act

interdependently. Otherwise, nonprofits were sub-systems of a multicomplex

suprasystem system. Schoderbeck et al. (1975) referred to the concept saying that:

> The systems approach is a Gestalt type of approach attempting to view the
> whole with all its interrelated and interdependent parts in interaction. The
> systems oriented researcher employs the holistic method. This approach forces
> him [her] to acquire an adequate knowledge of the whole before he [she]
> proceeds to an accurate knowledge of the workings of its parts. (p. 13)

Scott (1981) noted that:

> A large and growing number of organization theorists look [in] to general
> systems theory as a source of ideas to improve the design of organiza-
> tions. . . . The orientation of this group is pragmatic and applied: they seek to
> change and improve organizations as viewed from a managerial perspective,
> not simply to describe and understand them. (p. 111)

But how did these systems and sub-systems develop? More was needed before arriving at this and other related questions. A detailed and descriptive exploration about the systems approach was used to guide our thinking. The systems way of looking at nonprofits contributed to, enriched, and steered the discussion to the most salient topics related to these associations.

Systems Theory Applied to Organizations

According to Katz and Kahn (1978, p. 22), problems of relationships, of structure, and of interdependence are the basic concerns of systems theory. Such concerns were not new to the nonprofit community as they were covered in the literature on nonprofits. However, it is the dependency of living systems on their external environment, whether biological organisms or social organizations, which makes them considered as open systems (Katz & Kahn, 1978, p. 22). A simplistic understanding of the development of human *groupements*, formal organizations and ultimately social systems, as shown in Figure 1, demystifies the emergence of such systems and their supporting subsystems. As an example, organizations have systems of authority, status, and power, and people in organizations have varying needs from each system. Wheresoever these systems and sub-systems dimly appear, the conclusion should be that their existence is in another form but still along the continuum of social systems development. Supporting this posture, Scott (1992) viewed the openness of systems dependent on continuing exchanges among members and linked by shifting coalitions of participants.

The analysis here, more broadly than usual, was intended to frame organizations as multiple overlapping sub-systems mutually pursuing growth and development.

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┌─────────────────┐
│  Individuals    │
│  Groupings      │
│  Tribes         │
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┌─────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────┐
│  Mobs           │          │  Organizations  │
│  Gangs          │ ─ ─ ─ ─  │  Foundations    │
│  Task Forces    │          │  Institutions   │
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┌─────────────────┐
│  Nations        │
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┌──────────────────────────┐
│  Autocratic  Systems      │
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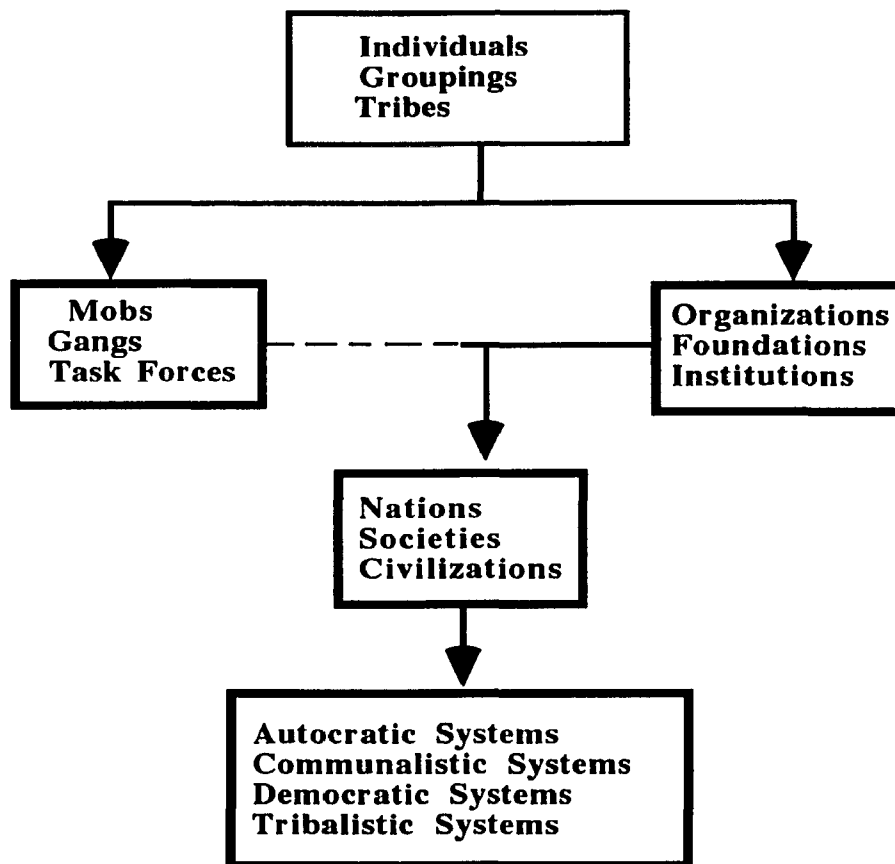
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Figure 1. Organizational stages in the development of social systems.

Dewey (1944) defined growth as the cumulative movement of action toward a later result. Development as used here is the process by which the members of a society expand themselves and their institutions in ways that enhance their ability to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in the quality of life consistent with their own aspirations (Herisse, 1991, p. 8-9). The system ultimately developed would have been initialized by and with individuals or

groupings and leads to changes that improve communities, develop societies, and build nations.

Brown and Covey (1987), Agrys (1987) and Porras and Robertson (1987) were but a few of the Organization Development (OD) practitioners revising the paradigm to now include nation-building as one of the planned change impacts. Parsons (1951) and Loomis (1960) pioneered the sociological concept, social system, which is composed of the patterned interaction of members. Loomis (1960) further explained that "It is constituted of the interaction of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern, structured and shared symbols and expectations" (p. 4). Moreover, it is the uniformity of their behavior, not the people themselves, which make up "society." Dewey (1947) echoed this understanding, stating that:

> Persons do not become a society by living in proximity. They do not even compose a social group [organization] because they all work for a common end. If, however, they were all cognizant of the common end and all interested in it so that they regulated their specific activity in view of it, then they would form a community. (p. 4-5)

"The concept of the social system enables the analytic observer to move from a given sub-system to the larger societal system and back again" (Loomis 1960, p. 4). As a knowledge base, the construct also allows the understanding of social actions in general.

The implications of the revised elements of OD were more visible when traced along the social systems development continuum. As seen earlier, in the background and tangentially, we were enlightened by theories of nation and community building. Here, however, the focus was directed to the resulting systems rather than if OD

theory could be transferred across the cultures and entities (i.e., organizations) found within the sub-systems. Figure 1 above postulated a sequence in the development of social systems. This construct was more concerned with the clustering of these sub-systems and the timeline along which they emerge. Note that the "mobs" taxonomy was used to explain the informal and sporadic collectives akin to those of the 1994 Los Angeles Uprising in California. The connectivity of each cell to its antecedent and back to Time Factor One (Tribes, (loose) Groupings . . ., etc.) is self-evident. These systems continue to survive where: one individual dominates the autocratic system (i. e., benevolent dictator); groups and committees direct the communalistic system (i.e., management by the board); each person has a vote though s/he may assign leadership and assume followership in democratic systems; no clear leadership value is articulated in the tribalistic system--power is either a hereditary trait or ascribed through use of historical data, charisma and/or energy.

A first impression would be that these theorists are myopic or their theory is at best an oversimplification. The gross oversight would be to ignore, as Scott (1981) postulated, ". . . the great complexity of organizations as one type of system and the danger of misapplying or overextending analogies based on the operation of other less complex systems" (p. 111). There are, however, operational requirements (problems) commonly shared by all organizations. Scott (1981, p. 9) identified the following:
(a) All must define (and redefine) their objectives, (b) all must induce participants to contribute services, (c) all must control and coordinate these contributions, (d) resources must be garnered from the environment and products or services dispensed, (e) participants must be selected, trained [sic], and replaced, and (f) a working

relationship with the neighbors must be achieved. Beyond the aforementioned

requirements, Scott (1981) emphasized that "All organizations are beset by a common

curse. A high proportion of the resources utilized by any organization is expended in

maintaining the organization itself rather than in achieving the specified goals" (p. 9).

And it is when these resources are depleted that effectiveness and sustainability are

threatened. To better explain this occurrence, analysts used the natural selection

model originated in biology with the work of Darwin. This model, championed by

Hannan and Freeman (1977) and Aldrich (1979), gives primary attention to the

environment as a set of influences shaping the structure, function and fate of the

organization (Scott, 1981, p. 115).

Organization Development (OD) and the Environment

There were two approaches in which organizational interaction with the

environment were discussed. Mulford (1981) pointed to these as (a) natural selection,

and (b) the resource dependence models. The former emphasized that organizations

are differentially selected for survival on the basis of the fit between organizational

structure and (or) activities and environmental characteristics (p. 99). Meanwhile, the

latter view suggested that organizations may not be able to generate internally all the

resources or functions required to maintain themselves. Therefore, they must enter

into transactions and relations with other organizations to get resources (Mulford

1981, p. 99). Furthermore, ". . . the resource dependence model focuses upon

organizations as active and capable of both responding to and even altering their

environments" (Mulford, 1981, p. 99-100).

From a longitudinal study of start-ups in the minicomputer industry, Romanelli

(1989) explored the effects of environmental resources, competitive conditions at the

time of founding, and strategies organizations use during its early years to exploit

environmental conditions (p. 369). Her findings suggested that founders can over-

come hazards of start-up by tailoring strategies to environmental conditions (p. 369).

There were some specific descriptors brought to light in her study. With regards to

these new organizations (here they are coined as "firms" because of their profit

motive), Romanelli (1989) concluded the following:

- The more organizations competing, the more difficult it is for firms, especially new firms, to garner and control necessary resources,
- both environmental conditions at the time of founding and character- istics of firms' early activity patterns influence the likelihood of early survival,
- lack of resources restricts the amount of power that an organization can exercise over market and competitive conditions, and
- the availability of resources for organizing hinges jointly on the exis- tence of some untapped demand or needs for a product or service and a sufficient absence of competition that the new organization can exploit the available resources quickly. (pp. 369-371)

As Scott (1981) pointed out, "The environment is perceived to be the ultimate

source of materials, energy, and information, all of which are vital to the continuation

of the system" (p. 120). In a different light, the environment was viewed as the stage

upon which organizations perform; and it was, in Scott's (1981) words ". . . becom-

ing more complex and turbulent over time" (p. 134). The concept of "change," albeit

dominant from the old paradigm, was consistent with the general aims of organization

development (OD). The postmodern paradigm contrarily included terms like transfor-

mation, re-invention, re-engineer and pointed out the human relational dynamics of

the process. In other words, the human element or "somebody" had to be involved to

operate the system. Bennis (1969) described OD's basic characteristics as the

following:

> First of all, it is an educational strategy adopted to bring about a planned
> organizational change. The strategies differ enormously. . . . The second
> characteristic is that the changes sought for are coupled directly with the
> exigency or demand the organization is trying to cope with. . . . A third
> characteristic is that OD relies on educational strategy which emphasizes
> experienced behavior. . . . Fourth, change agents are for the most part, but
> not exclusively, external to the client system. . . . Fifth, OD implies a collabo-
> rative relationship between change agent and constituents of the client sys-
> tem. . . . A sixth characteristic is that change agents share a social philosophy,
> a set of values about the world in general and human organizations in particu-
> lar which shape their strategies, determine their interventions, and largely
> govern their responses to client systems. (pp. 10-13)

The relativity of terms such as "change" to environment and organizational

development is both distinct and pervasive. The relationship is one of symbiotic

compatibility; one function can naturally lead into the next. With the connection made

between open systems and the environment again, Katz and Kahn (1978, pp. 23-27)

identified the following characteristics as being evident in all open systems: (a) Some

form of energy from the external environment is imported, (b) the energy available to

them is transformed, (c) some product is exported into the environment, (d) cyclical

exchanges are pursued and maintained, (e) activities are avoided that would otherwise

cause their demise (the authors call this characteristic negative entropy where organi-

zations lose inputs and die), (f) information is received, feedback is given and faults

are corrected if necessary, (g) open systems remain steady and dependable in their

operation, (h) open systems specialize and concentrate on given purposes, (i) func-

tions are integrated and coordinated, and (j) equifinality. Other members of open

systems can arrive to perform similar functions without having had the same begin-

nings.

Missing from the foregoing view is the manner in which organizational needs

(inclusive of individual ones) are met. The circumstances during which individual

needs conflict with those of the organization create crucial moments for organizations

and their pursuit of mutual coexistence. As an example that will be explored later

within the literature, compliance and coherence are threatened. However, a pattern

was developing which suggested the opportunity to study organizations within the

open systems milieu and the characteristics that could tell the story of their existence.

While referring to foundations as "client systems or sub-systems," Bennis

(1969) proposed a series of questions that must be raised when considering those

associations. These questions are listed and discussed as the following:

1. "Are the learning goals of organizational development appropriate? To

what extent do the goals relate to the effectiveness of the client system?" (p. 44)

2. "Is the cultural state of the client system ready for organization

development?" (p. 45)

3. "Are the key people in the client system involved in or informed of the

organizational development program?" (p. 47)

4. "Are the members of the client system adequately prepared and

oriented to organization development?" (p. 47)

Hence, the practicality of OD theory and practices is sufficient cause to apply the

process when these "client systems or sub-systems" confront "change" in the market-

place. Reaffirming this stance was Howard H. Bell, president emeritus of the

American Advertising Federation in Washington, DC. Sabo's (1993) interview on

"Award Winning Leadership" quoted him saying, "Associations that don't provide

services members demand or don't keep up with these changing times will fall by the

wayside. Successful association managers are leaders, not followers. They keep their

organizations on the leading edge of change (p. 123). A similar interview with

Kathryn E. Johnson, Executive Vice President of the Healthcare Forum--an interna-

tional organization based in San Francisco, California resulted much the same. She

said:

> Organizations need to be in a constant state of renewal and reexamination. An
> important element of reinventing ourselves has been to co-design the organiza-
> tion's future with staff and members. Board members may be the champions
> of change, but members must be engaged in such a way that they feel they
> own the organization's vision (Quoted in Sabo 1993, p. 125).

Loomis (1960) suggested, regardless of how organizations are viewed, ". . . Social

change is the most constant aspect of group existence. . . . Social change may start in

any part of the system, through changes in the external system [pattern] of the

group. . ." (p. 9). Furthermore, he continued, ". . . once in existence a social

system [organization] cannot help changing, even if all its external conditions are

constant" (p. 10).

If one continues with the systems frame for giving meaning to organizations,

one clear caveat to this discussion must be continually reiterated. The human

dimension of social organizations does not lead itself to natural characteristics like

physical and biological systems; they are fabrications by and with humans. As such,

Kast and Rosenzweig (1985) suggested about organizations ". . . they can be estab-

lished for an infinite variety of [goals] and objectives and not follow the same life

cycle pattern of birth, maturity, and death as biological systems" (p. 108). Katz and

Kahn (1978) said:

> Social structures are essentially contrived. People invent the complex patterns of behavior that we call social structure, and people create social structure by enacting those patterns of behavior. Many properties of social systems derive from these essential facts. As human inventions, social systems are imperfect. They can come apart at the seams overnight, but they can also outlast by centuries the biological organisms that originally created them. The cement that holds them together is essentially psychological, rather than biological. Social systems are anchored in the attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, motivations, habits, and expectations of human beings. (p. 37)

The foregoing discussion was aimed at establishing parameters for the framing of nonprofits, the dynamic environment within which they operate, and the role of the OD practitioner. Still unanswered, however was the correlation between organizational effectiveness and the institutionalization of those effective organizations. Later in this work, seven psychosocial characteristics (i.e., communication, control, culture, commitment, capital [as a resource], compliance and coherence) and their impact on the effectiveness and institutionalization (permanence) of organizations are discussed.

Towards a Contingency Theory on Organizational Effectiveness

Until this point, the systems perspective with its concern for the whole picture was applied to bring forth knowledge to bear on organizations, organizational development, and MSUE's role. As the focus now turns to organization effectiveness, the systems perspective was used to describe the contingency view on organizations. Kast and Rosenzweig (1985) effectively presented this vantage point as follows:

> The contingency view of organizations . . . suggests that an organization is a system composed of subsystems and delineated by identifiable boundaries from its environmental suprasystem. The contingency view seeks to understand the interrelationships within and among subsystems as well as between the organization and its environment and to define patterns of relationships or configurations of variables. It emphasizes the multivariate nature of organizations and attempts to understand how organizations operate under varying

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conditions and in specific circumstances. Contingency views are ultimately directed toward suggesting organizational designs and managerial actions most appropriate for specific situations. (p. 116)

In short, the contingency view, whose models are represented in Figure 2, was the midpoint between universal principles of organization and the distinctive nature of organizations that often insist upon situational analyses. As a reinvention exercise, a traditional model of organizations--one that assumes a coherent and explicit set of collective goals toward which every action is directed and results are measured--was explored for organization effectiveness.

Goal Model	➡	Focus on organizational goals, tasks, production
Participant-Satisfaction	➡	Focus on satisfaction of internal constituencies
Social Justice/ Ecological	➡	Focus on internal and external constituencies
Functional Model	➡	Focus on consequences of the organization on society
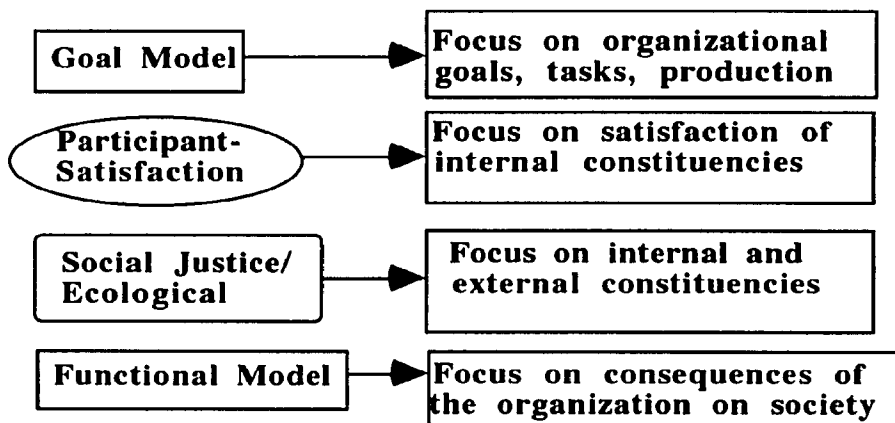
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Figure 2. Contingency models of organization effectiveness.

Many researchers had struggled with the processes associated with organizational effectiveness. Thus far, the discussion had revolved around the complexity in studying organizations due to their high degrees of variability and ubiquity. Some authors (Hannan & Freeman, 1977; Pennings, 1975) argued that effectiveness cannot

be a scientific concept. This concept was especially difficult to fully capture for nonprofit organizations. The same variability in defining organizations prevailed once again. In a celebrated summarizing effort, Cameron (1978) suggested studies showed that different concepts of organization lead to a variety of definitions and approaches to organizational effectiveness and act upon their beliefs, that nonprofit organizations differ in effectiveness. Moreover, that same literature had been greatly enriched since the work of pioneers like Barnard (1938), Georgopoulos and Tannenbaum (1957), Likert (1967), Parsons (1960) and Etzioni (1964), just to name a few.

In a broad sense, organizational effectiveness could have been defined as the capacity for being effective or of producing effects. The gain from this view of effectiveness was its relationship to operative goals and obtained results, to stake-holders and members of the organization, and to the general characteristics and processes of an organization. Thus, from the many possible views of organizational effectiveness, this study was justified in focusing on the following three points. The first was based on how organization is being defined within this work. Namely, the only purpose of an organization was to ensure efficient task performance for the attainment of desired results. Otherwise stated, effectiveness is the organization's ability to achieve its operative goals among others. In support of this perspective was the goal model championed by Georgopoulos and Tannenbaum (1957), Etzioni (1964), Price (1972), Steers (1975), and Campbell (1977), and the process model with greater focus on managerial processes and the internal health of the organization. Internal processes and procedures and the leaders' role are directly related to organizational effectiveness (Argyris, 1964; Bennis, 1966; Likert, 1967).

The second paradigm was derived from work by Miller and Rice (1967) and Keeley (1978). The former (Miller and Rice) suggested that the primary task of any organization is to satisfy the needs of its members, volunteers and/or employees. The latter (Keeley), with the philosophical grounding from work by Barnard (1938), Cyert and March (1963), and Friedlander and Pickel (1968), is coined the participant-satisfaction model. The major premise of Keeley's (1978) model was that organizational effectiveness is related to the interests of various participants. As a parallel D'Aunno (1992) described the Multiple Constituency (MC) model to measuring organizational effectiveness. "MC shares the view that an organization is effective if it at least minimally satisfies the interests of multiple constituencies associated with it" (D'Aunno, 1992, p. 346). Undergirding this premise was the assumption that organizations ultimately exist for human benefit. In the related literature on members' motivation to participate in organizations, ideas of personal-satisfaction, self-interest, and returned gratification are mentioned (Handel, 1983; Phillips, 1982; Vandenberg, 1993). More specifically, broad motives for membership and participation included the following: (a) altruism or caring for the issue the group is working on, (b) self-interest, (c) transaction (where something is expected in return directly), and (d) social needs--friends, belonging, conforming, involvement, responsibility, etc. From the foregoing it was discernible that the identifiers attracting individuals to organizations also defined the extent to which that organization was effective in both meeting its operational goals (Bluedorn, 1980) and distributing power, resources, and appointive requirements (Davis, 1982).

The third paradigm that was applied for this study focused on the societal benefits and client groups' needs as the benchmark of organizational effectiveness. These had already been shown in the motivation/participation discourse. Three models supported this third paradigm on organization effectiveness. They are listed and described as the following: (a) Keeley's (1978) social justice model emphasizing the satisfaction of interests held by various participants, (b) the functional model (Fremont, 1975; Merton, 1956; Parsons, 1960) where the organization's effectiveness is determined by the social consequences of its activities, and (c) Miles' (1980) ecological model that assumes that organizations' effectiveness can be assessed in terms of their ability to minimally satisfy goals imposed upon them by their various constituencies. The implications from these three paradigms and subsequent six models were related to the approaches that this and other studies could take to assess and discuss organization effectiveness.

There was sufficient rationale for choosing this one classification scheme among the many other possible means for measuring organization effectiveness. Doing so enabled the researcher to deem this study's subjects effective. In support, Goodman and Pennings (1977) contributed the following characteristics for studies of organizational effectiveness: (a) an explicit view of the organization; (b) a precise definition of effectiveness; (c) a domain in which the concept of effectiveness may be said to function; (d) the perspective of different groups, i.e., constituencies, that determine the type of criteria and the level of effectiveness desired; (e) a framework which defines determinants of organizational effectiveness; and (f) an adequate research strategy. Here, in strong concurrence with Bluedorn (1980), rather than

looking at studying the effectiveness of nonprofits we were applying effectiveness determinants to test if they would lead to organizational permanence. Already, we had noted the relativity between motivation/participation theory to that of effectiveness assessment. Still uncertain, however, was the extent to which these constructs would explain permanence as a characteristic of nonprofits. In her study on the organizational effectiveness of universities, Handel (1983) showed that the contingency views were not suited for studying universities because of their anarchistic nature. Yet universities, like other organizations, were open systems and, with their dynamism noted, should have responded favorably to rational models similar to those depicted above. Cameron (1986) identified some shortcomings to the contingency approaches shown in Figure 2. Some of the potential problems for researchers applying these perspectives that she noted include: (a) Values and preferences vary from one group to another, and it is difficult to resolve such conflicts; (b) a group's preferences are sometimes difficult to identify, even for the group itself; (c) preferences vary over time; (d) contradictory preferences are sometimes held by a group; and (e) how to identify constituents to participate in an assessment is often ambiguous. Yet the pragmatism and flexibility of these approaches made them attractive and provided guidelines that were applied even in this study. Effectiveness measures therefore required an analysis of face goals, as well as satisfaction from stakeholders and collaborators in the environment. By reviewing the record on members, clients, previous experiences and the experience with or perceived other actors (organizations) in the environment, a certain picture of the organization's effectiveness would become discernible.

Policy/Program Adjustments and Organization Effectiveness

Loomis (1961) did well to magnify the work of Talcott Parsons whom many

lauded as the leading theorist of the "social system" concept. "Parsons defines the

boundary between those objects which are constituents of the system and those which

are part of its environment by the test of particularism . . ." (Loomis, 1961, p. 349).

His approach to relating with policy and program adjustments as precipitated by the

environment reached proactivism. He called for "adaptation." Loomis (1961)

suggested that "The recruitment of labor, most often by contract, and the mobilization

of capital are . . . the chief adaptive problems of a going concern" (p. 337) for

organizations.

Recurring themes were found under the monikers, environment, change and

adaptation. Corwin (1974) for example, in a celebrated and summative effort,

identified how an organization could be more easily changed. The sweeping nature of

his postulates was derived from the exhaustive literature reviewed covering writers

representing diverse and interwoven thought patterns and tracing several overlapping

macro-theories of change. From Corwin's (1974) findings, the propensity for

organizational change was high:

1. If it is invaded by liberal, creative and unconventional outsiders with fresh perspectives;
2. If those outsiders are exposed to creative, competent, flexible socialization agents;
3. If it is staffed by young, flexible, supportive, and competent boundary personnel, or "gatekeepers";
4. If it is structurally complex and decentralized;
5. If it has the outside funds to provide the "organizational" slack necessary to lessen the cost of innovation;
6. If its members have positions that are sufficiently secure and protected from the status risks involved in change; and

7.   If it is located in a changing, modern, urbanized setting where it is in close cooperation with a coalition of other cosmopolitan organizations that can supplement its skills and resources. (p. 698)

Since the time of his study, surely some of these clauses had been challenged and refuted as they drew from works by Durkheim, Dewey, Rogers, Newcomb and Tarde. From a perspective standpoint, Tarde's reference was from 1890. While postmodern thinking drew from classical theorists, even Emile Durkheim's institution-alized dysfunction and anomie theories had to bear the litmus test of relevance for late 20th century situations and entities.

Later, Crandall (1993) interviewed Robert Rosen, author of The Healthy Company (1992), probing into his organizational health concept. Rosen was in the process of integrating all that was available on the management of people in the workplace into a coherent body of knowledge that would help manage human capital. When asked how organizations are to manage (adjust) to changes in the environment, he said:

> The key is continuous learning. Continuous learning means creating a work force of lifelong learners who are constantly upgrading their talents and skills. It also means creating an environment that allows people to learn so that they make mistakes, fall down, learn from their mistakes, and grow. (Crandall 1993, p. 54)

Loomis (1960) cited W. E. Moore who posited the following thesis:

> The theory of acculturation, that is, of cultural diffusion and resultant change, indicates that an innovation is most acceptable if in both form and degree it represents only a small departure from customary standards and practices. (p. 81)

Thus far, the literature had merely traced and described a phenomenon germane to all associations. Still missing was the procedural approaches to adjusting policies and

programs. These approaches, while dyadic, existed as noted earlier. The methods to address these issues were nestled within the organization development construct.

The fact is, over time and from crisis to crisis, change had taken place. The social system and sub-systems would no longer function routinely. The prescription was for these foundations to respond contrarily to those for-profit cohorts who allowed the economy to naturally redress the environment. Even there, the truth was that some businesses gained and others lost precipitating bankruptcy and then extinction. At some intervals it would be useful to use the business, profit-seeking industry analogies. Voluntary associations or foundations had common pursuits--sustainability. On this point Rosen (1993) stated ". . . that an association is a company. . . . All organizations are dependent on their social and intellectual capital, their brain power . . ." (cited in Crandall 1993, p. 58).

In their book Profiles of Excellence, Knauft, Berger and Gray (1991) identified ". . . four hallmarks of excellence . . ." for nonprofit organizations (p. 1-2). They stated that the following may appear at varying intervals over the life of the organization but are suggested to represent the ideal effective organization. Organizations, they argued, must have the following: (a) a clearly articulated sense of mission serving as the focal point of commitment for all affiliates and the guidepost to measure its success and make adjustments over time, (b) an individual who truly leads the organization and creates a culture that enables and motivates the organization to fulfill its mission, (c) an involved and committed volunteer board that relates dynamically with officers and the marketplace, and (d) an ongoing capacity to attract

sufficient financial and human resource. To reinforce their suppositions, they cited

Brian O'Connell saying:

> An effective voluntary organization has a capacity to keep the real mission in focus no matter how frenzied things become or how great the pressure to move into new areas. This means that all important decisions are made with the organization's 'reason for being' in the forefront." (p. 5)

Raison d'etre also keeps for-profit organizations afloat.

The discussion, thus, leads the researcher back to the OD processes as would

be invoked for any organization whether non- or for-profit at the end of the 20th

century. Forbes and Butterfield (1993) aptly covered the topic with landmark

prescriptions. In their words (Forbes & Butterfield, 1993, pp. 36-42):

> Reshaping your association in the image of the 21st century is not only possible, it's essential. . . . Here is how to do it.
> 1.   Commit your association to quality management by:
>   a. achieving fitness to standard;
>   b. achieving fitness to need; and
>   c. achieving fitness to future needs.
> 2.   Streamline the policy-making process.
> 3.   Adopt a system of strategic management.
> 4.   Empower your staff.
> 5.   Make peace with your chapters or affiliates.
> 6.   Reconsider your nonprofit status.
> 7.   Make your service corporation a cash cow.
> 8.   Rethink your membership marketing.
> 9.   Move from confrontation to cooperation.
> 10.   Stay on the cutting edge of communication technology.
> 11.   Lead the education revolution.

As Forbes and Butterfield (1993) noted, the leadership (and management) must be

prepared to see beyond today's crises, and scan the future for social, economic and

political (in the holistic sense, see Bolman & Deal, 1991), technological and environ-

mental opportunities and threats (p. 42). According to Forbes and Butterfield (1993),

an organization, after applying these recommendations, would be poised to enter the new century in a winning position.

Association Management and Organization Effectiveness

On Leadership Theory

The human relations school, with its leading proponent E. Mayo, made lasting contributions to the literature on leadership. Earlier, T. Parsons's (1960) social system model was used to frame organizations in the context of change and the environment. "From the human relations perspective, leadership was conceived primarily as a mechanism for influencing the behavior of individual participants" (Scott, 1981, p. 87). This perspective was singled out here for its effort directed at transforming organizations--modifying and improving them as social environments much as was the purpose of this work. Moreover, there was evidence that managers who subscribe to this philosophy tended to:

> view her/his workforce as a *human resource* [and] will attempt to take a variety of actions, such as trying to create a general work atmosphere where subordinates will feel their contributions are noticed and appreciated and encouraging them to try new ideas so that they can discover the full range of their talents." (Wilson, Goodall, Jr., and Waagen, 1986, p. 48)

Blau, cited in Scott (1981) said: "Although managerial authority in organizations contains important leadership elements, its distinctive characteristic. . . is that it is rooted in the formal powers and sanctions the organization bestows upon managers" (p. 88). Duly empowered, Scott (1981) concluded, "Managers must expend as much time and energy in relating to environmental demands as in directing the internal affairs of the organization. Balancing and reconciling--as well as buffeting and

segregating--are the primary administrative tasks in contemporary organizations (p. 259).

The managerial responsibilities of a leader thus rested upon the anticipated charge of that leader. Implied here is that the organization moved beyond the stage of rationalizing the need for identified leadership to expedite the managerial functions shown in Figure 3 as described by Lievegoed (1973).

```
┌──────────Goal-setting
│  ┌───────Policy-making
│  │  ┌────Planning
│  │  └────Organization
│  └───────Innovation
└──────────Control (evaluation)
```

Figure 8. Managerial functions.

With this schema, Lievegoed (1973) explained that the board may receive proposals of **goals** from lower participants but it must ratify them whenever available or establish new goals for the organization. Next, the board will need to remember its own **policies** and carefully develop those that will draw upon the strengths of the organization and flexibly fit within the totality of the operations. "Once objectives and policies are known, **planning** should be no more than a question of technical implementation. . . . **Organization** becomes a supporting service function . . ." (p. 108). **Innovation** as a matter of policy and state of mind is the remuneration of new pursuits in support of organizational goals (i.e., the suggestion box system). Finally, **control** becomes **evaluation** measuring the value of achievements against the general policy and other set guidelines (pp. 107-109). Lievegoed (1973) added a seventh task called **integration** that provided ". . . an unfailing watchfulness to see

that none of them falls behind, and to ensure that all six come to life . . ." (p. 109).

Although the focus of the foregoing discussion was on for-profit organizations and

employer-employee relationships, Lievegoed's description of these functions chal-

lenged participatory goal setting models proposed by theorists for and from the

Northern (technologically advanced) context (P. Drucker, D. McGregor, etc.). The

approach instead of the function signaled caution. Wilson, Goodall, Jr., and Waagen

(1986) identified other varied approaches to viewing leadership that included the traits

approach, the situational approach, the contingency approach, the behavioral ap-

proach, and the relational approach. Figure 4 charts these varied approaches, their

leading advocates and the year in which they were brought to light, and the theories

that undergirded them.

Missing from the above list, among other leading leadership theories, is Peter

F. Drucker (1954) and his pioneering style of leadership that he called management

by objectives (MBO). Lievegoed (1973) summarized Drucker's work as one calling

for ". . . management by objectives, assistance, and training [sic]" (p. 139). Manag-

ers employing MBO principles since its inception had gained major influence over

foundation leaders' (as well as one U.S. president's) administrative functions. In

short, Drucker (1954) believed that "Self-control is always more efficient than control

from outside. Only [I] can know whether [I] have worked marginally or well" (cited

in Lievegoed, 1973, p. 138). The final analysis found work highly oriented towards

objectives, done by groups in horizontal joint consultation and accounted for by

vertical managers and horizontal process managers who supervise training [sic] and

development (Drucker, 1954). As a result of MBO, the traditional flow-charts of

organizational leadership have been revamped causing astonishment among scholars

when they saw straight-line authority or upside down pyramids.

Leadership Models	Leading Proponent(s)	Year Proposed	Major Premises
The Traits Approach	Kurt Lewin Chester Bernard Charles Bird	1939	Effective leaders are naturally endowed with ability to lead. A leader with her/his desirable traits, needs to display social leadership as well as task-oriented leadership.
The Situational Approach	Ralph Stogdill C.W. Downs T. Pickett	1974	Leadership requirements are defined by the situation. Leadership potential may be drawn from physical, psychological or functional characteristics as determined by the environment.
The Contingency Approach	Fred Fielder Julia T. Wood	1967	Leader finds the most effective leadership style according to the observable conditions of the situation. Leader's analysis of the situation depends on contingencies produced by the environment.
The Behavioral Approach	John Dewey B.F. Skinner	1910	Every decision must ultimately be expressed as a behavior. Leader controls group's overall behavior and performances by providing stimuli as reinforcements.
The Relational Approach	A.H. Maslow	1954	Leader's needs explain how social relationships can be coordinated with organizational goals to maximize performance satisfaction and productivity.

Figure 4. Major leadership frames, proponents and premises.

At this point in this study, the terms manager and leader were used inter-

changeably. The suggestion was that a manager could manifest the traits of a leader

and vice versa. The leader, almost as a rule, however, would have the vision to

create a culture and the ability to articulate and enforce that vision (B. O'Connell,

cited in Knauft et al., 1991, p. 15). True leaders, stated O'Connell, have the

". . . vision to see beyond the horizon, along with sensitivity to really feel human needs, plus an almost contradictory toughness to build an organization capable of translating the vision and sensitivity into change" (p. 9). Bennis and Nanus (1985), pioneers in defining leadership, stated that "An excellent manager can see to it that work is done productively and efficiently, on schedule, and with a high level of quality" (p. 92). However, they wrote, it is the leader's role to help people know pride and satisfaction with their work while supplying the vision for the organization. "Great leaders often inspire their followers to high levels of achievement by showing them how their work contributes to the worthwhile ends" (Bennis & Nanus, 1985, p. 93).

The research conducted to arrive at the Knauft et al. (1991) conclusions used a case study method that was commonly done when analyzing organizations. The aim was to profile the characteristics of excellent organizations. Their approach to the often troublesome and non-generalizable task was to conduct a focus group with nonprofit executives from which they ascertained that the best leaders:

- Have clear goals and a vision to look beyond the day's crisis, . . . the immediate horizon;
- Exhibit a willingness to stand up and be shot at;
- Have the courage to make extremely tough decisions;
- Understand their constituents' motivations and identify intimately with their needs and concerns; and
- Exhibit a special presence that enables them to motivate and inspire their constituents, staff, and volunteers beyond the authority conferred by a title. (p. 9-10)

Moreover, and significantly, whether by symbols or symbolic interaction, the leader must be able to give meaning to the culture, climate and the general momentum s/he helped inspire.

Managerial Point of Impact and its Effect on Organizations

Many studies had focused on the leadership traits of the entrepreneur founding the association. "The entrepreneur like the charismatic leader Weber (1947) described, is the earliest and most important creator of the organization's priorities and shared assumptions" (Boeker, 1989, p. 389). In a study examining the effects of the founding events on the evolution of subunit importance in the semiconductor industry from 1958 to 1985, Boeker (1989) arrived at major postulates that tentatively explained the role of a well-prepared leader (manager) in the success of an organization in the marketplace.

He stated that the logic supporting the need for effective specialists providing managerial services and thereby contributing to organizational success is inherent with founding processes. Further, the founder often spends a period of time during which s/he provides the leadership until the foundation gets a suitable foothold in the marketplace. Within the transnational context (both domestic and international) organization founders often invest their private holdings (cash, home, car, etc.) to register, promote and initialize services. During an open discussion among international development scholars at Michigan State University, one audience member, in a moment of shear enlightenment said: "No wonder why these organizations become a "cash cow" or means to social security for some founders. Such investments make pulling away to allow newcomers an opportunity to transform from the original imprint a hardship."

In a study focused on for-profit organizations (firms), Smith (1967) showed parallels between the backgrounds of entrepreneurs (organizers) and the structure of

the organizations they formed. He also noted that ". . . there is a strong tendency for the structure of the [firm] to reflect the type of entrepreneur who builds it" (Smith, 1967, p. 93). To further support his argument for the entrepreneur's influence at founding, Boeker (1989) cited Kimberly's 1975 case study of the creation of a new medical school. He found that the founder and first dean played a predominant role in shaping the organization's initial form and mission: "Call him an entrepreneur, a leader, or a guru, the fact is that his personality, his dreams, his flaws, and his talents were largely responsible for the school's early structure and results" (cited in Boeker, 1989, p. 392). Boeker's convincing deduction was the likelihood that founding entrepreneurs would structure their organizations based on their background, values, experience and beliefs.

Furthermore, that original imprint (foundation) ultimately becomes the basis for permanence by future leaders. Scott (1983), along with other institutional theorists, had shown that organizations develop patterns of authority and standard operating procedures that over time, take on the status of objective social fact. By repetitious enactment and unquestioned enforcement, the operation becomes a matter of fact and familiarity. One of those institutional theorists was Salancik (1977) who explained how organizational members have a natural tendency to become committed to decisions and strategies previously adopted and persist in courses of action long after they have outlived their usefulness, good or bad.

Boeker's (1989) study of the semiconductor industry set a precedence for the author's study. It supported previous views and findings, namely: (a) The characteristics of existing organizations are a product of routines and repertoires established

earlier in their development, (b) founding entrepreneurs create organizations in which

their own functional background is reflected in the greater importance of that same

function in the new organization, and (c) when a new organization is begun a great

number of internal and external resources must be compiled and coordinated for

greater useability (Boeker 1989). The critical element in Boeker's (1989) findings

was for individuals in nonprofits, managers and founders alike to strive to accomplish

group ownership of the organization. There was no one (set of) identifiable owner(s)

of the, say, United Way or Girl Scouts of America or national society for Minorities

in Agriculture, Natural Resources and Related Sciences or 4-H. Ownership was a

variable of significance but was best pursued along its relationship to sentiments of

commitment to the organization and the extent to which members strive to achieve

consensus on varying values (here called coherence) and issues.

The foregoing led the author to what can be called postmodern or, as was

defined earlier, transformational leadership. Clearly, new patterns for managing

executive leadership had emerged as a result of the following changes (Schmid,

1992):

1. Turbulent, uncertain and highly politicized environment characterized by a lack of and/or diminishing pool of resources, diversifying target populations, and increasing privatization of public services.
2. Environmental structural changes causing the organizations' structure and the role of management to change.
3. Professional and volunteer staff now seeks personal development professional fulfillment and autonomy while demanding [and rightly so] to participate in policy and decision making.
4. Constituencies (donors and stakeholders alike) are also favoring visible, measurable effects that are significant for the target population. (p. 112-113)

Schmid (1992) argues that these changes obligate leaders to develop patterns of management based on the decentralization of authority and an external orientation. Figure 5 delineated this new paradigm and the application of its characteristics in this postmodern era. The literature had answered the question of a need to hire a full-time and well-prepared professional to ensure organizational effectiveness in the marketplace. The competition over scarce resources and the volatile environment insisted that organizations do so. For educational organizations, the recommendation was equally pressing noting continuing ". . . emphasis on opening the organization to participation, diversity, conflict reflection, and mistakes" (Patterson, 1993 p. 66).

Characteristic	Centralized Management and Internal Orientation	Decentralized Management and External Orientation
Centralized/Decentralized authority	Centralization of authority	Delegation of authority
Organizational Orientation	Internal orientation	Management of external environment
Perception of organization's goals	Operational efficiency	Organizational effectiveness
Leadership objectives	Satisfaction of the individual's and organization's needs	Attainment of power and control of resources
Nature of management	Ad hoc, "proficient superficiality"	Comprehensive and strategic
Focusing on the subsystem	Production, maintenance	Adaptation and development
Strategies of adaptation	Domain defensive	Domain offensive
Openness to new options	Relatively little	Considerable
Patterns of leadership	Transactional	Transformational

Figure 5. A comparison of management characteristics: Centralized and internal orientation versus decentralized and external orientation.

Organizing Toward Institutionalization (Permanence)

The following section of the literature review was designed to answer the question about the correlation between organizational effectiveness and their capacity as an institution. The author sought to answer the question about the direct effect that seven psychosocial variables had on the institutionalization of nonprofit organizations. First, however, it was important to understand the context within which we were considering institutionalization or "institution" status. For example, was the construct being applied as commonly done in laypeople's terms (i.e., marriage, religion, etc.) or did it incorporate concepts related to processes that would ultimately lead to the development of social structures and nation building. The latter view more poignantly characterized the implied aims of this study. Later, those same descriptors were used as selection criteria for the three participating cases in this study. A more detailed description of this application is offered in Chapter Three.

It did not suffice, however, to rest on the existing typologies that frame institutions. The systems approach generally applied throughout this study did not permit any such oversimplification. Contingently, an open systems perspective was needed for institutionalization because of the dynamism predominating the environment. Furthermore, such an approach was necessary if the experiences of the participants suggested a new take on institutionalization process. The ethnographic researcher must always be open and flexible to experience emerging paradigms before his/her very own eyes. The anticipation was that if there was a postmodern view on institutionalization, ethnographic research was going to allow that form to emerge. Otherwise, if the existing theory on institution building held, it would be held

considering the experiences of the leaders, members, stakeholders and donors of the

organizations participating in the study.

Summary on Institutionalization

Earlier, institution was defined as the result where organizations become

sustainable and permanent fixtures in the environment (suprasystem). There were

many approaches used to frame this concept causing some authors difficulty in

discussing its related issues. Perhaps one of the most common viewpoints on

institutions was that of Lowie (1948) noting that a person cannot belong to an

institution as s/he does to an association. Lowie's (1948) definition of organizations

included entities such as the family, the church, and the state. And as most postmod-

ern societies had come to accept, institutions are marriage, law, kinship, property,

religion and education. This perspective was rooted in the time of its conceptualiza-

tion. Lowie (1948) went further to suggest that the most important sociological

institutions are probably kinship, marriage, law, property, religion, and education.

Other scholars, often with a different take, have since redefined this rhetoric as

deemed appropriate for their day. Theirs is but only one way of looking at institu-

tions. Selznick (1957) for example considers institutionalization as

> . . . a process. It is something that happens to an organization over time,
> reflecting the organization's own distinctive history, the people who have been
> in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the
> way it has adapted to its environment. (p. 16)

Also included in Selznick's definition of institutionalization was the process of

translating an organizational mission into an operative client-servicing system involv-

[ing] a series of critical decisions about the nature of the clientele, the mobilization

and allocation of resources, development of ties with other organizations in the

community, establishment of a service technology, and the recruitment and training of

personnel. Hasenfeld and English (1974, cited in Hasenfeld, 1983, p. 60) recommend

the leadership get involved in the following critical areas to facilitate institutionaliza-

tion:

1. Formulation of the service mission of the organization within the
   context of the opportunities, constraints and contingencies presented by
   the environment;
2. Negotiations and mediation between the organization and external inter-
   est groups to gain legitimation and procure resources;
3. Selection of the of the service technologies to carry out the mission of
   the organization; and
5. Initiation and implementation of changes in the organization in response
   to environmental exigencies and changing intraorganizational configura-
   tions.

Having already defined organizations, this study focused on institutions as the

progression of organizations that is, otherwise, to establish a stable set of functions up

to such point when they can be considered permanent actors in the marketplace.

Institutionalization as a Condition of Being Sustainable

At the end of the 20th century the case for governments in developing

countries aiming to make organizations effective instruments for societal change and

development was beginning to gain momentum among countries faced with the

privatization agenda. Thus the international development literature proves valuable in

understanding the finer points of institutionalization. Melvin G. Blase (1986), for

example, did an exceptionally thorough review and analysis of case studies focusing

on institution building as posited by some leading international agriculture develop-

ment theorists. Scholars within that discipline for a distinct time period had been

involved in a phase during which much focus was placed on the issue of institution

building for organizations involved in development management. "While there was

concern for internal efficiency of such organizations, the main emphasis was on their

capability and effectiveness for development purposes" (cited in Blase, 1986, p. 18).

Similar concerns have been expressed for this study. In fact, as Hasenfeld (1974)

reported, studies of social service agencies suggest that the degree of institutionaliza-

tion is a major factor in determining its effectiveness.

Blase (1986) credited Milton J. Esman and H.C. Blaise (1966) for the concep-

tualization of the institutionalization framework to which much of the literature

referred (p. 68). "Basic to Esman's approach is the assumption that the efficient

assimilation of new physical and social technologies requires that the environment

provide supporting values, norms, processes and structures. . ." (p. 69). It was not

clear, however, whether Esman and institution building, as an assumed generic social

process, accounted for those organizations that aspired only to the fulfillment of goals

and objectives (goal attainment). Hasenfeld (1974) referred to studies that suggested

that the degree of institutionalization of the nonprofit was a major factor in determin-

ing its effectiveness. Duncan (1975) conducted a series of case studies that contribut-

ed to the literature (cited in Blase, 1986, p. 13-17). He maintained that an organiza-

tion could be considered to be institutionalized when there is reasonable evidence that:

1. It has survived over a period of time, i.e., it continues to do what it was designed to do;
2. It has achieved a degree of autonomy in determining its program via budgetary means or through the influence of its leadership;
3. It is accepted and valued by its clientele, by the public and by its cooperators and competitors as a part of the environment; and
4. It has some impact on the environment, i.e., the changes it sponsors are tolerated, if not applauded and possibly even copied.

Esman et al.'s (1966, cited in Blase, 1986) basic concepts included institution

variables thought necessary and sufficient to explain the systemic behavior in an

institution. The relationships of those elements are depicted in Figure 6 (Blase 1986,

p. 69).

Institution   **Processes**

Institution Variables:	Transactions	Linkages:
Leadership Doctrine Program Resources Internal Structure		Enabling linkages Functional linkages Normative linkages Diffused linkages
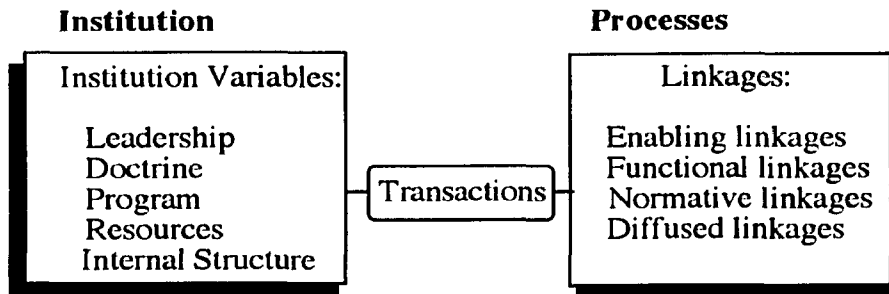
Figure 6. The institution building universe.

The institution variables dealing with intrinsic concerns have been the focal

point of the discussion thus far. However, every organization is dependent upon

other sub-system cohorts for its authority and resources making its linkages with other

entities vitally important (Blase, 1986, p. 70-71). The processes are sequential

linkage transactions carried out with other segments of the system. First, according

to Blase (1986), enabling linkages are pursued with entities that control the allocation

of authority and resources the organization needs for survival. Next, functional

linkages are sought with complementary organizations and those which constitute real

or potential competition. Then, Blase (1986) concluded, the system as a whole places

guidelines for institutions through normative linkages in the form of sociocultural

norms, operating rules and regulations that can either act as obstacles to or facilitate

the process of institution building. An example of this process was the charter

granted by Congress to the National Future Farmers of America organization (now

the National FFA) as they approached institution status. "Institutionalization is a

matter of degree, not of absolute presence or absence" (cited in Loomis, 1960, p. 36).

To the extent where these norms and values failed to exist, Durkheim (1951)

indicated that a condition called anomie or under-institutionalization can exist that is

characterized by high suicide rates. Finally, Blase (1986) stated that the organization

establishes diffused linkages in the form of relationships with specific institutions and

organizations. This category includes relationships established through news media

and other channels with the public in general "for the crystallization and expression of

individual and small group opinion" (Blase, 1986, p. 71). These findings compelled

the author to note the extent to which these intrinsic and extrinsic processes were

followed by the organizations analyzed in this study.

Framing the Seven-C's of Organizational Sustainability

The following discussion focuses on the modeling and theoretical framework

grounding this study. While many theorists had already made substantial contribu-

tions towards an understanding of these elements and their individual manifestation in

organizations, the literature failed to assess the intervening results of these variables

in organizations. Consider once again the naturalistic view of organizations posited

earlier in this work. The interdependent units in organizations contributing to their

maintenance and survival in dynamic environments required different tools and

pathways to maneuver through the suprasystem. Biological systems, as natural

theorists viewed organizations, did not nor can they successfully operate in a vacuum.

A framework, while not absolute in its presentation, was needed to express how other

elements can together impact the effectiveness and sustainability of nonprofits. In the

long run (at least by Chapter Five), the author hoped to arrive at a better understand-

ing of these variables and others still undetermined and their overall effect on the

institutionalization process.

Communication Within Effective Organizations

A popular thought in the literature of organizational behavior was that commu-

nication is an essential in all organizational processes. It is the glue that holds

organizations together. Through communication, organizational members can

accomplish both individual and organizational goals, implement and respond to

organizational change, coordinate organizational activities, and engage in all organiza-

tionally relevant behaviors (Ivancevich & Matteson, 1993, p. 632). Communication

is one of the vital processes that breathes life into an organizational structure. Peters

and Waterman (1982) noted the following:

> The nature and uses of communication in the excellent companies are remark-
> ably different from those of their non-excellent peers. The excellent compa-
> nies are a vast network of informal, open communications. The patterns and
> intensity cultivate the right people's getting into contact with each other,
> regularly, and the chaotic/anarchic properties of the system are kept well under
> control simply because of the regularity of contact and its nature. . . The
> intensity of communications is unmistakable in the excellent companies.
> (p. 121-122).

Their work was to frame excellent companies in the environment as noted earlier and

they saw the merits of effective communication strategies every time. But what was

it that made communication effective? How was it manifested?

Ivancevich and Matteson (1993) suggest that communication processes contain

five key elements: (a) the **communicator** (oftentimes sender), who initiates the

communication; (b) the **message**, which expresses the purpose of the communicator;

(c) the **medium**, which is the channel or carrier used for transmission; (d) the

receiver, for whom the message is intended; and (e) **feedback**, an indication to the

communicator that the message was received and understood. According to these

authors, these elements are exercised and move in varying directions throughout the

organization. The most common direction is downward from the positional leader on

to the lower participants of the organization. Kreps (1990) identified several func-

tions of the reverse scenario where communication originates from the bottom.

Upward communication does the following:

1. It provides mangers with feedback about current organizational issues
    and problems and information about day-to-day operations that they
    need for making decisions about directing the organization.
2. It is management's primary source of feedback for determining the
    effectiveness of its downward communication.
3. It relieves members' tensions by allowing lower-level organization
    members to share relevant information with their superiors.
4. It encourages members' participation and involvement, thereby enhanc-
    ing organizational cohesiveness. (p. 203)

Is upward communication important? The literature cited evidence that the failure of

the United States to prepare for the attack on Pearl Harbor was a communication

error. Higher ranking military intelligence failed to respond to a communication of

the impending attack sent by lower-ranking officers. With the need for effective

communication playing such a major role in organizations, methods to improve the

practice had become important tools for systems OD practitioners.

Zander (1993) proposed the following methods to improve communication

within organizations:

• Make sure that members know one another's duties, talents, and
problems so they can efficiently ask for and offer suitable information.

- Help members be comfortable with one another by providing opportunities for them to associate freely at meetings and at special occasions.
- Demonstrate to a member that his or her ideas have been useful to colleagues.
- Make differences of opinions visible to members because if members are friendly, they will want to develop a common view and talk with one another to do so.
- Promote cooperative relations among members and reducing rivalry among them.
- Explain and demonstrate to members that the organization depends on open communication among all members and staff. (p. 152-153)

Note that these recommendations cover the four possible directional flows of communication which include downward, upward, horizontal and diagonal. Though these methods also account for interpersonal communication, they inadequately address the barriers (i.e., noise or static) to effective communication since organizations themselves introduce "noise" into human communication (Townsend, 1976).

According to Townsend (1976), the significance of "noise," otherwise known as sources of discrepancy, is more pronounced when it affects internal and external communication. Clearly less noise is expected during internal communication. However, noise can occur internally as a result of poor equipment, turbulent internal environment, actors' (communicators') inability to clearly communicate, or hidden agendas pursued by communicators causing them to misinform, purposely "muffle" the communication. Furthermore, as Townsend (1976) pointed out, ". . . Even the best transmitters will fail if the intended recipients are unable and/or unwilling to receive and act on the messages" (p. 470).

Control Functions for Effective Organizations

The control of and within organizations was presented in the literature as a dichotomy enforced formally and informally. Power, authority and legitimacy were

the formal elements of control. The informal elements consisted of norms, mores and

folkways. It was well accepted, nevertheless, that all organizations control their

members (Scott, 1981, p. 275). Consistently found in this literature was the general

proposition that control affects participation, loyalty, and organizational productivity

(Boynton & Elitzak, 1982, p. 8). Using that same literature for guidance in their

research on member control of farmer cooperatives, Boynton and Elitzak (1982)

hypothesized that variation in member perceptions of control can be explained by:

1. Ease of access to cooperative personnel;
2. Quality of information about the cooperative;
3. Participation in cooperative activities;
4. The perceived effectiveness of avenues of influence in the cooperative;
5. Satisfaction with cooperative performance; and
6. Status characteristics. (p. 11)

Using Durkheim's (1951) social concept of anomie mentioned earlier, it was

established that norms and mores served a fundamental function in the preservation

(or in this case, control) of social systems and their members. Similarly, if organiza-

tions failed to show evidence of a distinctive normative structure and some regular

patterns of participant behavior, their existence became less discernible. Control in

organizations, Etzioni (1964) argued, is particularly crucial:

> The artificial quality of organizations, their high concern with performance,
> their tendency to be far more complex than natural units, all make informal
> control inadequate and reliance on identification with the job impossible. Most
> organizations, most of the time cannot rely on most of their participants to
> internalize their obligations to carry out their assignments voluntarily, without
> additional incentives. Hence, organizations require formally structured
> distribution of rewards and sanctions to support compliance with their norms,
> regulations, and orders. (p. 59)

Control, therefore, was manifested in many functions related to all organizations.

Power, on the other hand, as defined by Scott (1981), is the potential for influence based on one person's ability and willingness to sanction another person by manipulating rewards and punishments important to the other person (p. 277). The common design for organizations clearly defines a hierarchy of power indicating one position's control over another. The expression of power under those circumstances is situational and may take many forms. As an example, Etzioni reported that expert power which may develop in situations where lower participants in an organization, because of their access to information (e.g. a secretary) wield enough power to control certain critical functions and positions within it. Loomis (1960) also called this form of power voluntary influence (control). The goal here was to determine the lines of demarcation for power within effective organizations and the extent to which empowerment is valued.

Culture Of and Within Effective Organizations

Organizational culture had become quite popular during the last half of the 20th century and was well documented in the literature of organization development and organization behavior. The concept was nearly always discussed in light of the values which undergirded it. In short, values are the criteria applied in selecting the goals of behavior (Scott, 1981). As an example, Loomis (1961) stated that "An interweaving of values and needs is the stuff of culture, is defined by culture, and is transmitted through the society by the process of social interaction between actors whose personalities are constituted by the roles socially assigned to them" (p. 22). Schein (1985) defined culture as:

A pattern of basic assumptions--invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and integration--that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, has to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to their problems. (p. 9)

Ralph Linton's (1945) widely accepted definition of culture as ". . . the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society" (cited in Nord, 1976, p. 188) prevailed in current practices of assessing cultural differences in organizations. The 1990s view was in pursuit of diversity and strength in organizations. Both of these vantage points, however, contributed to the prevalence of the concept. More was known about the former than the latter. Throughout the 20th century these issues emerged as important because the U.S. society was founded on the tenets of democracy which called for the inclusion of all peoples in every facet of the system. Moreover, the geographic and demographic trends indicated that organizations would be well-advised to capitalize on the strengths and benefits tenable from different cultures.

As Morgan (1986) wrote:

One of the easiest ways of appreciating the nature of culture and subculture is simply to observe the day-to-day functioning of a group or organization to which one belongs, as if one were an outsider. . . . The characteristics of the culture being observed will gradually become evident as one becomes aware of the patterns of interaction between individuals, the language that is used, the images, the themes explored in conversation, and the various rituals of daily routine. And as one explores the rationale for these aspects of culture, one usually finds that there are sound historical explanations for the ways that things are done. (p. 121)

This study was designed to attempt to discern the extent to which these cultures evolved as a matter of history or a reaction to the increasing cultures shaping our environment. Though difficult, there was adequate information about the nature of

culture that could contribute to the exercise. The organizational culture was often value-based. Peters and Waterman (1982) gave prime direction, noting that "The [leader] not only creates the rational and tangible aspects of organizations such as structure and technology, but also is the creator of symbols and ideologies, language, beliefs, rituals and myths" (p. 104). Thus, the way leaders end up controlling culture, often subtly, includes language and slogans, legends and models, systems and sanctions, as well as self-modeling (Ivancevich & Matteson, 1993, p. 487). The foregoing suggested that history alone would not frame the organization's culture. According to Ivancevich and Matteson (1993), other key segments of organizational culture included: (a) the ways of structuring and why; (b) the ways of communicating and why; (c) the way that space, as a resource, is allocated and why; (d) the way the business of the organization is conducted (e.g. meetings); (e) the nature and purpose of the organization; (f) the nature of the publicly affirmed role models (spokespeople); and (g) the way that organizational effectiveness and efficiency are defined. There were still other possible segments which might have determined relationships of these variables with the overall pursuit of the organization.

Nord (1976) cited Weber's explanation for the rise of capitalism as a relationship between economic growth and cultural motivation. In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Weber maintained that the value orientation of Protestantism was instrumental in producing behavior conducive to the accumulation of capital necessary for industrial development (cited in Nord, 1976, p. 203). One other relationship worth mentioning is that of culture and commitment.

Capital Use and Formation Within Effective Organizations

The literature on financing nonprofits was linked directly to the previous

reports on the environment and its effects on nonprofits. "Because human service

organizations are dependent on external donors to finance their operations, they are

highly dependent on their environment, and consequently, readily affected by changes

in it" (Hasenfeld, 1983, p. 9). Weber (1947) defined the elements to which all these

organizations subscribe or somehow adhere as the following:

1. Authority is legally and rationally based and is distributed hierarchi-
cally--explains the urgency to formally register organizations and file
articles of incorporation with the State among other formalities;
2. Responsibilities for operating decisions are delegated to the various
work units--explaining the creation and use of committees and volunteer
work teams in many organizations;
3. Roles and positions are specialized--explaining the detailed offices,
positions and responsibilities;
4. Many activities are formalized and standardized--same as above; and
5. The rules governing the behavior of staff are applied universally--
explaining fairness and equity.

Missing from the above list is the fact that they were all pursuing the same philan-

thropic dollar. In 1994, over 80% of the total contribution to nonprofits came from

the private sector or individuals making donations. Consequently, capital was initially

viewed as the middle or enabling link to the other elements of institutionalization

because it (human capital as volunteers and financial capital) was viewed as the

lifeblood of all organizations.

Hasenfeld (1983) citing Brager and Holloway (1978) listed the three sources of

instability affecting the acquisition of funds by nonprofits:

1. The shifting availability of funds;
2. The conditions associated with their use; and
3. The dependence of the organization on funding sources.

One of the better known tactics of organizations as an adjustment to this instability involved goal adjustments or undergoing program innovations in pursuit of the money train. The results of these financially induced innovations were often quite obvious even leading to the demise of some organizations. The literature suggested that the organization's purpose, mission and goals ought to buffer against the financial pull of new foundation initiatives or government program announcements announced through Requests for Proposals (more commonly known as RFPs in the nonprofit community).

Many agreed on the merits of government funding and the historical "tree of money" appeal to nonprofits. As Rosenbaum (1981) noted, government funding allowed agencies and organizations to expand their operation to meet a broader range of needs and for services to be delivered more efficiently by taking advantage of existing networks that [may] have been built up over many years. However, there continued to be problems of conflict over specific accountability requirements, payment schedules, "de-obligating" funds [author's personal experience], and increasing bureaucratic hoops. Moreover, Rosenbaum (1981) reported, the RFPs and subsequent grants affect the basic management and governance of voluntary institutions and, in turn, their ability to continue serving in an independent and innovative role. Compounding matters was the U.S. Department of Treasury's, Financial Management Service report (January 1993) recommending the General Accounting Office, as a matter of law, require agencies and grant recipients to adhere to specific performance measures. A Performance Measurement Guide (November 1993) was subsequently issued pursuant to the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993. Essentially if the leader was not careful and judicious in the pursuit of capital

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s/he could place the organization in an unrelenting relationship with the federal

government twice removed from the stakeholders it started out serving.

The foregoing was intended to recapitulate the realities of capital formation in

nonprofits as opposed to deterring leaders away from program innovation and

proposal development exercises that could bring in needed revenues. The caution

however was that proposals ought to sell ideas not organizations. The minute they

start doing the latter, it was advised that organizational leaders should rethink the

approach and overall intention for responding to the RFP. As a safeguard to the

effects of overly consuming government grants, Rosenbaum (1981) recommended the

following:

1. Voluntary organizations should establish and use administrative services consortia to provide the professional services necessary for dealing with government contracts and grants.
2. Voluntary organizations should refuse to accept grants and contracts which impose overly-burdensome bureaucratic accountability requirements.
3. Voluntary organizations should not accept government funds until and unless Boards of Directors make a conscious affirmative decision that the government-supported program is compatible with the central mission of the organization.
4. The institutions of the voluntary sector acting through their sub-sector associations and umbrella organizations, should develop and adhere to minimum standards of accessibility and openness that will assure adequate clientele and donor participation in the planning, delivery and evaluation of services. (p. 88)

Consensus on Values (Coherence) Within Effective Organizations

Another important reported continuum contributing to the analysis of effective-

ness of organizations is the degree of consensus that is a measure of the degree to

which the organization is integrated as a collectivity (Etzioni, 1961, p. 128). The

context was set with Dewey's (1947) note that "Community building involves

communication. Consensus demands it." (p. 5). Etzioni (1961), while comparing

complex organizations, offered a thorough typology of consensus-spheres that were

consistent with his descriptors of organization types. The spheres Etzioni (1961)

identified are the following:

1. Consensus on general values--values that are customary to the organization in question, such as societal or community values, often include ultimate values.
2. Consensus on the organizational goals--the general business of the organization.
3. Consensus on means, policies or tactics--the degree of consensus about what means, policies or tactics are to be used.
4. Consensus on participation in the organization--for nonprofit organizations (the focus of this study), this kind of consensus is reflected in agreement about the frequency of participation.
5. Consensus on performance obligations--the degree of consensus about the duties and responsibilities organization members are to carry out.
6. Consensus on cognitive perspectives--concurrence about facts; assumes a common language, a shared frame of reference. (p. 128-130).

Effective operation was the ultimate aim of organizations and thereby the end sought

through consensus. The question remained, however; consensus on what?

The literature was replete with studies on the role of consensus on values.

Drawing from the ". . . historical ethos of religious charity and philanthropy," which

was first characterized by the Native Americans at Plymouth Rock, Bush (1992)

wrote, the early nonprofit managers operated in a manner that encouraged volunteer-

ism and collective engagement to resolve problems facing their communities (Bush,

1992, p. 391-392). As a point of contention, some "apply-side" [author's terminolo-

gy] scholars of OD theory were suggesting for nonprofit managers to emulate the

competition-based management approach inherent in private sector theory and practice

(i.e., Dabbs, 1991; Schilit, 1990). This view was equally refuted. In his scholarly

work "Survival of the Nonprofit Spirit in a For-Profit World" Bush (1992) argued

that:

>administration in the voluntary sector should be mission based and mission driven; be grounded in the historical traditions of altruism, compassion and philanthropy; remain sensitive to the key value of volunteerism and to the phenomenon of the volunteers themselves; continue to act as mediating structures between the individual, the community, and the public and private organizations of modern society; emphasize cooperation and collaboration over conflict and competition in the administration of sector organizations; and develop and practice a type of leadership compatible with the values and differences inherent in the independent sector. (p. 391)

Rather than myopic, this view appears most utopian. Instead of mission based,

Bolman and Deal (1991) had made convincing arguments that administration and

organizations should be values based, mission driven.

According to Scott (1974), there was another vantage point to understanding

consensus in nonprofits. He stated that "The values of conservative theory corre-

spond to American utilitarian beliefs that hold material growth to efficacious, material

abundance to be limitless, and consensus to be the natural manner of human relation-

ships" (p. 244). Speaking further on this set of values, he submitted that:

>These values are interlaced through the paradigmatic structure of contemporary management theory and practice in that organization growth creates organiza-tional abundance, or surplus, which is used by management to buy off internal consensus from the potentially conflicting interest group segments that compete for resources in organizations (Scott, 1974, p. 244-245).

According to the author, *consensus* depended on management's success in creating

organizational surpluses (*abundance*) through *growth* to share among the stakeholders.

Therein lay the cruxes of the paradigmatic values that controlled the classical and

systems models that have served as theoretical grounding throughout this study.

A most provocative contribution was made by Houghland, Jr. and Christenson,

(1982) regarding this intricately woven construct. Their approach was to look at

values as "economical sets of high-level guidance systems." Their reason was

because ". . . values are likely to influence individuals' decisions about the organiza-

tions in which they will participate, and organizational participation, in turn, is likely

to reinforce or to modify member's values" (Houghland, Jr. & Christenson, 1982, p.

9). The American values they identified were categorized under social and personal

values. The social values (Houghland, Jr. & Christenson, 1982) were the following:

- Moral integrity
- Patriotism
- Political democracy
- Helping others
- National progress
- Equality (racial) [sic]
- Equality (sexual). (p. 11)

The personal values (Houghland, Jr. & Christenson, 1982) were the following:

- Personal freedom
- Work
- Being practical and efficient
- Achievement
- Material comfort
- Leisure
- Individualism. (p. 11)

They measured these values across several types of organizations ranging from farms

to labor unions using aggregate-level data that limited their ability to make definitive

statements about the effects of organizational experience on values. The implications

of their findings applied to new organization entrepreneurs looking for a base of

support from the environment and targeting those groups who share the values of the

potential nonprofit [significant assuming the values-based organization orientation].

Schutz (1956) reported that another important aspect of consensus involves decision-making. At the onset, the organization must decide how it will arrive to final decisions. Customarily and by Robert's Rule, majority and unanimity make up the *modus operandi*. "If consensus is not required," Schutz (1956) explained, "decisions can often be made more quickly, but delay will probably result, due to the unacknowledged members having various ways of resisting once the decision has been made and the action is undertaken" (p. 552). Consensus essentially means that everyone in a group feels that the group understands her/his position and feelings about a decision. Schutz (1956) expertly handled this explanation with the following example:

> Let us suppose that a group, perhaps a committee, has gotten together with the task of deciding a particular issue. The issue has come to a vote, and the vote is fairly decisive, say six to two. The two people in the minority, however, do not really feel that they have had an opportunity to express their feelings about the issue. Although they are committed to go along with the decision, they have an inner reluctance to do so. This covert reluctance may manifest itself in any of the symptoms already mentioned. Perhaps the most common symptom is a loss of interest, although this situation could be expected to give rise to any of them. (p. 552)

Intuitively clear, yet he continued:

> Another good indicator of lack of consensus is any attempt by a member to postpone a decision by further discussion or by further action of some kind. Comments like, "What is it we are voting on?" or "Weren't we supposed to discuss something else first?" or "I have no objection to that, but . . ." all indicate that the individual is not yet ready to cast a positive vote for a given decision. S/he probably has no objection that ought to be brought out into the open and discussed. [After] allowing the objector to raise his/her point for discussion . . . the objector will be more likely to go along with the final decision--or may eventually carry the day because s/he reflect[ed] some objections that other people had but were not aware of. (p. 552-553)

These studies pointed out that when in pursuit of organizational effectiveness, discussion of previously "covert factors" is extremely important. Transformational

leadership suggested the identification and proper handling of these opportunities

should they arise in the emerging institution.

Compliance Within Effective Organizations

One of the most prominent contributions to the sociology of organizations was

the Etzioni (1961) typology of organizations. In his famed work A Comparative

Analysis of Complex Organizations, Etzioni (1961) categorized organizations by the

types of compliance systems they use. According to Etzioni (1961) normative

organizations use moral control to influence the behavior of their members (e.g.,

religious organizations, voluntary associations). Utilitarian organizations use remu-

neration (reward) as a basis for control of their members (e.g. factories, corpora-

tions). Finally, coercive organizations are those that use force or coercion to control

their members (e.g. prisons, armies). In some circles compliance was said to occur

when an individual accepts influence from another person or from a group because

s/he hopes to achieve a favorable reaction from others (Kelman, 1961, cited in Nord,

1976, p. 513). Nord (1976) succinctly dissected these typologies with the following:

> The compliance system used by the organization also raises distinctive struc-
> tural issues that must be resolved. A normative compliance system is highly
> dependent on the ability of the staff to develop effective interpersonal relations
> with the clients and to serve as models for identification. A utilitarian system
> requires that the organization controls the necessary resources that are desired
> by the client. A coercive compliance system must ensure that the client will
> not escape the system, or develop mechanisms to counteract and neutralize the
> coercive measures. (p.7)

Etzioni's (1961) purported to describe not only the behavior of and within organiza-

tions but member commitment as well.

Pearce (1983), however, working with a sample of 101 respondents from 14 service organizations, developed a series of hypotheses that failed to support many of the hypotheses drawn from Etzioni's (1961) work. In fact, she concludes, ". . . it appears as if Etzioni's (1961) compliance-based classification of organizations is not as useful in understanding internal influence processes as had been hoped" (Pearce, 1983, p. 28). With t = 3.31 and a p-value < .0001 one-tail, the first hypothesis derived from Etzioni (1961) that "Those holding positions of formal authority in utilitarian organizations are more influential than their counterparts in normative organizations. . ." was not supported (Pearce, 1983, p. 23, 27). Her poignant question was, "Why are members' reports contrary to the hypothesis drawn from Etzioni's (1961) theory, and laymen's [sic] understanding of these organizational types?" (p. 27) Pearce's (1983) study and that of other scholars continued to raise reservations about the relevance of Etzioni's (1961) compliance systems concept. While not directly testing his typology in this study, it was interesting to note and explore the applications of the compliance concept to the institutionalization process.

Commitment Within Effective Organizations

In framing effective organizations, there was a concern in the literature for the level of commitment expressed by organizational members to its mission and purpose. For this study commitment was defined as a sense of identification, involvement, and loyalty expressed by a member toward the organization. As Gouldner (1958, March) noted, "Every social system, the modern organization included, requires that its members have some degree of loyalty to it as a distinctive social structure. This would seem all the more likely if the organization operates in a threatening

environment" (cited in Glaser, 1968, p. 164). He further maintained that ". . .

organizations presumably place less stress on loyalty when their mood is one of self-

confidence and security, and when they are on the rise vis-à-vis their competitors"

(Gouldner, March 1958 cited in Glaser, 1968, p. 165). Thus, in a more general

sense, organizational commitment refers to the nature of the relationship of the

member to the system as a whole (Grusky, 1966 cited in Glaser, 1968, p. 188).

Administratively, early nonprofit founders and managers ". . . ran organiza-

tions in a manner best characterized by spiritual and religious fervor, evangelical

hope, and deep faith that commitment to mission would preserve the organization both

in good times and bad" (Bush, 1992, p. 391). Yet this study began with questions

about whether commitment alone could carry or propel a nonprofit through and

beyond the turbulence of the environment. Intuitively, commitment could have been

suggested as the cornerstone of the elements needed for institutionalization. This

intuition could have held as truth on the simple fact that commitment was a humanis-

tic resource. Paradoxically, however materialistic (capital, supplies, office space,

etc.) resources were also needed to breathe life into organization functions and

general maintenance--but which was more important?

Maslow's (1954) needs motivation theory was applicable as factors determin-

ing the level of commitment were considered. "Convergence of belief and reality

would tend to strengthen commitment, while divergence should cause a decrease in

commitment" (Grusky, 1966 cited in Glaser, 1968, p. 188). Glaser (1968) cited

Grusky's (1966) work on career mobility which yielded the following conclusions:

      1.   In general, strength of organizational commitment was positively
              associated with seniority;

2.   Managers who experienced maximum career mobility were generally more strongly committed to the organization than were less managers;

3.   Managers who were moderately mobile did not show any uniformity in their pattern of commitment that distinguished them from the less mobile managers; and in eight out of nine comparisons,

4.   Managers with a high school education showed a stronger commitment to the organization than did managers with college experience; and

5.   Female managers were more strongly committed than male managers on each of the indexes. (pp. 189-190)

Other myths (similar to those debunked by the Glaser study) continued to pervade the literature and cloud the picture that could be had about nonprofits. As a result of the exploration into these and other elements, it was perceived that a more holistic assessment of the processes toward institutionalization could be developed.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a review and analysis of the literature on organizations and organization development. First the process was framed using the systems approach. Applying systems thinking to organization studies gave the advantage of experiencing (or at least pursuing) the entirety of the organization. Organizations were discussed and described as open systems. Therefore, the systems approach permitted the view of organizations as multiple overlapping sub-systems mutually pursuing growth and development. Still, during this framing of nonprofits, a unique take on the significance of organizations and organizing and what they mean to the suprasystem was offered. Organizations were shown as integral stages in the development of social systems.

The literature review was a significant component of this study. It was to be applied in generating information and answering key questions raised about nonprofits. One of those questions dealt with the nature of the relationships between effective

organizations and the environment. A full section of the chapter dealt with the major findings identified during the review. Again, the systems approach was applied. The significance was pronounced by the "living" characteristics often assigned to nonprofits. Through this review process, the going prescriptions for dealing with the turbulence and dynamism of the environment were brought to light.

Also accomplished within this chapter was a contingency view on organizational effectiveness. The contingency view of organizations is tangential to the systems concept by seeking to mitigate the interrelationships among subsystems as well as between the organization and its environment. A holistic framing of organizational effectiveness was needed to complement the general sweeping nature of the study. This portion of the literature was relatively dense and made manageable by applying the contingency view. A functional framework was offered that captures four contingency models of organizational effectiveness.

The questions about program adjustments and the impact felt by managers and leaders within the study were also resolved by the review of literature. Specific recommendations were made for emerging organizations concerned program and policy adjustments, over time, to cope with the constant market fluctuations. Along those same lines, the leadership role and functions of management throughout this process were made clear for aspiring OD practitioners. For example, the impact enjoyed by founding members was reviewed so to better prepare future conceptualizers of nonprofits.

Having fulfilled the one objective (Objective 1) directly linked to the review of literature, a detailed discussion on the institutionalization paradigms(s) was presented.

From the literature, some seven specific psychosocial variables were identified as being significant to the institutionalization process. A summary on institutionalization was presented to contextualize the existing paradigm. Each of the psychosocial variables were described in detail to measure the extent to which they could collectively contribute to the institutionalization of nonprofits. The researcher, by using ethnographic methods to arrive at the experiences and understand the meaning made by the organization, intended to generate theory that would add considerable depth to the existing body of knowledge on OD.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

In education as well as other areas of social practice, [the] case study is a legitimate methodological option for researchers to consider when designing a study. . . . The qualitative case study is a particularly suitable methodology for dealing with critical problems of practice and extending the knowledge base of various aspects of education.

--Sharan B. Merriam, 1988

Methodology

The major purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive description of the procedures used to frame organizations as institutions in the marketplace. The theoretical construct supporting this process will help answer some questions raised for this research. Moreover, the reviewed literature guided the methodology and principles used for collecting and analyzing the data.

The entry statement to this chapter is a relic of the old paradigm of qualitative studies. Almost every effort of that sort, especially for doctoral dissertations, had to "legitimize" the selection of qualitative over quantitative methods of data collection and subsequent analysis. During this research, a new paradigm had emerged relative to organizational research that suggested otherwise. In a summarizing note, Patton (1980) addressed this emerging paradigm principle, concluding that:

> The issues of selecting methods should no longer be one of the dominant paradigm versus the alternative paradigm, of experimental designs with quantitative measurement versus holistic-inductive designs based on qualitative measurement. The debate and competition between paradigms should be

replaced by a new paradigm--a paradigm of choices. The paradigm of choices recognizes that different methods are appropriate for different situations. (p. 20)

The broad acceptance of this new paradigm was due in part to the growing applications of qualitative studies and the increasing concurrent use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Technological advances had enabled researchers to quantify beyond the naturally quantifiable discrete variables. In organizational studies an example of simultaneous application was in the treatment of continuous variables like commitment and compliance that could take on any value along a scale or continuum. Organizational inquiry was replete with these types of truth patterns. In fact, the much discussed dynamism of organizations in many cases could have potentially lead to many cases of heteroscedasticity where there was no uniformity of the data distribution on a scattergram. This condition was critical in quantitative efforts to develop new theory. Theory formation in qualitative studies, however, rely more on the experiences and the meanings given to specific phenomena.

Research Design

The major question pursued for this study was posed to generate theory on associations' founding, management, effectiveness, and permanence. Other salient questions also were expected to guide the theory development process. Qualitative methods were used to generate the data that would help develop a theory closely applicable to other organizations. As an attempt to clarify and give meaning to naturally occurring phenomena, qualitative designs were open-ended and interpretative. Case studies, field studies, and occasional field experiments had been used to analyze effectiveness [of organizations] (Lawler et al., 1985). Qualitative research

was more concerned with the meaning of what is observed. Since organizations are

so complex, the following characteristics of qualitative research, explained by Van

Maanen (1983), proved it ideal for studying organizations:

1. **Analytical induction.** Qualitative research begins with the close-up, firsthand inspection of organizational life.

2. **Proximity.** Researchers desire to witness firsthand what is being studied. If the application of rewards is what is being studied, the researcher would want to observe episodes of reward distribution.

3. **Ordinary behavior.** The topics of research interest should be ordinary, normal, routine behaviors.

4. **Descriptive emphasis.** Qualitative research seeks descriptions for what is occurring in any given place and time. The aim is to disclose and reveal, not merely to order data and to predict.

5. **Shrinking variance.** Qualitative research is geared toward the explanation of similarity and coherence. Greater emphasis is placed on commonality and on things shared in organizational settings than on things not shared.

6. **Enlighten the consumer.** The consumer of qualitative research could be a manager, a member or a donor. A major objective is to enlighten without confusing him/her. This enlightenment is accomplished by providing commentary that is coherent and logically persuasive. (p. 255-56)

Using these inherent characteristics of qualitative research, a procedural guide was

developed as a means to collect the data. Figure 7 is an outline of that procedure.

The study began with telephone conversations to assess the willingness of

certain organizations to participate in the study. Then, consent forms, sample of

which can be found in Appendix A, were sent to potential participants in this study.

One of the critical steps in this study was identifying the organizations whose experi-

ences would be the crux of this study. There was a need to secure willing participa-

tion from three organizations that represented three program areas of the Michigan

State University Extension (MSUE). There were more of these nonprofits serving the

agriculture and natural resources programs. The Michigan Agricultural Stewardship

Induction and Introduction
o   Meet with MSU Extension to identify participants o   Establish criteria for participation and selection o   Preliminary contact with three organizations' leaders
Participant Observation and Interviews
o   Telephone contact with organization representatives o   Letter and consent form mailed to each participant o   Introductory meeting with participating organizations o   Participate in organization meetings as an observer o   Interview organization stakeholders and beneficiaries o   Interview users and clients of the organizations
Sharing and Verifying Results
o   Invite feedback to transcripts from interviewees o   Invite feedback to analytical summary from interviewees o   Follow-up on summaries and other feedback o   Submit final analysis for validation and more feedback o   Insert revised and validated write-up in document

Figure 7. Data collection procedure.

Association was ultimately selected to represent that constituency. One organization

had to represent the community and economic development component of MSUE.

Tuscola 2001 was selected as the nonprofit serving that program area. Finally, a

third organization had to represent the children, youth and families program area of

Michigan State Extension. Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated, with its

headquarters in Lansing, MI was chosen to represent that program area. Those three

organizations were analyzed in depth through this case study.

Selection of Study Participants

Glaser and Strauss (1967) outlined a theoretical sampling procedure for selecting participants. This process includes data and material collection, analysis for patterns, formulation of new questions, and follow-up on new sources of information based on the information (knowledge) being acquired. Particular attention was placed on the three organizations ultimately selected to respond to the major questions of this study. Sample questions used to conduct the formal interviews are presented in Appendix B. The institutions' respective leaders were each sent a consent form. It detailed and described to the readers the scope of the study, as well as the rights of its participants. Such consent not only satisfied University policies for proper use of human subjects but also it introduced the study so as to acquaint future respondents with the process. In qualitative research, particularly those that use interviews, the researcher is advantaged by developing a relationship of familiarity and comfort with potential interviewees. The resulting informality facilitates inquiry by probing with questions omitted from those planned or specific to the particular organization being studied.

The literature review allowed key discoveries about past methodologies that had been applied to the study of organizational effectiveness. However, cases of organizations pursuing institutionalization were underrepresented. From the dialogue in Chapter Two, one can surmise that such coverage would continue to be scant considering the general perception held about nonprofits and the "achievement" of institution status. It was almost as if such status was looked upon as the natural processes of aging wine and rum--the higher the vintage, the better the quality. Good

reasons existed for this metaphor. Most institution building scholars included an age (number of years in existence) variable in their definition of institutionalization. Thus, as the organization naturally arrived to that specified "age," it was considered an institution. Meanwhile, that same literature contained references where institution-alization was linked to effectiveness. It did not suggest that those organizations were possibly operating along a continuum consisting of time, effectiveness, years in operation, member commitment, among other intervening variables. This study had the implicit goal to do that.

Though grounded in sociological, psychological, education and organization theories, this qualitative study's relationship to agricultural extension, particularly Extension (MSUE), and the roles individuals in the profession had served and could continue to play in the institutionalization of nonprofits, was especially followed. Pursuing this broad understanding, a few MSU Extension personnel were contacted to identify organizations that may have received assistance from MSUE during concep-tualization. While they personally were not involved, they were able to cite several organizations that began through empowerment efforts by MSUE agents. During this process, a provocatively leading recommendation was offered and adopted. To the extent that this study was an Extension Education effort, it was suggested that the cases represent the main Extension program areas (i.e., agriculture and natural resources; community and economic development; and children, youth and families). Now settled on the population, the vacation and travel schedules of key informants hampered the continuous work of identifying "ideal" participants. A new method was invoked.

The advent of computing technology was slowly and effectively infiltrating the normal operations of nonprofits. Many organizations, not-for-profits and nonprofits alike, had explored and continued to participate as wayfarers "on the information superhighway." MSU Extension's CEENet and the Pennsylvania State University's Penn Pages were but two examples of the growing number of organizations communicating internally with their members and externally with their stakeholders, beneficiaries and suppliers (donors). As a past and adjunct member of the former organization, the researcher drafted a memo--shown in Appendix C--that was circulated instantaneously to the complete list of 640 MSU Extension faculty and staff both in residence and off-campus. Responses to the request for potential participants identified the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA), the Youth Development Corporation (YDC) and Tuscola 2001 among many other appropriate and eligible organizations. A detailed description of these organizations is included in this chapter.

In selecting these organizations, the researcher focused on organizations that were said to (a) have received initial or founding support from MSUE, (b) represented one of the Extension program areas, (c) were nonprofit in nature, and (d) showed signs of permanence (could have been considered as an institution). Using the aforementioned approaches, the researcher also applied Glaser and Strauss' (1967) recommendation to select the population as a group of people with a great likelihood to provide information related to the problem area. The success of this study, therefore, was based on their willingness to allow the careful study of their effective organizations.

Number of Study Participants

Three organizations were selected. Two instruments were applied in collecting the data for this study. The researcher--the 'human instrument' in constructivist terminology--was necessary and became familiar with the purposes of the organization and comfortable with the humanistic machinations within the nonprofit (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The structured instrument shown in Appendix B was used to probe for the opinions of leaders, emerging leaders and members/users of the institutions. Prior to contacting those individuals within and in the operating environment of the institutions two in-depth conversations (interviews) were conducted with two key officials from each organization. These discussions were conducted prior to the formal interviews. They were used to frame the study and clarify aspects that were, up until that point, unclear. As the literature on ethnographic studies suggested, a summary form shown in Appendix D was used to frame the context of the meetings.

The detailed review of the effectiveness concept from the review of literature led to the identification of the types of individuals who would be needed as respondents for this study. Those individuals did prove useful. After discriminating from organizational and societal goals for the organization, it was important to identify those individuals or organizations from the environment, with previous working relationships, who could corroborate the notion of the organization's effectiveness. During the initial contact, this information about users and beneficiaries in the environment was solicited from the contact person. Out of those, three referrals from

each organization were pursued. In addition, two individuals (members) from each organization were selected to participate in face to face interviews with the researcher.

Description of Participating Organizations

A clear frame of reference was needed during discussions about nonprofits. The notion that organizations vary from one another was almost cliché and had been thoroughly covered by this author. Still important was the understanding of contextual matters and the perspective from which the emerging theories arose. Perspective in ethnographic explorations was significant. The researcher had often battled the cries against subjectivity as if there was ever "real," "full," or "complete" objectivity in any research--qualitative or otherwise. The very selection of the research topic was a subjective act. In deference to this concern, the author secured the consent from the organization leaders participating to give details about their organization, their history, purpose, mission, status, major contributions and plans for the future. Most of this information was readily available from the organization's respective constitution and by-laws, articles of incorporation, informational brochures, advertisements, project papers and/or annual reports. Each selected organization manifested unique characteristics and functions that otherwise made them ideal for participation in the study. The following sections describe the participating organizations, their formation and *raison d'être*.

Tuscola 2001, Inc.

What began as a project during the spring of 1989 soon gave way to a concerted, county-wide effort to promote Tuscola County, Michigan. Tuscola 2001,

Inc. is the result of a partnership among the Tuscola County Cooperative Extension (now Michigan State University Extension Tuscola County), Economic Development Corporation and Tuscola County Board of Commissioners. Later Great Lakes Junior College joined the alliance to begin developing an organization and a broader plan involving community commitment. The impetus for their organizing effort was easily explained by the growing incidence of stifling rural communities (small towns) or the rapid demise of the same across the U.S. landscape.

The organization was, according to news reports from the local print media ". . . a countywide effort on the part of leaders, residents, employers, students and concerned citizens dedicated to making Tuscola County a better place to live, work and play." Noting MSUE's early involvement, the organization developed a "Blueprint for Action" based on community assets, needs and goals. The document listed their anticipated goals for economic, educational and employment goals by the year 2001 (hence the name Tuscola 2001). The organization founders began by building seven core committees--agriculture and natural resources, government, business and personal services, education, manufacturing, tourism and retail--and then contacting and coalescing countywide leaders in business, education, government and other areas within the community.

Tuscola 2001, Inc. operated under section 501 (c)(6) of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Code governing organizations. This nonprofit determination was granted to business leagues, chambers of commerce, real estate boards, boards of trade, professional football leagues and others with related activities. These organizations were primarily supported by membership dues and other income from activities

substantially related to its exempt purpose. Their contributions to the organizations were not exempted by the IRS but were deductible as trade or business expenses if ordinary and necessary in the conduct of the taxpayer's business.

Although the organization could have permissibly engaged in any amount of legislative activity germane to the common business interests of Tuscola 2001 members, it continued to choose not to do so. The organization maintained an apolitical posture citing the following call to action:

> Tuscola 2001, Inc. will improve the quality of life for the residents of our county by making this a better place to raise a family, locate a business, get an education, find a job or spend [our] leisure time. The projects of Tuscola 2001, Inc. are designed to enhance the business climate of the county, advance the employability of our workforce, create new leadership and make the most of [our] recreational resources for the future.

These items related to the appropriate labeling and registration with the IRS and state governing boards were significant for all organizations. Tuscola 2001 was registered in the State of Michigan, headquartered in an office in Caro, Michigan, engaged in (holistic--according to the author) community and economic development and recognized by and held a charter from the Governor of Michigan.

By most accounts, the literature suggested Tuscola 2001, Inc. was an institution. The time variable was missing here and conspicuously so as it would be presented later during theory formulation processes inherent within this work. A more important reason, however, for showcasing effective organizations such as this one (and the other two in this work) is the implication to other communities and leaders who will view this work as a "guide" and implement strategies similar to those of Tuscola 2001, for example, hoping to arrive at similar effectiveness and community building. After all, as Bogdan and Biklen (1992) point out, it is common

that "Some qualitative researchers hope to empower their research informants and encourage them to gain control over their experiences in their analyses of them" (p. 49).

Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association.

In the area of agriculture and natural resources, many organizations could have been selected for this study. Agricultural organizations dated back to the 1600s in the U.S. Some organizations like the Grange, Farm Bureau, Cotton Clubs, New Farmers of America and Future Farmers of America (FFA) had either withstood the changes in the environment, changed their scope and purpose, ceased to exist or reinvented themselves to better relate to the new demands of the marketplace. As an example, the FFA was no longer an all-boy organization of future American farmers; it had become the National FFA organization. Beyond the fact that previous research had adequately covered the relevance and contributions of these organizations to the profession, postmodern inquirers had to answer a different set of questions about the nature of agriculture and natural resource organizations in general. Some of these questions have been raised in this study. A review of the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA) permitted a different level of analysis of the evolving dynamics of organizational life, organizational theory and our general understanding about organizations.

The Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association was a statewide, nonprofit educational organization committed to the development and use of sustainable farming systems. The nonprofit was officially formed in January 1991 by a group of innovative farmers and agricultural professionals. Many of those professionals and others

who had used the services of MASA considered it an effective organization and thus

the reason for its inclusion in this study. Individually, some members had the view

that the organization would ". . . become known as the environmentally concerned

organization in agriculture, but one concerned about economics as well" (Personal

Interview with member from MASA). Some others aspired to develop a network of

members doing on-farm research and talking to each other about farm practices that

were sustainable and that work for them. For a successful network to function,

people were needed to have sufficient local participation to better express conditions

to which the varying communities could relate.

Another reason for including MASA in this study stemmed from one of its key

missions which was to form a new and collaborative relationship with the scientists

and extension specialists at the state land grant university. MSU Extension played a

prominent role in the start-up of this organization; now one of its key administrators

(as of January 1995) was on the Advisory Board of the organization. At first glance

the researcher was able to determine the relationship between the established and

emerging organization.

From its informative newsletters and other bulletin statements, the mission of

MASA indicated that the organization worked to: (a) Increase awareness and educate

the public on sustainable agriculture issues; (b) promote research that will determine

the sustainability of alternative farming systems; (c) aid in the development of sustain-

able agricultural techniques for use on Michigan's Farms and assist in their adoption

by Michigan Farmers; and (d) encourage cooperation between producers, agribusi-

ness, researchers and government agencies for the development of sustainable farming

systems. Soil conservation, water quality and wildlife issues were also concerns of MASA members. The organization was driven by the belief that Michigan producers needed access to practical, readily usable information on sustainable farming systems. The organization conducted field days, workshops and farmer meetings throughout the year to educate its members about ways to reduce some of their negative ecological impacts associated with agricultural production and to farm more profitably. The organization participated in the establishment of on-farm demonstration and research plots, designed by farmers and agricultural professionals to compare conventional and alternative production methods.

Youth Development Corporation, Inc.

Many different results emerged from the Model Cities-City Demonstration Agency Program of the early '70s. Some of the related activities dissipated with the same momentum that originated them. The reality of their circumstance was that new organizations, projects and ideas continually predominated the environment. Often the intent of the founding members was to mitigate the conditions of a turbulent environment, with increasing challenges and opportunities, and a diminishing pool of resources. Related to that intention was the hope that elements within the environment could be bundled to maintain some of the more quality programs started.

One of these programs serving the Lansing, Michigan Tri-County area youths was the Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated (YDC). Model Cities phased out in 1975 yet YDC continued to serve young adults from three Lansing area counties, Ingham, Eaton, and Clinton, the governmental unit of East Lansing and the city of Lansing. The nonprofit endured with the following mission: Youth

Development Corporation will assist youth [sic] with their self-development by providing guidance towards a meaningful self-reliant future. Survival, however, was achieved despite dramatic decreases in funding from a maximum of $1.5 million dollars (budgeted for 3 years) and 40 employed staff to a current (as of FY 1994-1995) budget of $196,000 and six employees (four full- and two part-time), and approximately 20 volunteers. Interns from Michigan State University and other local colleges made up a large percentage of the volunteers, all of whom contributed to the work of the Capital Area United Way participating association.

The nonprofit was identified primarily as a delinquency prevention program with supplemental funds from Housing, Education, and Welfare Departments and the Law Enforcement Administrative Assistance program. Over the course of the years and in pursuit of its mission, YDC had provided outreach, youth councils and seminars, youth employment and other efforts to better serve its constituents. It also had attempted different collaborative arrangements to stay active and relevant to real needs by securing moneys within the areas of employment, career exploration and counseling, delinquency, diversion and prevention, individual and family counseling, and information and referral systems.

Selecting YDC to participate in the study followed the same procedure that yielded the identification of Tuscola 2001, Inc. and MASA. One of the field staff representative of MSUE responded to the electronic inquiry (via CEENet) with information about an organization she had worked with when she was employed in the Lansing area. She even thought the organization "by now" was defunct since they always had had financial problems. The researcher then decided to include this

organization in the sample as one that made many attempts towards institutionalization and failed. YDC was expected to shed some light on what not to do in pursuit of effectiveness and permanence. In addition to the perception that the MSUE employee was involved with YDC's founding, the organization was viewed as a failed attempt to contrast the other two cases. Regardless of its standing in the marketplace, the organization represented one of the Extension program areas (Children, Youth and Families).

The researcher became informed about the status and characteristics of the organization after the first introductory telephone conversation. First, the contact person revealed that the organization was still operating albeit under stressful financial conditions. Further inquiry proved that the organization maintained and continued to pursue the same mission since its founding; it had done so for 21 years to date. The leaders of the organization were considered talented, dedicated and respected individuals within their respective communities. According to the "traditional" definition of institution outlined in the literature and covered exhaustively in Chapter Two of this work, YDC was an institutionalized organization as proven by the City of Lansing budget. Now, fascinated with this typology and its expression across the three cases in this study, the researcher set out to deconstruct the institutionalization paradigm. The YDC experiences were viewed as crucial elements to reframing the institution building paradigm.

Data Collection Methods

One of the more popular complaints about case studies, the methodology of choice for this study, was the difficulty to generalize from one case to another. In

reality, could we ever arrive at a case representative of all organizations? The problem lies in the very notion of generalizing to other case studies. As Yin (1984) noted, "An analyst should try to generalize findings to 'theory,' analogous to the way a scientist generalizes from experimental results to theory" (p. 39). Toward this end, data was collected and then used to develop a theory relative to the phenomena and circumstances surrounding the organization. Even for respondents who indicated they had no previous experience with organization theory, it was most fascinating to witness the application and development of theory (some of which was already expressed) in the review of literature.

Data collection was pursued using in-depth personal interviews, document analyses, archival data, statistics and participant observation. During the personal interviews, it was important to note the sentiments of the members as well as that of the users of the organization. The question guiding this line of inquiry was the extent of the relativistic inquiry on institutionalization. This method was consistent with postmodern thought which suggested that you can only know something from a certain position. Note that the postmodernists emphasized interpretation and writing as central features of research (Van Maanen, 1988).

Use of Interviews in Organization Research

Interviews are a satisfactory way to get at people's understanding of their own behavior, or their definitions of the situation. The open-ended interview enables the maximization of respondents' rich breadth of experience. Further, this method enables the researcher to reformulate the problem and modify questions and categories

during the course of the investigation. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) adequately ex-

plained the use of interviews in qualitative research saying that:

> . . . interviews can be used in two ways. They may be the dominant strategy for data collection, or they may be employed in conjunction with participant observation, document analysis, or other techniques. In all of these situations the interview is used to gather descriptive data in the subjects' own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of [their] world. (p. 96)

Merriam (1988) highlights another way that interviews could be used. Key infor-

mants must be identified. She recites and emphasizes that the interviewer convey the

idea that early interviews are part of a preliminary exploration that will lead to

identifying key informants. As identified by Taylor and Bogdan (1984) the following

issues were discussed with the interviewees prior to every interview:

1. The researcher's motives and intentions and reasons for conducting the investigations.
2. The protection of respondents through the use of pseudonyms.
3. Deciding who has final say over the study's content.
4. Reward for the organization (i.e., in-kind service, consultation, etc., if requested).
5. Logistics with regard to time, place, and number of interviews to be scheduled *en total*. (p. 87-88)

The literature reported all of the foregoing usually goes well assuming key character-

istics of the interviewer. For example, Merriam (1988) quoting from Whyte (1982)

reiterated:

> Like the therapist, the research interviewer listens more than he [she] talks, and listens with a sympathetic and lively interest. He finds it helpful occasionally to rephrase and reflect back to the informant what he seems to be expressing and to summarize the remarks as a check on understanding. (cited on p. 75)

This particular researcher had undergone interviewing exercises prior to this case

study through some classroom and fieldwork. This experience was important

considering, as Merriam (1988) noted, the particular interaction between the inter-

viewer and respondent will determine the type of data extracted (p. 75).

The full interview process lasted from 31 March 1995, when the initial

telephone conversations were held to schedule first interviews, to 31 May 1995 when

the last comments were required from respondents for final validation. The last

respondent's validated comments actually arrived on 8 June 1995 slightly extending

the anticipated schedule for this study. Throughout that time span, the researcher

participated as an observer in board meetings, consulted with individuals whom the

interviewees identified as knowledgeable users who could support their notion of

institutionalization, and reviewed an extensive list of documents (secondary archival

data) so to remain consistent with this deconstructionist (or postmodern) approach to

theory generation. The author had learned through literature review and experience

that from this method, writings in the form of text in papers, manuscripts, articles,

and books cannot be taken for granted and do become objects to study (Van Maanen,

1988). Each interview lasted for a minimum of 1 hour and 30 minutes. Most of the

participants were great conversationalists and so willing to share their experiences

with someone (particularly the author) whom they believed was able to help them give

meaning to their experiences as members or leaders within organizations.

Other Qualitative Methods in Organization Research

Using archival data, researching material artifacts, interpreting language, and

using on-site participation to research stories and myths are popular qualitative

procedures (Van Maanen, Dabbs, Jr. & Faulkner, 1982). The goal during

this research was to find evidence or recommendations of the characteristics that

institutions show. Organizational criteria, such as adaptability, coordination, growth, use of the environment, and flexibility, among other possible characteristics, were particularly sought. Previous experiences and repeated references in the literature substantiated this expectation. Leadership standards and practices were among those attributes closely monitored while conducting this investigation, since the effects of organizational leadership were so well-documented in the literature (Berkowitz, 1987; Dyson & Dyson, 1989; Mayer, 1981; Rich, 1980; Williams, 1985).

Participant Observation

Negotiating the role of a participating observer is often complex during ethnographic studies. The researcher must become a "natural" part of the scene while hoping to gain full cooperation and trust from the individuals being studied. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) summarized the intricacies of this method, saying:

> Becoming a researcher means internalizing the research goal while collecting data in the field. As you conduct research you participate with the subjects in various ways. You joke with them and behave sociably in many ways. You may even help them perform their duties. You do these things, but always for the purpose of promoting your research goals. You carry with you an imaginary sign. . . . The sign says, "My primary purpose in being here is to collect data. How does what I am doing relate to that goal?" If what you are doing does not relate to collecting data, you should take that as a warning that you may be slipping out of your research role. (p. 90)

In the pursuit of "meaning" created in part by the participants, one important bit of good advice was discretion. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) suggested that even the field notes taken ought to convey no damaging information in case someone else finds the notes. Further, they suggested for the notes should be collected conspicuously so as not to "spook" the subjects.

Review of Official, Internal and External Documents

Items such as memos, minutes from meetings, newsletters, policy documents,

proposals, codes of ethics, dossiers, students' records, statements of philosophy, and

news releases were materials that could be viewed by postmodern ethnographic

researchers as "data" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 135-136). From these papers, the

researcher was able to probe into the "official perspective" on the organization and to

identify communication patterns existing within the nonprofit. The significance of

this writing was expressed as part of the deconstructionist paradigm. And equally

significant, external communication in the form of newsletters, memos to donors,

clients and collaborators in the environment, news releases, annual reports and other

public statements, were important in determining the official perspective held by the

organization. For this study, communication was an essential variable. Exactly how

that communication manifested in the organization was going to be discerned from

these and other materials made available to the researcher. Guba and Lincoln (1981)

citing Clark (1967) listed the following questions one might ask prior to using

documents:

- What is the history of the document?
- How did it come into my hands?
- What guarantee is there that it is what it pretends to be?
- Is the document complete, as originally constructed?
- Has it been tampered with or edited?
- If the document is genuine, under what circumstances and for what purposes was it produced?
- Who was/is the author?
- What was [s/he] trying to accomplish? For whom was the document intended?
- What were the maker's source of information?
- What was or is the maker's bias?
- To what extent was the writer likely to want to tell the truth?

- Do other documents exist that might shed additional light on the same story, event project, program, context? If so, are they available, accessible? Who holds them? (p. 238-239)

Still, like any other source of data, documents had their limitations and advantages. They could have been prepared without a research agenda in mind, and for that same reason they would be non-reactive--that is, they would not be affected by the research process.

Data Analysis

One of the forms that was applied to generate related theory was the Glaser and Strauss (1967) constant comparative method--a research design for multidata sources. Defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the constant comparative method:

> . . . is not designed (as methods of quantitative analysis are) to guarantee that two analysts working independently with the same data will achieve the same results; it is designed to allow, with discipline, for some of the vagueness and flexibility that aid the creative generation of theory. (p. 103)

The steps of the constant comparative method as identified by Glaser (1978) include the following: (a) Begin collecting the data; (b) look for key issues, recurrent events, or activities in the data that become categories of focus; (c) collect data that provide many incidents of the categories of focus with an eye to seeing the diversity of the dimensions under the categories; (d) write about the categories you are exploring, attempting to describe and account for all the incidents you have in your data while continually searching for new incidents; (e) work with the data and emerging model to discover biased social processes and relationships; and (f) engage in sampling, coding, and writing as the analysis focuses on the core categories. Though these may appear as steps, Glaser (1978) does well to note that these "steps" go on all at once. As an

As an example of this particular study, the data was collected and analyzed simultaneously. Ongoing analysis proved most helpful in that it enabled the pursuit of clarification on emerging themes and theories otherwise unanticipated. Ongoing analysis was applied in this study for instances where the data supported the theory that was originally framed by the researcher categorically or as a part of the literature review process in Chapter Two. The constant comparative proved most useful since this study was one of multiple-site participant observation. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) conclude with the following remarks:

> While we recommend holding back attempts at full-fledged, ongoing analysis, some analysis must take place during data collection. Without it, the data collection has no direction; thus the data you collect may not be substantial enough to accomplish analysis later. Although you usually collect more data than you need or can ever use, a focus will keep the task manageable. (p. 154)

Echoing this view, McCracken (1988) stated that:

> Qualitative methods are most useful and powerful when they are used to discover how the respondent sees the world. This objective of the method makes it essential that testimony be elicited in as unobtrusive, nondirective manner as possible. . . . It is important that the investigator allow the respondent to tell his or her own story in his or her own terms. However, it is just as important that the interviewer exercise some control over the interview. Qualitative data are almost always extraordinarily abundant. Every qualitative interview is, potentially, a Pandora's box. Every qualitative researcher is, potentially, the hapless victim of a shapeless inquiry. The scholar who does not control these data will surely sink without a trace. (cited in Vandenberg, 1991, p. 63)

The aims and practices of this study considered these possible *points faibles* and confirmed the same through accepted validation techniques both during and after analysis.

The researcher invoked the recommendation to conduct analysis in the field. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) suggest doing so ". . . to leave you [the researcher] in

good stead to do the final analysis . . ." after leaving the field (p. 154). Speaking to

would-be researchers, they made the following suggestions regarding field analysis:

1. Force yourself to make decisions that narrow the study. Begin data collection within broad areas and narrow down the scope of data collecting to the more specific.
2. Force yourself to make decisions concerning the type of study you want to accomplish. Qualitative studies have many alternate applications.
3. Develop analytic questions. These are important because they give focus to data collection and help organize it as you proceed.
4. Plan data-collection sessions in light of what you find in previous observation. Decide if you want to spend more time at one place then another after asking yourself, "What is it that I do not yet know?"
5. Write many "observer's comments" about ideas you generate. Record important insights that come to you during data collection before losing them.
6. Write memos to yourself about what you are learning. These memos can provide a time to reflect on issues raised in the setting and how they relate to larger theoretical, methodological, and substantive issues.
7. Try out ideas and themes on subjects. Key informants and subjects who are unusually perceptive and articulate can be used as resources in preliminary analysis.
8. Begin exploring the literature while you are in the field. In addition to reading in the substantive area of your study, just reading widely, especially in qualitative studies in unrelated fields, can help in analysis.
9. Play with metaphors, analogies and concepts. Expand the analytic horizons by trying to raise concrete relations and happenings observed in a particular setting to a higher level of abstraction.
10. Use visual devices. Drawings, graphs, models, graphics and charts help you visualize complexities that are difficult to grasp with words. (p. 154-164)

These suggestions, in the most part, were followed during this research and proved

most helpful to arrive at a theory or set of theories based on the realities of felt

experiences and the meaning given by the principal actors in the cases.

Application of Data Coding Processes

Coding is best described as a process that involves separating out relevant,

meaningful portions or segments of data; identifying topics, themes, or categories;

labeling the segments appropriately; and re-assembling all the disjointed portions according to the topic, theme or category (Tesch, 1990, p. 115-116). Strauss and Corbin (1990) covered this topic best by identifying the varying levels of coding as open, axial, and selective. The aim through coding is not the reduction of data but rather a taxonomic exercise which may end up increasing the amount of information available for analysis. Most researchers, however, use codes as shorthand devices to label, separate, compile, and organize data. After sorting through many observations, they employed a coding mechanism that fits the data, rather than forcing the data into the codes. And since the constant comparative method strongly emphasizes process, the categories developed in this study were not treated separately as single topics. Rather, as treated by qualitative theorists, they were woven together into a processual analysis through which they could make educated speculations and give meaning to the experiences and activities occurring around them.

Open Coding

Basic building blocks of theory are identified and labeled through this process (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 74). Categories of the data are developed using key concepts and thoughts in light of the magnitude of the phenomena being studied. This coding can be and were in the form of memos or observer comments made systematically while coding, beginning with the first interviews or observations.

Axial Coding

Using action/interaction strategies within the data, connections can be made between categories consistent with the established coding paradigm. The notes or

data are assembled and further categorized to discriminate them from other categories. This process may end up bridging several categories which is a significant development for the grounded theorist. Going through these final stages during axial coding allowed the researcher to reveal relationships between categories that otherwise would not have been noticed.

Selective Coding

A "core category" is selected to which other categories are related. This method explains only a portion of the constant comparative approach. For as basic to that approach is the discovery of new theory through analysis rather than verification of preexisting theories. The danger in this coding process is that it restricts the range of relationships certain categories naturally have. The experienced researcher is better positioned to code selectively than the novice. One question is, "What if the wrong code is selected as the anchor code for the remaining categories?"

In all, two procedures are integral components of the coding process during data collection and analysis. The first is making comparisons; the other is asking questions. The former is a continual process where meaningful data segments are compared with others to determine ways in which the segments are alike or different. This process is what Glaser and Strauss (1967) called the "constant comparative method." This method was applied with a procedural cohort--asking questions. Appropriate labels and categories (earlier referred to as a taxonomic process) were used in conjunction with the many levels of possible questions (i.e., who, what, when, how, why, etc.) during continued comparisons.

This research began with open coding where key words and short notes written in the margin of the transcripted interview enabled continuing analysis. The research-er also generated notes during the informal and unstructured conversations which preceded every interview. Doing so was considered most important since it was, at best, an expression of the enthusiasm of the interviewees. The researcher sought to make "light chat" to develop trust with the interviewees. However, in a "let's-get-down-to-business" mode, the interviewees almost as a rule quickly began discussing their experience as organization members/users/directors/donors or whatever role they were serving at the time. Salient themes from both formal and unstructured interac-tions were later drawn from the data or record and collated into the table shown in Appendix E. This axial codification was most useful in that it lead to major discover-ies otherwise observed during the initial stages of this study. While on a pilot run of the methodology and formal "guiding" set of questions, uncoded discoveries were significant albeit inconclusive. A method for bringing closure and asserting the significantly relevant meaning to the findings was made possible by coding the validated responses.

Outsourcing Results

Once the data were collected, the content assessed by the respondent and analyzed by the researcher(s), the final step was to distribute this information to participants in the study. This process was finalized after the researcher reviewed the transcripts and crossmatched the recorded comments with those transcribed to make sure that it read well (e.g., without Ah's and Umm's and insignificantly natural colloquiums, like, "you know"). This process was coined outsourcing and borrowed

from the business terminologies used to express a return back to the source or any interaction with originating points of information or service. The preference for this term was related to the "massaging" which took place during the collection, interpretation (meaning making) and analysis of the data. Both parties were involved and made significant contributions to the resultant truth.

The careful ethnographer is mindful, as was the case during this exercise, to allow the respondents (subjects) to express the truths about their experiences and circumstances for a better understanding of those experiences. Being mindful also meant noting pauses (though they were edited from the transcripts for space/paper conservation and better readability), interruptions, room layout, respondent's behavior, mood, appearance and conduct, and the effective use of time. The field notes expressed such observations and mindfulness.

Reliability and Validity

While reliability is most concerned with the replicability of research findings, validity is concerned with the accuracy of these findings (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). In general, as Bogdan and Biklen (1992) note, qualitative researchers do not exactly share the expectation held by quantitative researchers that there will be consistency in results of observations made by different or the same researcher over time (p. 48). Imagine the scenario of an ethnographic replication of an organizational study already described as a dynamic process. The information collected, as in these cases, are highly contextual, multifaceted and in a high state of flux. Still, as Merriam (1988) observes, "Reliability and validity are inextricably linked in the conduct of research" (p. 171).

There are concerns with comprehensiveness and accuracy of the data. For researchers in studies like this one, "Reliability is a fit between what they record as data and what actually occurs in the setting under study" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 48). As it relates to organizational studies, Bogdan and Biklen's (1992) observation may be even more poignant considering the turbulence in the environment of nonprofits. Reliability thus becomes a meaningful pursuit only to the extent that the time factor can remain constant. A follow-up researcher would need to re-create the conditions of the environment, as well as the other elements existing within the organization (at the exact proportions) to fairly assess reliability in a follow-up study. Hence, rather than asking revisionists to arrive to similar results, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest thinking about the "dependability" or "consistency" of the results obtained from the data.

The step-by step rationale accounting of the decisions made during this study and a careful audit trail describing how the data were collected and key decisions made during this study, all of which appear in this work, speak to the pursuit of "consistency" by the researcher. For further authentication, the interviewees were asked for permission to tape record their responses. By using the tape recorder, the researcher was better able to show verbatim comments from respondents (Appendix F) and thereby control for internal reliability. This process also speaks to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) prescription for gaining and assuring credibility. The researcher made a point to establish a good rapport with the respondents and to maintain eye contact as one exercise to show trust and trustworthiness.

One approach to controlling validity was through restatements of responses throughout the interviews. These restatements were strategically positioned during the dialogue to prevent interfering with or distracting the respondents. Restatements were effective for confirmation of meaning. Those restatements also contributed in part to a member validation process that served as a means to reduce threats of validity. Also note that by triangulation, both internal validity and reliability were controlled by the researcher. Distinct efforts were made to use multiple sources of data--namely interviews, document reviews, member and donor perceptions and literature reviews.

The researcher assumed the history and maturation of the respondents naturally contributed to the status of the institutions to date. Data collection methods helped reduce the possible distortions that also threatened internal validity. Moreover, the nature of the questions asked during the interview were such that any of the organizational leaders could answer if one or more of the identified respondents was to become unavailable. The potentiality of such an outcome was considerably high when dealing with nonprofits, considering the high turnover ratio of members and "leaders" often mandated by the charters of the organizations.

Researchers of organizations (usually as ethnographers) often show less attention to threats of external validity. This threat addresses the extent to which research findings can be generalized and compared across other groups. It is expected that the themes and experiences, while unique in their own right, may appeal to other organizational entities on a similar course. Merriam (1988) cited Stake (1978, p. 6) observing that:

> When explanation, propositional knowledge, and law are the aims of an inquiry, the case study will be at a disadvantage. When the aims are

understanding, extension of experience, and increase in conviction in that which is shown, the disadvantage disappears. (p. 173)

Further, as Erickson (1986) suggested, ". . . The primary concern of qualitative research is particularizability, rather than generalizability" (p. 130). And so was the aim of this study. Similar to other recent research studies on organizations, real-life examples were deemed instrumental in finding key factors contributing to the effectiveness and institutionalization of voluntary associations.

After undergoing the careful processes for collecting the data and the details of interaction with the many respondents/informants for this study, one key point must be mentioned. The assumptions made during this study and those that will be made during any replication effort are crucial to the implementation of this and other organizational studies. As an experienced interviewer, it was possible that the research could have brought to light the salient experiences to make the new prescriptions for the end users of this research. The ethical choice, however, was to continue the exploration to secure a full representation of a diverse range of perspectives. Once again, there was a general underlying assumption that all organization are not alike and are motivated by different sets of criteria.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, a broad overview on the methods and procedures used to conduct the case studies was presented. Unlike qualitative studies of the past, when many researchers used this approach sparingly, this study did not present a republication of the valor in that method. The chapter began with a discussion about the research design and the plans that would be pursued to complete data collection.

Participants in the case study and the selection process applied to invite them to participate as co-researchers was the next section of this chapter. Then a section on the number of participants followed by a short overview describing the three participating organizations was presented. Next, the methods for collecting the data were outlined. As part of that outline, there was a discussion on the use of interviews and their relevance to this type of research. Presenting this section did not preclude the inclusion of other qualitative methods for collecting data. After data collection, the analysis, coding and validation processes were discussed. These components were the final areas covered in this chapter. The outsourcing results section was intended as method to validate the data collected from the interviewees. The reliability and validity sections of this chapter were used to discuss how these major threats to the study were addressed.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS FROM THE CASES--
DESCRIPTION AND THEORY

As I look back on my life's work, I'm probably most proud of having helped to create a company that by virtue of its values, practices and success has had a tremendous impact on the way companies are managed around the world. And I am particularly proud that I'm leaving behind an ongoing organization that can live on as a role model long after I'm gone.

> --William R. Hewlett, Co-founder,
> Hewlett-Packard Company, 1990
> Cited in *Built to Last*, 1994

Our commitment must be to continue the vitality of this company--its growth in physical terms and also its growth as an institution--so that this company, this institution, will last through another 150 years. Indeed, so it will last through the ages.

> --John G. Smale, Former CEO,
> Procter & Gamble, 1986
> Cited in *Built to Last*, 1994

Findings From the Cases: Description and Theory

The principal concern, consistent with the purpose of this study, was to identify the characteristics of effective and institutionalized organizations initially sponsored by the Michigan State University Extension as a basis for modeling by newly-inspired organizations. A systems approach was used to present the findings: (a) the characteristics of the three cases were specified; (b) the areas of inquiry stated as research questions in Chapter One were explored and discussed; and (c) the emergent models and theories from the exploration of the cases were compared and

presented. The findings are now presented in several sections. The first section

provides a general overview about the development of this study and the choice of

methodology used to generate theory about the phenomena described in Chapter One.

The next section provides a comparison of the findings from the three cases by

highlighting the major themes that emerged from the data collected. This section is

further segmented taxonomically as means to validate the relevance of the themes that

emerged. The third section explores related theories on the phenomena identified for

this study (e.g., organizational effectiveness, institutionalization, organizational

administration, etc.) and presents a relational compendium on those models. Finally,

in the fourth section, a model that emerged from the constant comparative method

generated from the data collected, is presented.

Up to this point, specific areas of inquiry guided the research and thus enabled

the construction of a directly related theory. Furthermore, such guides allowed the

researcher(s) to develop a conceptual framework that led to the institutionalization

paradigm described in the fourth section of this chapter. The early posture of this

study was for the new model to be recommendable for emerging organizations.

Those specific areas of inquiry were the following: (a) How do organizations

establish the necessary procedures to deal with change(s) in the marketplace? (b) how

does effectiveness contribute to the institutionalization of nonprofits? and (c) how do

the following Seven-C's--Communication, Control, Culture, Commitment, Capital,

Compliance, and Consensus on values (Coherence)--contribute to the institutional-

ization of the nonprofits identified for this study? As part of the final analysis,

various concepts were brought together with the researcher(s)' validated intuitions,

observations, and experiences to give further meaning or a more applied sense to this study.

Qualitative Studies and the Concept of Meaning

It became clear at first conceptualization of this study that meaning or sense making was an important attribute of studies on organizations and organizational effectiveness. The clarifying moment was during preliminary investigations by the researcher with a nonprofit based in Quito, Ecuador known as Fundagro. In 1986, the development-focused non-governmental organization (NGO--the transnational counterpart to nonprofits) received a grant of approximately $6,000,000 from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to carry out their mission throughout the mostly agrarian country. [Ecuador had a population of 12 million inhabitants and was a member of the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)]. As a result of changing programmatic thrusts within USAID, the organization shifted its resource base and relied on returns on investments, strategic financing and focused programming to compensate for the discontinued external support. To them, this situation was "a critical incident" and "a turbulence in the environment" precipitated by changes.

Meanwhile, the association had already positioned itself as a mainstay in the Ecuadorian suprasystem and the transnational network of NGOs. Within 9 years of operation, it had pursued and realized the "traditional" "standards" for institutionalization. Fundagro's claim to institution status was corroborated by: (a) a six-story building proximately juxtapositioned to the Ministry of Agriculture with the name "Fundagro" on the edifice, (b) a large (albeit decreasing) network of paid employees,

(c) a satisfied and cooperating citizenry deeming the NGO's purpose legitimate, (d) a

growing number of similar NGOs forming throughout the developing world to

facilitate their own country's development in addition to internal spin-off NGOs, (e) a

functioning international office in the U.S. (Miami, FL) further signifying the strength

of their spin-off ideas and validation by the community at-large, (f) a significantly

powerful pool of board members and organizational leaders who are decision-makers

in varying sectors of the suprasystem, and, most importantly, (h) a mission statement

with many built-in implications for longevity and growth. All these were accom-

plished close to the often repeated 10-year period for institution status. Upon

discovery of this phenomenon the questiosn were, "What's going on here?" and

"What is the implication to the existing meaning of the institutionalization of non-

profits from this development?" Other questions emerged and were related to the

NGO's ability to modify its programs to cope with the changes in the environment

and survive well beyond the imminent termination of support from large sponsors like

USAID.

Nuances of Qualitative Research

The discovery with Fundagro called for further review and positional (in terms

of theory) reassessment. This early inclination to "switch" is consistent with the

nature of qualitative research; data collection and analysis are simultaneous activities

in qualitative research (Merriam, 1988, p. 119). The descriptive nature of qualitative

research often leads to such discoveries. Merriam (1988) continued the discussion on

this characteristic of ethnographies thusly:

Analysis begins with the first interview, the first observation, the first docu-
ment read. Emerging insights, hunches, and tentative hypotheses direct the
next phase of data collection, which in turn leads to refinement or reformula-
tion of one's questions, and so on. It is an interactive process through which
the investigator is concerned with producing believable and trustworthy
findings. Unlike experimental designs where validity and reliability are
accounted for before the investigation, rigor in a qualitative case study derives
from the researcher's presence, the nature of the interaction between research-
er and participants, the triangulation of data, the interpretation of perceptions,
and rich, thick description. (p. 119-120)

Therefore, it was not uncommon to arrive at new themes or develop new thrusts for

the study after preliminary findings. The importance of organizational meaning was

becoming relatively clear yet there was no available literature to explain this phenom-

enon. Intuitively, it was thought that the organization was so well situated within the

Ecuadorian environment that it symbolized effectiveness and would naturally impart a

positive meaning to the rest of the development community. This intuition later came

to mean validation by the community for legitimacy as an institution.

At the time of the discovery, it meant leaving Ecuador after nearly 3 months,

returning to Michigan State University to regroup, further reviewing the literature,

and reframing the points of inquiry for the case study. After all, one of the more

intriguing observations from the early discoveries was whether an organizational case

study was "really" going to allow the generation of new theory(ies). The question

was made significant from the understanding of meaning or sense making in organiza-

tions. Bogdan and Bilken (1992) elaborated on the concept of meaning with the

following:

How do people negotiate meaning? How do certain terms and labels come to
be applied? How do certain notions come to be taken as part of what we
know as "common sense"? What is the natural history of the activity or events
under study? . . . [Qualitative researchers] do not search out data or evidence
to prove or disprove hypotheses they hold before entering the study; rather,

the abstractions are built as the particulars that have been gathered are grouped together. . . . The question is not whether a particular piece of research is or is not absolutely qualitative; rather it is an issue of degree. (p. 29-32)

Concomitantly, the same was being said about institutionalization--it is not whether an organization is an institution, it is a matter of its location on the institutionalization continuum. Such a statement was made possible by the ongoing and analysis-in-the-field mode applied by the researcher.

Results from Early Ongoing Analyses

The issues and themes that emerged while in the field caused the researcher to marginally reframe the study. First, one organization was not going to allow a sufficiently significant measure of the typologies identified for organizational effectiveness and permanence. Next, there was a need to reassure the correctness of the methods being applied (described in Chapter Three) by reviewing the literature and comparing the experiences of others. Then and finally, organizational case study was confirmed as the appropriate methodology because it was generating new theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) purposely pursued in this study. However, when that theory began to challenge the well-positioned institutionalization *paradigm*, the phenomenological perspective was revisited.

The concept of institutionalization is not a scientific one generalizable to a wide variety of settings but rather a relativistically specific "folk concept." Borrowing the term from Freidson (1986), the folk concept validates qualitative studies like this one. Alone, it indicates that the investigation be phenomenological in character. As applied in this study, phenomenology is where the related individuals (members, stakeholders, donors and collaborators) determine: (a) the extent to which their

organization was an institution; (b) the way they worked to accomplish that status (for the benefit of future institution-aspiring organizations) through activities, policies and continuance; and (c) the consequences or implications for the new self-defined and environmentally supported meaning of institution. After all, the emergent theory had theoretical underpinnings in sociology and anthropology--disciplines, like education, considered social sciences. Moreover, it was derived in the same fashion that Ritzer (1975) defined paradigm--a loose collection of logically held together assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research. The ensuing research and its subsequent findings were derived from the new in-the-field discoveries (drawn from the experiences of the participants) to chart a new line of investigative inquiry. Still, unconvinced by the discoveries in Ecuador with Fundagro, the researcher reapplied the guiding set of questions (Appendix B) with the information gained from the cases, participatory observations, and respondents. Once again, the result was a deviation from the formal questions to more poignant questions in pursuit of salient themes and unanswered questions generated by interviewees, more observations and the related literature.

Identified Organizational Characteristics

This section describes the major characteristics found among the participants identified for this study. In describing the participating organizations, researcher observations of each organization and their actors were documented and are now reported. To generate the data, organization members, users from the environment, leaders (employees included), and the researcher's participatory observations were used. This approach to data generation is the essence of triangulation--an accepted

procedure for establishing validity in case studies. Earlier, Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 288) had proposed using terms like *truth value* for internal validity, *transferability* for external validity, and *consistency* for reliability. Other methods described in Chapter Three also contributed to controls for these research threats. Their usefulness and relevance became pronounced during the theory formation component of the analysis stage. Note that ongoing analysis was applied for this study. However, the codification of the data was greatly enhanced by the research notes on the margins of the transcripts, questions posed during exchanges with researcher/participants and general intuitions that emerged.

Coding and Categorizing Strategies

The data were coded openly and axially and then categorized according to the prominent themes found in the voluminous transcripts from audio tapes. The individual respondents were assigned symbolically fictitious names consistent with the "contract" appearing in Appendix A. The three organizations were assigned a random ordering to further protect the anonymity of the participants. The respondents from each organization were then assigned an ordering based on the sequence in which they were interviewed. Finally, the complete list of respondents was assigned alphabetical name pairings with numbers indicating their location within the whole research and order interviewed for that organization respectively. Taxonomically, the gender and affiliation to the respective three cases should be discernible. For example, Aaron (A_1) and Abel (A_2), interviewed simultaneously, were two males representing Michigan Agriculture Stewardship Association (MASA) thus the masculine names. Meanwhile, Erzule (B_3) and Filo (B_4) were two females interviewed in the second

group (B) and they shared their experiences with the Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated (YDC). Imani (C_3) was the third female of the group; she was the third interviewee from Tuscola 2001 in group (C) and the last respondent for the study. Using similar taxonomies for definition, the following male respondents also contributed to this study: Bopha (A_3--signifying the third respondent of the first group); Calembert (B_1--signifying the first respondent of the second group); Dambala (B_2--signifying the second respondent of the second group); Gédé (C_1--signifying the first respondent of the third group); and Hotep (C_2--signifying the second respondent of the third group).

The foregoing was to indicate a randomly assigned numerical ordering of MASA, YDC and Tuscola 2001. Within these broad categories were those individuals who, as a result of their shared experiences, meaning making, validation of their experiences and other noteworthy contributions to this study, were also considered as researchers. Overall, there were reasons for emphasizing the ordering and numerical pairings of the respondents (or co-researchers, as being described here). Any careful test for *consistency* in this study will show instances where earlier discoveries served to direct or redirect the researchers towards theory formation. Stated otherwise, there were instances during this study where the original set of guiding questions (shown in Appendix B) gave way to newly formulated questions--those that arose from observations about and interactions with a previous respondent. As Merriam (1988, p. 171) argued, "Just as a researcher refines instruments and uses statistical techniques to ensure reliability, so too the human instrument can become more reliable through

training [sic] and practice." The intent from such a test of *consistency* will be for

auditing instead of replicating this study.

Characteristics found during summative analyses led to categories related to

the source of the themes. The three descriptive categories that were used to organize

the findings were organizationally related, environmentally related and individually

related. Of course, categorizing the themes as such suggested linear relationships.

This implication was precipitated by taxonomic nomenclature alone; the categories

were strictly descriptive labels. Taxonomies seldom resolve all discrepancies nor do

they purely codify. In fact, their application is the cause of great disparities in the

environment. (This contention was validated by the literature on "race" relations and

the "race" mythos, biological species, caste systems and organizational types to name

just a few examples). There are reasons why the findings were more than linear.

The reasons are related by and large to controls for external validity already explained

in Chapter Three.

Generalizing was purposely left to those organizations aspiring to accomplish a

similar status to the cases in the study. Cross-cases were used for a more grounded

transference of the findings from this study. In that mode, the straight line relation-

ship became suspect. One benefit from the linear approach to categorizing the data

was expressed by the emergence of similar themes across the categories. Those

themes are listed below in Figure 8. The implication of this phenomenon pointed to

movement along that institutionalization line. The organizational continuum intuitive-

ly experienced from the Ecuador experience was a significant "working hypothesis"

(Cronbach, 1975). A guru of quantitative methods, Cronbach (1975, p. 124-125) had

Community validation--the meaning ascribed to the organization by others for legitimacy.
Creed--mission statement or official charge for the organization; the overall organizational pursuit.
Consistency--as related to the mission, role and service; the approach to performance.
Communication--internally and externally, the activity that all organizations must maintain
Capital--human labor, ideas, finances, buildings, etc. contributing to the overall operations.
Commitment--required element from the organization to its mission and its members to same.
Collaboration--linkages and partnership established to gain legitimacy and improve efficiency.
Coordination--accounting for organizational functions; can occur at varying organizational levels.
Coherence--coming together on the values, purpose, doctrine and ethic of the organization.
Caring--an ethic about the performance of the organization both intrinsically and extrinsically.
Diversity--in people, programs, funds, services; varying so to avoid stagnancy and obsolescence.
Leadership--transformational; mutual agreements; visionary; values based; shared/meaningful.
Organizational transformation--the "how" of modifications and adjustments made over time.
Committees/Membership--the major actors in organizations making everything possible.
Goal revision--constant renewal needed by organizations in light of environmental dynamism.
Culture--the operational environment and attitude of the organization.
Flexibility/Adaptability--responding to changes in the environment and internal dealings.

Figure 8. Major themes related to the three cases.

proposed *working hypotheses* to replace the notion of generalizations in social science research. In the following categories, the findings point to interrelational characteristics that suggest viewing the experiences within these cases as solely linear. At best,

these categories and the themes described within them are by and large descriptive. They describe the experiences organization members and three organizations that represent the key program areas served by Michigan State University Extension. These experiences were related to the processes these organizations underwent to accomplish a certain level of effectiveness and permanence.

Seventeen major themes were identified from all the data sources. Figure 8 above showed these major themes. These themes can also be found in Appendix E along with the code identifying their source. Also in the Appendix, they are listed alphabetically and easier to follow. The process for arriving to these themes as well as selected verbatim comments are presented in Appendix F. Each thematic cohort in Figure 8 was described instead of being defined because of the importance of meaning or sense making in these organizations. They were validated by the respondents and researcher via the mail, telephone conversations, electronic mail (E-mail), facsimile transmissions (FAX), and the researcher's review of the audio recordings, comments, observations and notes from the field.

Validation of the Cases Studied

The case of Erzule (B_3), who alphabetically represented the sixth (or Eth) respondent out of the 10 total respondents, and numerically was the third person contacted about Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated (YDC) served as a fine example of the validation process. The setting for the interview with Erzule was normally fine; her office was, though small for her positional leadership and rank, well-lighted and accessible. An impressive and autographed lithograph of three historically significant men of the United States adorned the extreme wall. She had

the latest technological gadgets--computer, laser printer, telephone, etc.-- and a secretary bringing in her lunch. She appeared in tune and quite connected with her environment that included YDC. Her office, however, was one of a four-partitioned albeit large suite. The resultant "rooms" (more like cubicles to the researcher) all shared one common ceiling.

Within certain configurations, noise has a tendency to travel beyond the unrestrictive perpendicular walls. In retrospect, Erzule may have spoken in an inaudible tone leading to difficulties during transcription. The researcher had to listen through a "Humm" caused by the recording volume setting at high resonating against the background normal-decibel conversations carried on by Erzule's office suite mates. Out of the "Humm" the salient themes from her comments were extracted and cross-matched with notes taken that afternoon by the interviewer/researcher. Doing so led to a six-page transcript that was sent to Erzule for validation, urging her to review for content accuracy according to her experiences and perceptions about YDC, their effectiveness and general institutionalization processes.

The interview with Erzule was only the gravest of this circumstance. Interviewing Aaron and Abel in a cafeteria (the only logical location considering the circumstances at that time) was the worst before that experience. Though unintended for this study, one of the age-old communication axiom held that "noise" or "static" is always a great possibility during communication and can manifest in many different ways. This time, the potential damage was barely avoided with careful methodological applications by the researcher.

Each of the three categories that will follow in the next sections will be described with *miniethnographies* and examples of verbatim comments from the interviewees, exchanges between interviewer and respondents, and observations, thoughts and preliminary analyses by the researcher. Only the most salient of these are used. There were some instances where these themes could have been attributable to more than one of the categories selected here. For each category, the relationship of the theme identified and how it is manifested will be discussed. As described earlier, participants will be identified with the following symbolic names: Aaron, Abel, Bopha, Calembert, Dambala, Erzule, Filo, Gédé, Hotep, and Imani. These names correspond to the sequence in which the interviews were conducted and the respective three cases in this study (namely MASA, YDC and Tuscola 2001).

Category One--Organizationally Related Themes

In the context of the institutionalization of nonprofits, many themes appeared to resonate from those functions that the case organizations undertook or that can be viewed from an organizational level. Items in bold express added emphasis by the researcher.

Coherence

In Chapter Two, coherence was discussed from the vantage point of the values upon which the organization is based. With consensus on those values (here called coherence), the organization was said to better drive towards a common mission. This variable was discussed to some extent by each of the ten respondents. Some did so more intensely than others. In the reverse case, there were related reasons for

simply implying the significance of this variable to their organization's effectiveness. Aaron and Abel almost avoided the concept of values in their discussion. In the researcher's notes, the words "unanswered question" appear in the margin. The questions were: "What are the values of MASA?" and "Is there consensus about and commitment to them?" Instead of listing samplars or words that could have otherwise fit into tables and word lists, Aaron offered this axiom: "When an individual feels that they have something to offer then they become committed and committed to sharing."

Other comments made earlier during the interview suggested that the concept of sharing was rooted in the value system of MASA. Aaron, with reverent corroboration from Abel, felt that MASA members had been able to "learn from each other through sharing." There were other supporting evidence for this deduction. In a Summer 1994 MASA publication entitled "Collaboration Works!", one member was quoted as saying "I firmly believe we are all in this together and the sharing of each other's strengths will help us move to the future" (p. 2). Though stated otherwise, Bopha reiterated the sharing construct. He said that "MASA values collaboration." Bopha's response to the question, "What do you consider as the values of the organization?" was the following:

> The values are embodied in the mission statement. A very strong value that came to the floor is that this was going to be a farmer-directed organization. It can be seen in the bylaws in terms of who the leadership is in the organization; how often there can be a president who is not a farmer. This value is a very strong one--a farmer-oriented organization. It is not being directed by any institution. I think one of the values that I have seen expressed most often with MASA is the value of collaboration. People value their connection and contacts with others. I think there is a **value placed on individual initiative.** In MASA people don't generally wait until someone gives them permission to start implementing an idea, they take the initiative. I think there's a value on

inclusion, that you do not have to ascribe to any particular philosophy to become a member. MASA doesn't only welcome members who have said "Yes, I am carrying the banner of sustainable agriculture." It has included members all the way from people who are very strongly proponents of organic agriculture to those who are more in the mainstream of agriculture as it is practiced in the state.

The reservations to this question as expressed by Aaron and Abel stemmed, in part, from the varying definitions existing for sustainable. Aaron was asked a preliminary question that he clarified by repeating the question saying: "Are you asking if there is consensus within the MASA organization?" Aaron asked. Quickly, the interviewer responded, "Right." His response was still, "I don't think so." Yet elsewhere, specifically in a publication prepared by MASA on collaboration and its value to the organization, Aaron was quoted as saying:

> But I just think one of the greatest things that came out of this was the people I met and the **trust** that I can put in those people, and the **value of relationships** that I built that will last forever. And, you know, like they say, 'friends are forever' and I think that's what we developed among ourselves and among each other.

There was no guessing with Calembert since he responded to the values of the Youth Development Corporation (YDC) by answering in the first person. Doing so may speak to his positional leadership status in the organization. Asked "What would you say are the core values of this organization . . . ?" Calembert's response was: **"I think I value the individual,** and the fact that every individual has the right to do well, and that we need to be there when they are ready to exercise that right." With this concept of organizational coherence serving as what is being argued here as the core for organizational effectiveness, it was helpful to assess the progress of these organizations in light of their stated values.

<u>Collaboration</u>

Organizational collaboration emerged as a dominant and intense theme in this

study. Its relevance to institutionalization and organizational effectiveness was

expressed by the respondents' comments during interviews. One organization among

the three cases even devoted two bulletins promoting the virtues of collaboration. In

their pamphlet entitled "Collaboration: Working Together to Solve Problems" printed

in July 1994, Christopher Lufkin is quoted as saying:

> The collaboration process is a dynamic one and I think that we need to really
> work at remaining open to new people as they are interested. . . . Certainly
> the idea of collaborating together is going to be a powerful force, particularly
> in the future.

The axiom generated from this theme was: "Collaboration gives legitimacy." The

strength of this generalization was measured and continually evaluated for the other

cases.

The importance of doing so stems from the myriad meanings associated with

collaboration. YDC used other terminology to express the same concept, for exam-

ple. Calembert offered the following:

> I get involved in a lot of interagency kinds of community things because I
> think that is critical too: 1) To keep us in tune of what else is going on in the
> community, and 2) to keep people aware that we are here and of what we are
> doing. So I end up doing a lot of those. I try to involve our staff in some of
> those too because I think it is important to be identified in the community.
> But also, I recognize there are other problems going on that we may not be
> dealing with. I mean a good example of that is a teen parent network that we
> are involved with. I sit on one committee [pointing to space on the left] and
> one of my staff sits on that [pointing to space on the right] committee. Well,
> the first year or so, all I was offering was input on suggestions for how they
> might get these people more employable because that's part of the program--to
> get these people employed. Their major emphasis at the time was the parent-
> ing aspect--how to be better parents, nutrition . . . a lot of emphasis laid to
> that. Down the road somewhere was ways to be self supporting which
> employment fits into. Now, we're doing all the reading, math and skills

assessments for them. They send us the clients; we do all the assessments; they pay us to do the assessments. So in the long run, financially, it benefited me [speaking for the organization YDC]. That wasn't my intent when I started. I thought, here's an organization that is going to need at some point and time at least access to people that can help young people find jobs. We want to be there to offer suggestions and ways to better get there. So some of those kinds of things you get involved in the community either can pay off financially but oftentimes it just pays off with recognition.

In the foregoing, Calembert described a classic case of collaboration with an organization and the merits or benefits he had gained for YDC. Yet he refrained from calling it collaboration. Similarly, Bopha often referred to collaboration as "partnerships and linkages." The name appeared specifically in the MASA-sanctioned publication of July 1994. In the "Collaboration . . ." bulletin, Christine Lietzau was quoted as follows:

I think a collaborative model has developed and I think how I would describe it would be *partnership*. We have new partnerships that we never thought would happen--we have people talking together that we thought would never talk together --and so it's developed, at least for us, a model for how to proceed for the future.

Whether it is called collaboration, partnership or linkage, the situation was still one of establishing trust, sharing and expressing commitment, and equally distributing accountability, risk and credit. For the MASA organization, the specific strategies to build collaboration as listed in their "Collaboration Works!" pamphlet were the following:

- Traveling seminars;
- Hands-on activities;
- Leadership training;
- Regular meetings;
- Team-building exercise;
- Networking;
- Teaching each other; and,
- Learning from each other.

MASA made a concerted effort toward collaboration because they credit it to their effectiveness and status as an institution. Speaking about YDC, Erzule made a more direct observation about the significance of collaboration to the organization's place on the institutionalization continuum:

> The question is one of limited or finite resources in a small community. The issue is do you "arrive" through competition. Increasingly the buzzword is you're gonna "arrive" through collaboration. There may need to be some mergers of organizations. So instead of competing for the same dollar, people can visibly gain more stakeholders and show that they're doing their part to join forces and provide services efficiently. We've seen a little bit of this in rural cities--St. John's in Michigan--and we're either going to see a lot more of that or less services.

Another distinct model of such collaborations was expressed by one of the cases in Tuscola 2001, Inc. Their model of collaborating government agencies and civic agencies promised a resolution to "big government" and exemplified community empowerment. Since their existence embodied the political rhetoric of that time, it was relatively easy to secure an Executive Declaration from the Governor of Michigan. Even with the enabling legislation from the Governor--arguably one of the higher levels of collaboration--the organization had to continue with its dynamic, need-based programming, "commitment to the county," and effective communication strategies to keep all the linkage partners focused on the mission for which they came together.

Communication

One of the most intensely mentioned organizational variable from the 10 participants in this study was communication. The manifestation of this organizational function had been said to determine the fate of many organizations. Tuscola 2001

had a proactive approach to organizational communication. They invited to their meetings the individuals to whom they would otherwise communicate the results. Most of these individuals usually sent a proxy to assure that they would receive a report of the deliberations during the meeting. The organization was unique in that it was created as a non-profit community development activity/group. The individuals whom they invited to these meetings had a natural professional (and sometimes social/personal) interest to see the organization and thereby the community do well. The organization was most reliant on the success of these communications because doing so allowed it to stay close to the pulse of the community needs.

Gédé identified communication as a major concern for Tuscola 2001. In fact, when asked, "How do you see this organization any different or do you hope it to be any different five to ten years from now?" Gédé offered, "I hope that we would have a better communication system with other organizations in the county." He also thought that communication would be the most important issue or problem facing the organization--particularly ". . . communication between the different organizations that we are working with (i.e., government, the Chamber, the Council, the Council of Chambers, and each little township board)." Gédé concentrated much energy on Tuscola 2001's communication; he made sure that goals were communicated. He was recorded saying "It is most important to have a goal in an organization, communicating it and reaching it." His take on the value of communication was maintained by the nine other participants in this study, all of whom made repeated observations about the significance of this organizational function and its overall meaning.

The concept of meaning as related to organizational communication was expressed in other ways during this study. When new meanings were arbitrarily assigned to questions posed by the interviewer, it validated this approach to draw out the truths and phenomena about institutionalization (explained in Chapter Three). There were some good examples of this meaning making during communications with the case study participants. Imani was asked, "How does the organization (Tuscola 2001) deal with the changes that are constantly going on in the environment?" Her response resonated from the popular meaning of environment, different from the environment concept used by students of organization theory which refers to the organizational suprasystem explained in Chapter Two. Imani made the meaning abundantly clear with the following:

> Tuscola 2001 constantly deals with changes in the environment. The environment to us means wetlands, P.A.116, barn preservation, water, park preservation, river planning and preservation, farm land, trees, open spaces, and clean air to say a few. Tuscola 2001 is how the people of Tuscola county want their environment to be.

The same occurred during face to face communications with Gédé about the "environment." The "meaning" example that appeared most glaring dealt with his response to the question about his leadership style (transformational, positional, transactional, etc.). From the validated transcript of the interview with Gédé, the following was recorded.

R: How would you describe yourself as a leader?

Gédé: I think I'm a **doer**.

R: You think there's a difference between a leader and a doer?

Gédé: Ah, yeah. I'm not a politician. I'm more in the engineering of things. I see a problem and resolve it.

R: And what are the major effects that you have on this organization as a president, a chairperson or as a "doer" as you call yourself?

Gédé: Well, I'm not sure I could answer that. I'm not sure I could answer that. That would be somebody else's opinion.

One similar definitionally-based meaning "conflict" took place during the interview with Bopha. The following exchange went on between him and the researcher while speaking about his experiences with the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA).

R: Has there been a critical incident (faced by MASA)?

Bopha: There certainly have been responses that the organization has made to opportunities.

Clearing the meaning, the researcher followed up with, "Critical, meaning a major landmark event, not necessarily something bad that happened to the organization." There are many other examples of this meaning making during the data collection phase of this study. Bopha's exchange was consistent with other discoveries made possible by his participation in this study. For example, he noted how the very name of MASA "communicated" to the general public. Specifically, Bopha said:

A lot of thought by these members went into what the name would be. They consciously decided we're not going to call it sustainable because you get hung up in **definitions of what sustainable means**. But agricultural stewardship talks about an ethic. I mean here's a value right in the name. It talks about the ethic of stewarding resources that are needed for the future of agriculture, but also it is an organization that needs to be a steward of the entire agriculture enterprise so that they are involved in the issues concerning preserving farmland and preserving the quality of life in rural areas as well as exploring specific techniques that are less environmentally damaging in agriculture. Stewardship seemed to be a concept that could give you a lot of buy in. It is sort of like, if you're against agricultural stewardship, you're sort of against mom and apple pie. This organization has avoided getting into the conversation about the **definition** of sustainable agriculture and I think that's been a real plus.

The idea of what the organization's name communicated was echoed by other

respondents. Hotep gave multiple examples starting with the National FFA organiza-

tion--formerly the Future Farmers of America--to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of

America. His detailed analysis of the phenomenon was expressed with the following:

> "Boy Scouts", I don't know when it was created . . . , but they have the
> wrong name. You can't use the word "boy"; even "scout" is suspect. Youth
> seems to be the right term for the beginning of the 21st century. And I am
> saying as an institution, either Boy Scouts of America will have to change
> their name or they won't last very far into the 21st century. Their organization
> was built in a period when boys and girls were separated and that separation
> was institutionalized. [I'm using the word institutionalized in a larger sense
> but I think social arrangements get institutionalized just like organizations
> become institutionalized.] In that first 50 years of the century there has been a
> major shift in that; in the last 100 years there has been even more of a shift.
> In the first 50 years of this century there was great fighting to get the right to
> vote for women, the right to own property, the right to have bank accounts, all
> those rights. When you get that kind of male/female equity you can't have
> youth groups that are identified and get the kind of support that Boy Scouts of
> America got 50 years ago with a name like that. That is just my opinion. I'm
> not singling them out, but I think that is a problem for any institution and the
> symbols it creates. You could have a very beautiful logo but if somebody else
> has a very similar logo and they do terrible things, you probably will have to
> change your logo because you're going to be accused of being like them.

The situation described by Hotep above was reiterated by Erzule but in an

even broader sense. Her take was to frame institutions and their established names in

a struggling state. In that mode, she commented how their very existence was

threatened though they had "arrived."

> Even those [institutions] that have "arrived" are struggling. The YMCA
> may merge with the YWCA or Boy and Girl Scouts may merge in the future.
> 4-H has changed some of its image from rural to urban to reflect the reduced
> rural population. That is what will challenge them in the future.

The focus now turns to the characteristics related to the adjustments these organiza-

tions made or might have to make to remain institutionalized.

<u>Consistency</u>

Time is a crucial variable in the study of institutionalization. Over time, the

analyst must be able to view the mission statement of the organization. The organiza-

tion must be consistent in the mission it sets out to pursue. Many respondents noted

this characteristic of institutionalized organizations. Of greatest impact was the

observation made by Erzule regarding YDC. Throughout her discussion, she referred

to institutionalized organizations as having "arrived." The point of an organization's

consistency may appear as an oxymoron in that goal revision was also recommended

by various respondents in this study. Still, there is a point where the organization can

decide it will have an enduring creed. From conceptualization, the organization can

decide that it will rally support based on its creed. As Hotep suggested, "The

doctrine has to bring people to the institution." Erzule posited the following:

> Part of being "arrived" is being like corporations: merge to have new
> products and services. Look at the automobile dealers. They no longer just
> sell Chevys they also sell Hondas. . . . Organizations who are large enough
> are able to shift their services like the Catholic Social Services for example.
> Catholic social services serves every age group, refugees, youth, seniors with
> Meals on Wheels, and non-Catholics, too. But Youth development Corpora-
> tion is unique in that while other organizations added or changed their youth
> services, Youth Development Corporation is still providing the same employ-
> ment service for youth they started with. The only addition has been to piggy-
> back with MSU for mentoring/tutoring in addition to counseling and job search
> strategies.

Based on the time factor, YDC offered the only true test of consistency. The

organization had been operation for over 20 years. Although they had not operated

for that long a period, the other case study participants realized that component or

variable as critical to their maintaining institutionalization status.

Creed (Mission Statement)

The final portion of the statement from Hotep above suggested a certain

amount of flexibility in the mission statement. This penchant for flexibili-

ty/adaptability affects the mission and is evidenced by theme's explicit emergence.

Meanwhile, as an organizationally related theme, the organization's creed was viewed

as a theme of significance second only to organizational communication. A quantita-

tive analyst would quickly note that the theme was mentioned at equal frequency with

organizational diversity. Appendix E charts the respondents' perspectives that support

this determination. The essence of an organization is its mission statement or

"doctrine" to use Hotep's repeated reference. He used the term as a means to put a

handle on institutions, saying, "I would call a group of human beings an institution if

they endure with the same **doctrine** for a long, long time."

One other attribute of case studies worth mentioning now is their propensity to

lead to emulation. The cases have a general tendency to add functionality to the

phenomena studied. This study was pursued in light of considerations that emerging

institutionalized organizations would find sufficient examples from these cases to

emulate themselves. First, however, it was worth understanding what was meant by a

mission statement. Bryan's (1988, p. 104-105) applied work defined and suggested a

process for better understanding mission statements. There, he defined a mission

statement (or creed or doctrine), saying the following:

> A mission statement is a declaration of organizational purpose. They are
> usually short, not more than a page, and often no more than a punchy slogan.
> The . . . statement should . . . answer six questions: 1. Who are we? 2. In
> general, what are the basic social and political needs we exist to fill or the
> social and political problems we exist to address? 3. In general, what do we
> want to do to recognize or anticipate and respond to these needs and problems?

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4. How should we respond to our key stakeholders? 5. What is our philosophy and our core vales? 6. What makes us distinctive or unique?

In other cases, like that of Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA), for example, the mission statement was used to define the organization. The exchange between the researcher and Aaron and Abel, amidst the noise and bustle of a downstairs cafeteria, went thusly:

> R: When you're asked to briefly describe MASA what do you say?

> **Aaron and Abel:** I can't do it briefly. Oh, (maybe to a non-aggie) when I do it briefly I refer back to our mission statement. I think our mission statement says a lot. Our mission statement lays out in a paragraph or two what we're about and what we intend to do. And I think the people that helped put that mission statement together were committed to what they were doing. They came forward with some of the best that was inside of them to develop a mission statement. And it talks about a process of research and dissemination of agricultural systems that are economically feasible and economically sound and environmentally safe and I think that says a lot.

Another application of the mission statement came up during the exchange with Dambala speaking about his experiences with the Youth Development Corporation (YDC). From the transcript of our recorded interview, the following was drawn:

> R: First what are the values of YDC?

> **Dambala:** Basically we're set up to help youngsters find employment. Let's see, here's our mission statement: (reading from a brochure) Youth Development Corporation will assist youth with their self-development by providing guidance towards a meaningful self-reliant future. Does that mean anything to you? Who wrote these things anyway? (Observer's Comment: This was posed more like a rhetorical question].

From the researcher's field notes, the observation was made that there was a bit of cynicism in the tail portion of Dambala's response. His (rhetorical) question appeared sardonic to the researcher because of the general attitude (reverence) Dambala expressed for the organization, its services and its mission.

Having had this and other experiences with respondents during the study

caused an adjustment by the researcher for better sense making during the interview

with Hotep. He eloquently and repeatedly mentioned the importance of an organiza-

tion's "doctrine." Noting the significance of meaning in communication, the follow-

ing statements and question were made and posed to illicit a clarifying response from

Hotep. The researcher is on record having said: "You refer back and forth and are

consistent with the notion of doctrine. Let me understand this notion. Is it the same

thing that other folks call a mission or a mission statement?" Hotep's answer was

elaborate and definitive on the theme. He went on to say:

> It is similar. Yes, a general overall mission statement could be the same as a doctrine. In fact in some languages it is better to say mission than it is to say doctrine. Sometimes in the English language the word mission connotes the wrong kind of thing. The concept of doctrine is sometimes defined as **the essential rationale**. Why does the world need this organization if it is an organization that is becoming institutionalized? That is why leadership has to be able to do something. Leadership has to be able to state the doctrine. Excellent leadership can write words that will communicate the doctrine. A doctrine is a very slippery elusive kind of phenomenon; it is this sort of great idea.
>
> We are sitting here at Michigan State University. Somebody had the idea that science and higher education should be applied to practical things that people have to do in their everyday work. That was the central doctrine like all the doctrines that get misunderstood and they tried to apply that doctrine in various places in the early 1800s. . . . I would argue educational institutions tend to last (some of them) a long long time. Even though they may change their mode of operating and change their curriculum to fit the needs of the time, they can continue if they (the educational institution) institutionalize their curriculum.
>
> Let's say they decide to have driver education for everybody in East Lansing, Michigan because it is important for them to drive a car. Now let's assume that 50 years have gone by. We're all moving around with a belt hooked on our shoulders and we fly from place to place, and for mass transport there are automobiles but nobody uses a personal motorcar. If you keep in the schools driver education, I could see in the curriculum committee they'll have big discussions saying well it is good for coordination of the eyes and hands; it is a noble thing; we already have the textbooks and people trained to teach it; so we keep it anyway. You can institutionalize it. You get the

course within the curriculum. But when it becomes absolutely obsolete, then it will die. If the whole institution's doctrine is encompassed by it, then the institution will also die. [Though] it may hang on for quite a while. . . . Every human group has some kind of doctrine.

Included in efforts to generate a mission, organizations often spend time to define their goals. The goals give structure to the specific pursuits of the organization. Noting the major themes generated from the respondents, the participating organizations benefitted from having the **flexibility to adapt** to the environment by **revising their goals** on a regular basis.

Culture

This theme was one the of less significance based on respondents' comments. The purpose for representing it here was because it made up a portion of one of the areas of inquiry for this study. From Chapter One, the third area of inquiry was to answer the following question: How do the Seven-C's--(Communication, Control, **Culture**, Commitment, Capital, Compliance and Consensus on values (Coherence)-- contribute to the institutionalization of the nonprofits identified for this study? The literature was appearing definitive that at least these seven variables, strategically engineered to all begin with the letter C, by and large contributed to the institutionalization of nonprofits. The culture theme was determined possibly significant in many of the cases but not stated. In Appendix E, this characteristic is expressed with the symbol **P** (a capital and bolded letter p). Validation of this theme came in the form of concurrence with an original model designed by the researcher that laid out the seven C's in a grid. Towards the end of each interview, the respondents were asked to validate the model in a similar fashion that police ask eyewitnesses to finger the

culprit from the precinct's book of mug shots. The responses to such requests ranged

from Gédé's "You can keep adding and adding to that . . ." to Dambala's "That's too

profound, too academe for me . . . ," to comments from Aaron and Bopha that led to

the reframing of the institutionalization paradigm. The exchange with Aaron went

thusly:

> **R**: You know, we have talked about all these variables (showing and pointing
> to the words on the computer generated graphic)--control, communication,
> culture, capital, consensus on the MASA values that we are calling coherence,
> compliance, and commitment--as being so important to the organization. Are
> there any other variables missing, based on your experiences, that would add
> to this symbol, that would say, these are the things that organizations need to
> have to be effective and to be institutions?
>
> **Aaron**: I guess I'd have a hard time identifying. I guess if there is anything
> within this organization or within my farming operation that I would like to try
> to avoid is a set of immovable parameters that the organization or my farming
> operation could move into or out of or if the situation demanded it. I think
> we're finding that flexibility in so many things today is an important compo-
> nent.

If there was any doubt to the significance of the culture theme to the institu-

tionalization process, Hotep removed some. It was less an issue of viewing the

culture theme in askance. The fact was that the culture was all around their organiza-

tions. Hotep explained how with the following statement: "I see **culture** as a larger

thing; they **(institutions) tend to all be in a culture.** Culture will control certain

things and culture will enhance certain things and **it is always there.**"

Diversity

The concept of diversity had emerged in various dialogues during this study.

When it first emerged, it prompted an observer's comment that suggested sentiments

of that the comment was initiated as a patronizing gesture. Later, the theme emerged

again. The repeated mention of the concept validated its relevance as theme for this study and the institutionalization process for nonprofits. Aaron and Abel specifically called for "organizational diversity." Calembert and Dambala were more focused on a "diversity of people." Calembert's and Dambala's situation is that their organization exists in an environment that is predominately unionized. Having these organizational types in the environment of potential participants (leaders, volunteers, collaborators, board members, etc.) required for the organization to be inclusive of those individuals. When the union member was brought into the fold of membership or "supportship," it was anticipated that s/he would bring in the union as well.

The same truism was expressed for dealing with largely unionized environments in Detroit, Michigan and southeastern Michigan in general. Without those validating support from these diverse individuals, programs seemingly began on a failing note. Lastly, some respondents like Erzule and Imani referred to a need for "diversity in programs and services." This last call was consistent with the literature and other less significant comments generated from two of the ten respondents. From the literature, however, the dominating definition of diversity refers to the ways people in organization differ taxonomically. "Experts" of the subject had developed a litany of descriptors to validate the concept. As it relates to people, diversity emerged as a response to long-standing denials to access and opportunity for particular segments of the community. Now, with the community variable looming so large as a determinant of institutionalization, the diversity meaning was being incorporated into organization who otherwise would have been content with homogeneity.

The respondents from these cases address the diversity issue in a multifaceted manner. Aaron said:

> I think that the organization, whether it be Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association, whether it be the North Central Regional, Minnesota Project, the MIFFS Project, Michigan Farm Bureau or any other, they have to be that diverse to represent the diversity that is within the industry. There's no one organization that can do it all. No one individual can do it alone. I firmly believe that for individuals as well as organizations.

Even more poignantly, Hotep added "If an organization wants to be institutionalized it can not stay with one outside donor." The diversity construct was thus applied organizationally in terms of people, programs, services, and sources of support.

Goal Revision

This theme addressed one of the areas of inquiry for this case study (area of inquiry one). One specific intent was to identify what organizations do over time to deal with changes in the marketplace. Understanding this concept requires a general understanding of what goals are. A goal is different from that which will be discussed in the next section. An organization may have tangential missions and use different goals to fulfill those missions. The participants in this study were in general agreement that effective institutions revised their goals often on their way towards institutionalization. Most reasons were related to the dynamism of the environment in which nonprofits performed their services. Another reason was that the mechanisms for addressing "age-old" problems changed over time due to changes in resources. Here resources referred to capital, ideas, human (members on committees, leadership, etc.) and willing partners.

Imani, relating to her experiences with Tuscola 2001 and from her professional expertise as a community developer, made the point abundantly clear. Though the question was posed for with meaningful intent, the response was unanticipated and useful for this theory building process. The exchange was the following:

> **R:** Is there a correlation, in your opinion, between effectiveness and institution status?

> **Imani:** There is a correlation between effectiveness and an institution but not that great. You do not have to be around 20 years to be effective. The question [for an organization] is does it reach its goals. Do the goals keep changing? Tuscola 2001 goals keep changing. Tuscola 2001 must revisit their goals every couple of years. Tuscola 2001 constantly deals with changes in the environment.

According to Gédé, however, there would be greater frequency in the goal revision process for Tuscola 2001. In his words, "We must annually look to change the goals, otherwise the organization will cease to exist."

Hotep may have contributed the definitive posture on the concept of goal revision, how it has been pursued by institutions, and the relationship of the construct to institutionalization. Speaking mostly in a professorial tone and consistent with the expert taxonomy assigned him by the researcher, he offered the following:

> The main idea of an institutionalized organization is that it is valued in and of itself. Earlier you mentioned FFA. There are things like that which people get associated with over time. They develop alumni, they develop loyalty, they develop commitment and if they are designed to achieve a certain purpose then that's great. But then those who are committed to it will try to achieve that purpose. Now let's say that they do achieve that purpose, then what. If something is institutionalized and there is no longer that purpose because it has been achieved, in a few cases they have been able to keep the institution anyway. They **redefine the goals** and they say that they are similar.
> The concern with infantile paralysis is an example. A foundation was set up for that thing. It worked on that for a while. That foundation was valued greatly and it became institutionalized. But then the Saulk vaccine came along and it became in the USA a much less serious thing. So then what to do? What if you were on the staff of the foundation; if you were the

director of personnel and you had 30 people working under you and they all have a family? Women and children are involved in the organization. Then you don't like to see it die. So then what they did is they left the infantile paralysis business and got into clean air and lungs. They kept some of the same symbols. They changed the name a little bit. And the "institution" continued; but I would argue that that is a rare event. In most cases if they get organized for some purpose and it is a noble purpose and people in the world like it and want to support it and are willing to contribute to it, work for it, suffer for it, etc., it becomes institutionalized. Some of those, the exceptions, are the religious organizations. They could last 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,000 years, especially if they are not too **discrete and concrete about what they are trying to do**. If they keep their doctrine sort of flexible and very broad in general, those institutions can last a long long time.

This example was one of many provided on this theme. Once again, the relevance of the time aspect appeared. As a relatively young organization, Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA) had then undergone a limited number of goal revision sessions. The leadership and membership of that organization, at the least, as a result of this study could understand the significance of goal revision to the institutionalization process.

Category Two--Individually Related Themes

Earlier in Chapter One, Schein's (1965) definition of organizations as ". . . the rational coordination of the activities of **a number of people** for the achievement of some common, explicit purpose or goal, through division of labor and function and through a hierarchy of authority and responsibility . . ." was used to suggest the importance of the individual on organizations. In the most simplistic and as postulated in Figure 1, social systems begin with individuals and lead to complex higher orders. Weber and other leading thinkers of his time (particularly from the humanist school) always saw the value of the human component on organizations. Earlier, both Bopha and Calembert supplied reiteration of this premise when they spoke about

valuing individual initiative and the individual respectively. The individual's contributions and interactions formed the organizational script. They wove the organizational fabric that enveloped the organization and kept it relevant. With the following themes, those scripts, the fabric and those responsible for them are brought to life. Within each category, emphasis is added with bolded lettering.

Caring

One of the weaker represented themes in all of this study was that of caring. Since this study applied qualitative methodologies, the impact of this theme to the community of nonprofits and institutions compelled its presentation here. A p-value for significance, an R-squared index, or a negative correlation coefficient would probably have a stifling effect on this important construct. However, in the broad sense, its coverage here is consistent with a call echoed by Beck (1992, p. 455), urging academicians and practitioners ". . . to move toward the creation and support of a competent and caring society [and for educators] to recognize and practice a caring ethic." The concept is also consistent with the transformational leadership, repeatedly observed during this study, that would be the hallmark of the postmodern era and probably others beyond.

These reasons partially provided a rationale for this discussion on caring. Another reason is that it encompasses concepts like **diversity** that was identified as a major theme in this study. The caring theme was itself indeed one of the findings from the cases. From Appendix F, it is clear that caring was a significant experience for at least 3 of the 10 respondents. It was also experienced by the researcher during sessions undertaken as a participant observer. Those three respondents admittedly

were predominately reflecting an experience with an organization that had care

implicitly embedded in its creed. Speaking about Youth Development Corporation

(YDC), Calembert explained that he was in :

> . . . a people-oriented business, and if the staff morale is low in the agency, they won't have the kind of enthusiasm to provide the kinds of services we're providing these kids. Kids can see that; young people can see in a hurry that you essentially don't care. To me, that is one thing I want people to recognize YDC for. 'This is an organization I come to who cares about me. And therefore, because they care for me, I will probably get what I want.' [Observer's Comment: Calembert was talking in the role of the observant and satisfied student user of YDC]

Erzule saw the care construct in a different though parallel plane.

> You see I think that's important that those students have a part in that operation. I also think its important that those of us who really care about the kids and their learning find some computers to donate to them so that they can teach the kids to use computers now not mimeograph machines because businesses are already beyond that. . . . The students may not use the latest technology but they are treated with **care.**

This last notion of care posited by Erzule is the essence of what was proposed as

"caring ethic for organizations."

The difficulty in presenting a coherent dialogue on this topic stems from

similar difficulties generally found in attempts to define institutionalization. As Beck

(1992, p. 456) restated, "Caring does not readily lend itself to an operational defini-

tion for few actions can be universally as caring." Much like institutionalization was

analyzed (in this study) through use of certain variables, caring was said to be best

understood in terms of its goals. Overall, the chief goal of caring is human growth

and development. From Milton Mayeroff's seminal work On Caring (1971), she

(Beck, 1992, p. 456) quotes: "To care for another person, in the most significant

sense, is to help him [her] grow and actualize himself [herself]."

Human Relationist Fromm (1956) stressed how love for others is inextricably

linked to care, respect, responsibility and knowledge of one's self. With the follow-

ing statements, the connection moved ever closer (Fromm, 1956, p. 50):

> To love somebody is the actualization and concentration of the power to
> love . . . [and] love of one person implies love of [mankind] as such. . . .
> From this it follows that my own self must be as much an object of my love as
> another person. The affirmation of one's own life, happiness, growth,
> freedom is rooted in one's capacity to love. . . . If an individual is able to love
> productively, he loves himself [herself] too, if he [she] can love only others,
> he [she] cannot love at all.

There was a relationship component associated with the caring being advocated for

organizations and the individuals involved in them. Too, there was a tendency to

segment this notion of caring as one origination from female theorist (once again

exposed is the failings of taxonomies). Beck (1992) dissected the works of Carol

Gilligan (author of In a Different Voice, 1982) which challenged traditional (male)

ways of understanding moral development. First, she used the term "interdepen-

dence" to describe the aforementioned relational quality in organizations. Then, as

Beck (1992) aptly summarized, ". . . she suggested that male theorists had tended to

see morality built on an ethic of justice as superior to that built on an ethic of caring"

(p. 457). Finally, she wrote that, "When interdependence exists between people,

they are motivated ". . . to act responsibly toward self and others and thus to sustain

connectivity . . . [and an] ethic of caring" (Beck, 1992, p. 459). To date, the

evidence from the literature was that these relationships thrive where a sense of

community is stressed. Beck (1992) provided a summary of Bellah et al.'s Habits of

the Heart (1985) work in which the authors ". . . concur that the development of

community is important, perhaps essential, for caring, growth-inducing human

relationships" (Beck, 1992, p. 460). By and large, they wrote of the alienation and isolation that have resulted from America's overwhelming commitment to individualism and suggest that a sense of membership in a community is needed as a counterbalance. Also in Beck's (1992) summary, attention is brought to their call for the celebration of our interrelatedness (relationship), if which occurs, society would be transformed so that:

> . . . there would be no fear of social catastrophe or hope of inordinate reward motivating us to exaggerate our own independence. . . . With such a change, we might begin to understand why, though we are all, as human beings, morally deserving of equal respect, some of us begin with familiar or cultural advantages or disadvantages that others do not have. Or perhaps, . . . we might begin to make moral sense of the fact that there are real cultural differences among us, that we do not all want the same thing, and that it is not a moral defect to find other things in life of interest besides consuming activities. In short, a restored social ecology [resulting in community] might allow us to mitigate the harm that has been done to disadvantaged groups without blaming the victims or trying to turn them into carbon copies of middle-class high achievers. (Cited by Beck, 1992 p. 460 from Bellah et al.'s (1985) Habits of the Heart, p. 289)

These discoveries were not being arrived at in vacuums. The foregoing would have otherwise appeared most irrelevant and out place for this study as was originally thought of Bopha's philosophical filibuster. From our findings about the significance of caring and the caring ethic, there was room to include this genuine concern he had for the fate our world and their social systems that undergird it. Because of nomenclature and selective uses of terminologies, it first appeared that Bopha's comments were tangential and rebellious to the institutionalization paradigm. Closer analysis of the following proved otherwise. Here were Bopha's views:

> . . . The premise of the interview when we started was that this is about institutionalization and I'm not sure that it is. I believe that we are in a very unique time right now, in a unique time in the history of our species on this planet. I heard somebody say this a couple of weeks ago at a session and it

really hit me. If you look at the eras that we have lived through--the ice age, the stone age, the agricultural age, the industrial age, the information age--that we are the first generation to, not only live in at least two majors ages that we have been through on this planet, but over a transition time as well. I mean, if you think of the time when we moved from the middle ages to the industrial age through the renaissance, there were several generations who just lived in the transition time between these two ages.

We are living when things are changing at such a greater pace than it ever has before. We are faced with living part of our life in one age and the rest of our life in another age and living through the transition. This has never happened before. I think that it is apparent that the institutions that were created in society to **take care of**, for example, an industrial age, are largely irrelevant. I mean they are still around but they're undergoing tremendous upheaval because through this transition time and into a new age, they can't function the way they did before. I believe that we are heading into a time when institutions need to come and go. To view success as institutionalization and here for a long time, that may denote failure as often as it denotes success. That success might look more like **groups of people with common vision and common aspirations coming together around important issues collectively** exerting leadership for change and that 10 years down the road, when the issue they came together on is no longer a critical issue, that effort dissolves and **these people are now together** in a much different group. It may not even be the same group. But individuals who were involved in this have now sort of moved and are now involved in some other **important social movement**.

I believe that the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association is part of a social movement. So from that perspective the institutionalization is not what is important. **What is important is the capacity building of people, that people need to, in this time, in this transition state that we are in, on this planet, people need to be improving and enhancing their skills of living on the planet and living with each other. We need to develop the kinds of relationships that are necessary for us to come together and then move apart in this fluid kind of organizational and association structure so that we can meet the social needs that are going to come at us.** And they [the social needs] are going to come at us very quickly. As soon as we rigidify ourselves into an institution, then our mindset starts to become, "What do I need to do to keep this institution alive?" Even though the institution may largely become irrelevant to the social movements that need to happen, our mindset is still how do we keep the institution alive and we start acting in ways that no longer look like the vision of who we are, the vision of who we were when we created ourselves.

The "caring ethic" concept will most likely have to be the inner core of this movement Bopha so earnestly spoke about.

Collaboration

One of the stronger themes that emerged during this study was that of collaboration. Repeatedly, this concept was addressed by the 10 respondents as what individuals in organizations needed to do to stay viable in this ever changing world. Note that from all earlier discussions (from Chapters One through Four) and up until this point, collaboration was omitted as a variable in the analysis of institutionalized organizations. Figure 9 was drafted intuitively as a test model to help respondents better capture the meaning of the variables identified from the literature. Those variables were the basis that area of inquiry three proposed to answer: How do the following seven-C's--Communication, Control, Culture, Consensus on values (Coherence), Capital, Commitment, and Compliance--contribute to the institutionalization of the nonprofits identified for this study?
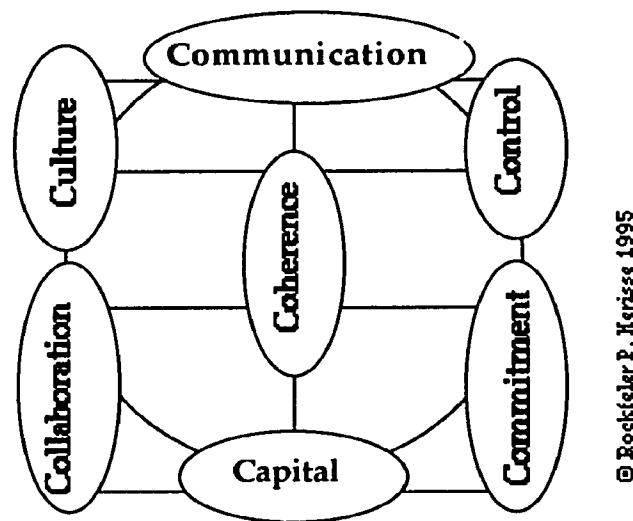
Figure 9. Seven institutionalization variables.

The end sought was the extent to which these variables were related to their individual experiences within the respective organization. This was the model shown to

respondents Aaron and the rest so as to formulate a theory for the third area of inquiry. Approvingly, most of the respondents thought the model "fine," noting where Gédé said, "You can keep adding and adding to that" (speaking of the variables on the model). In that sense, most of the respondents validated their individual experience with the seven institutionalization variables. In a manner almost reminiscent of when a hypothesis is disproved in a quantitative study and the researcher must accept the null, Bopha clarified the significance of the collaboration theme to the individual in organizations. Prior to seeing the "Seven Institutionalization Variables" model, he had postulated that the process of winning grants for one's organization is first about relationships and linkages, then it is about having excellent coherent ideas. His comments capture the essence of the theme as voiced by the other respondents with respect to the individual's role.

There were several examples from the transcripts of these observations. Bopha said:

> Within every institution there are individuals. Another way to look at it is to find the individuals inside those institutions who are able to be connected with the large institution and at the same time they are able to **partner with groups of people** who are looking at doing things in a different way and who are able to respond more quickly and adeptly at changing environments.

There, Bopha used the term partnering as opposed to the common collaborate suggesting the activity of individuals in a dynamic environment. Hotep also used the term partnering while simultaneously refuting the notion of individualism in the postmodern era. His statements were:

> Nothing about the present is institutionalized. . . . I think that we are in the era where a collaborative mode is increasingly necessary compared to an individualistic control type. The individualistic type of mode is not as desired as it may have once been.

As more data were generated along the collaboration theme, it became clear

that the thinking of the "Seven Institutionalization Variables" was not as holistic (or

systems-based) as first anticipated. Not only did the collaboration theme emerge,

others like compliance and control were rarely mentioned with any degree of convic-

tion. There were adequate explanations for their omission from the dialogue and

observations engaged with study participants and some organizational members. It

was found that these two variables were antithetical to the transformational leadership

advocated and applied by the participants in this study. The modern concept of

control was reframed to be consistent with the nomenclature of postmodern ideolo-

gies. As for compliance, earlier challenges to the derivation of that construct caused

the applicability to postmodern organizations and transformational leaders suspect.

The related themes, however, had to be addressed in turn.

First, regarding the collaboration that must be undertaken by individuals within

organizations, Bopha and the researcher engaged in the following:

> **R:** Usually new organizations try to establish those relationships. The common way is by keeping track of people that they meet over a period of time, otherwise they try to pursue them through boards of directors. What . . . (question not completed)

> **Bopha:** There is a third way. Break down the mindset of what an organiza-tion and an institution is. Collect around you other organizations, those people who have the relationships, those people who have the vision that is encom-passed in the vision of your organization and then you have the relationship intact. You don't have to do it through boards.

> **R:** One of the themes that I am pursuing deals with institutionalization and how it may end up affecting other nonprofit organizations. For example, it is getting more and more difficult to find a successful and long lasting organiza-tion that has shown, over 10 or 15 years or more, that it has been able to meet its goals and continues to grow. MASA was able to do that without necessari-ly the many years of experience often required. Is this going to be a

reoccurring trend or what was special about the MASA approach that made it overcome the usual climb of the 10 to 15 years?

Bopha: Partnerships and relationships. Getting grants is no different than anything else in life; it is done through relationships. You always need to have great ideas. But there are many more good ideas than there is money to support them. What is the difference between a good idea that gets supported and a good idea that floats out there and never gets supported. I believe it has to do with how well you articulate the idea and how well it can fit into another organization's vision for what they are doing and relationships. And we had all three.

Then, Bopha addressed the specific application of the theme to the existing

model. Note that those two previous exchanges occurred at varying times throughout

the interview. Hence, it suggests consistency, relevance and significance. This

concern was paramount for the researcher and was expressed during this exchange

during which more theory emerged.

R: Some of the reoccurring themes that I have been able to identify are: capital, commitment from the members, culture within the organization, a certain amount of control that the leadership applies or allows, flexibility to allow the members to that which they are capable, and some others [now pointing to the graphic shown with Figure 9]. Would you say that this is consistent with what you have seen with MASA [Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association] or with what institutions can do?

Bopha: I think that they are all important.

R: You have added **collaboration** to these seen here. In a sense you haven't termed them exactly as such but you hit on many of them as being presented in this framework.

Bopha: Now you have to put an 8th C in there. Where are you going to put it?

R: There is a way. It will have to be done, of course depending on how effective or how important it has been for your organization.

Bopha: Very! More important than any of these. More important than compliance. **Compliance is not nearly as important as collaboration.** Culture, communication and commitment; if you have the rest capital comes.

> I don't know, control. I guess it depends on how you frame it. It is definitely
> a very important aspect or an important issue.

Indeed, the control variable was reframed and better understood as coordination

facilitated by the leadership.

Commitment

For this study in general, commitment was one of the three most significant

and repeated observations (see Appendix E). Every one of the 10 respondents

reiterated the importance and value of commitment to their organization. It was even

observed during a board meeting for one of the participating organizations. A fail-

safe demonstration of commitment will always be the willing and effective participa-

tion of all your board members at mid-week meetings scheduled for 7:00 a.m. Since

the Tuscola 2001 aims to serve the whole Tuscola County, the meetings are scheduled

at sites throughout the County. This schedule often necessitated (at least for the

researcher) mornings that began as early as 5:00 AM to make on-time arrival.

Commitment is what the individual members bring to the organization.

Oftentimes it is said to be inspired or caused to be felt by some "thing" or some

"one." During the industrial age or even the modern era, an inspirational or even

transactional leader could often be found responsible for such induced "motivation."

The transformational leadership promoted by this study and its participants suggested

otherwise. Though situational and probably underrepresented by these three cases,

nonprofit institutions are more effective with self-induced commitment. This line of

inquiry was pursued comparatively with several of the participants with the results

that formulated a formal theory about the commitment variable as related to the

institutionalization continuum. From the tone of the questions, a fair assessment was

that the researcher was still thinking and operating in a classical, outdated and non-

transformational mode though it was the major premise of this study.   Interaction

with Aaron and Abel of the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA)

went thusly:

> **R:** Do you think that the members of the (MASA) organizations are inspired
> to feel commitment? How do you as the leader or how does the organization
> as a whole get them to that stage?

> **Aaron:** I guess we have a tremendous team of committed individuals. I think
> they have the ability, capability to see where they can do things that would
> have an impact and they don't really need to be forced into doing that.
> They're ready to take on that roll. I think pride. I think they take it on with
> pride that they can do. Certainly at times we talk to each other about what
> some of these things might lead to, how they can be an asset to the MASA
> organization. But I wish we had more individuals who had the time. . . . I
> think they do have the commitment. There's a lot of commitment out there
> but simply put, it becomes a time factor.

> **R:** What about MASA do you think drives or commands so much commit-
> ment from its members? I mean every organization kind of looks for that.
> Particularly if you are talking about volunteers. You need commitment from
> volunteers to get the job done. And if you are talking about committees,
> committee work is, like one organization told me, where the life of the
> organization is. What is it about MASA that makes people feel so committed?

> **Aaron:** I think most individuals in the MASA organization really believe that
> they have something to offer and are willing to share that and the fact they are
> committed to sharing as best they can. Even if it's just the people who show
> up at the annual meeting, you know once a year they touch other people,
> associate with them. Just to make the commitment to come to that annual
> meeting, that's a commitment within itself. And it's hard to measure how
> much real commitment those individuals that show up to that annual meeting
> have expressed throughout the year. . . . I would almost bet that throughout
> the year they have done a lot of other things in their daily lives and in their
> daily farming operations that have helped to further the organization.

Intrigued by this phenomenon, clarification of this experience within MASA

was pursued in the interview with Bopha. This method of asking people exposed to

the same phenomena parallel questions was intentional. For one, it served to validate

the theory being generated. Triangulation in qualitative studies can occur along

multiple points in the study. The following interaction with Bopha evidenced the

commitment experienced by Aaron, Abel, Bopha himself, and the many other MASA

members.

> **R:** It was an interesting thing to note that two of the MASA members whom I interviewed and asked how, as leaders of the organization, they are able to get the people to be committed to the organization. The answer was, 'with relative ease' or at least nothing special had to be done because commitment is self-sustained. I was wondering how that is made possible. What does an organization do to keep self-sustaining commitment and keep the people continuously motivated without any control or other activities?
>
> **Bopha:** I would ask the question the other way around. It is not apparent to me how control or coercion or any other means can keep people committed because commitment comes from the heart. The way you keep people committed is to build a vision of what can be accomplished through a collective action. That vision, being so compelling to the people who are committed to it, they stay involved. The actions that are being taken by the organization are viewed as consistent with that vision and consistent with that commitment. People will always come and go for lots of various reasons, but you don't compromise your vision.
>
> You say we believe we can create an agricultural future that is going to be more environmentally safe and agronomically sound and economically profitable. We do believe that; we do believe that is necessary; we believe that stewarding the agricultural industry and resources in this state for the future are vitally important to all of us and you don't waiver from it. I believe that true commitment comes when individuals can understand how they can contribute to an effort that is larger than them. A lot of people think that commitment comes from receiving services and "well if you have an organization that can meet people's needs of what they want and what they need and the services that they require then people will stay committed." No, I don't believe that. I think that the higher commitment is one that is going to be developed based on what I can contribute to my community and not what I take from it. MASA is simply providing a vehicle for people who have this kind of vision for an agricultural future to contribute to a community who is doing this work.

To this point, the focus had been on the individual's role and the expression of

commitment. Hotep ultimately made the connection between this most important

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theme and institutionalization. He provided an example that will better educate

organization conceptualizers (earlier referred to as entrepreneurs) on their decision-

making prior to undertaking a cause through a nonprofit association. Hotep supported

his views by stating the following:

> **Institutionalization requires a certain commitment.** If there are 12 institu-
> tions with the exact identical doctrine then why should individuals stay in one
> compared to going to the others. Resources are absolutely necessary because
> you have two institutions with the same doctrine. One of them was creative,
> getting resources for decades and the next decade it sort of fails at getting
> attendance, getting the resources from the outside world. . . . So where is the
> commitment to the institution? This is a phase of dealing with institutionaliza-
> tion. An organization can become institutionalized, it can become deinstitu-
> tionalized and that is usually a step towards its reincarnation or its disappear-
> ance.

Becoming deinstitutionalized was mentioned here for the first time and makes perfect

logical sense. Still interested in the "how" of commitment in these nonprofits,

Calembert was asked to share his experience as a leader with Youth Development

Corporation (YDC).

> **R:** The members who you talked about within the organization, how are they
> inspired to commitment--to the values and to the goals of YDC?

> **Calembert:** Well I think the main thing is that you keep them involved with
> that (the goals). By dialoguing with them periodically how what they are
> doing fits into it (the goal). I think what is real critical with the Board of
> Directors or volunteers is to constantly keep them fed with success stories--
> things that say to them what we are doing is working. We just received an
> award from the Lieutenant Governor's office for our mentoring program.
> That does a lot. You take that letter from the Lieutenant Governor to the
> Board meeting and let them read the letter. That does a lot for them. Because
> now, when they are out talking to people about YDC, I say, by the way did
> you get a chance to see in the paper that we won an award for this. And part
> of this is just what you can get into. Oftentimes you are always dealing with
> financial things, maybe a problem. . . . It's real easy to get hung up on those
> kinds of things and not recognize the other things you are doing.

Committees/Membership

This theme is most related to the individual in that they collectively make up

the committees or the membership of organizations, regardless the form. From

Figure 1 depicting the developmental stages of social systems, the membership

breathed life in most of those social systems. For many organizations, the member-

ship is their lifeblood. Members invigorate the organization's purpose while directly

involved in establishing it. They also perform the work of the organization by

participating in committees and volunteering to achieve their creed. More critically

for certain nonprofit types, these members pay dues which make up the financial

resources needed to subsidize sanctioned activities.

Gédé was most passionate in his description of the role committees played in

Tuscola 2001.

> Gédé: . . . as chairperson now I can understand that it's not always happen-
> ing at the board meeting. **It's happening in the committees. I think the
> committees is where our work is being done.** The reports come back. The
> reports say we are doing good or not. But we support the committees. In our
> board meeting, our board should be supporting our committees very strongly,
> and with some monies at times. Now we started the Tourism and the Barn
> committees. They had no clients. But they were raising clients to get this
> thing started we appropriated some funds for the barn committee. But they
> paid us back you see, now they paid us back and they went on. They needed
> that little bit of start. So the board can do that. We added support with
> membership we go to the meetings and help structure the committees and then
> they elect their presidents of their organization and their treasurer and their
> secretary. We fund the group. We back out of it. You don't want to run
> their committee. That's my theory as a board member. They run their
> programs.

At first glance, this committee structure appeared as a peculiar mean to engineer an

organization. Noting their effectiveness, it may have been most appropriate instead;

their goals were being met. Furthermore, the popular concepts of coalition building

within organizations and task assignments to break down organizations into divisible

parts for flexibility had been advocated in other areas of the nonprofit and organiza-

tion development literature. Nonprofits could engineer many varying forms. Still, as

was seen from the evidence of the cases, what keeps them on the path toward

institutionalization, over time, is their creed and the coherence of the membership to

accomplish the myriad goals. Whether they organize or function as committees

within the organization is largely irrelevant.

The other aspect of organizational membership dealt with the value brought to

the organization by the membership. Aaron noted this need and thus engaged the

interviewer as follows:

> **R:** . . . What do you think would be the most important issue or problem
> facing this organization over the next year or so?

> **Aaron:** New **member growth.** I think we have to continue to bring on some
> new members and there are different ways that I suppose we can do that. I
> hope we continue to generate interest among non-members and make ourselves
> available to individuals in a positive way that they feel like we have something
> to offer them.

Gédé also considered the idea of membership growth for Tuscola 2001, although he

conceded the difficulty of getting people from the county involved initially. Often-

times, the difficulty stemmed from organizations' desire to have coherence as a

predetermined condition for membership. MASA had other ideas about the potential

members and who they ought to be. Bopha addressed MASA's handling of that

particular concern. For MASA, the founding members who wrote the mission

statement for the organization agreed that:

> . . . generally that you do not have to ascribe to any particular philosophy to
> become a member. MASA doesn't only welcome members who have said
> "Yes, I am carrying the banner of sustainable agriculture." It has included

members all the way from people who are very strongly proponents of organic agriculture to those who are more in the mainstream of agriculture as it is practiced in the state.

For many of these organizations, the membership concern was more acute for board membership. This area of organizational life and the organization literature was saturated and well-researched. Sufficient data existed on the processes organizations generally go through to accomplish effective boards and effective board performance. For Aaron and Abel of MASA, they looked for a team; people who can work together; people who are 'closer to the pulse' of the goings-on in the industry; a combination of name recognition and service they could provide. For younger organizations, it was often difficult to acquire board members who otherwise did not have a sensitivity for the doctrine. Without that sensitivity and commitment, an organization risked having a board in name alone. Before institutionalization and without effective collaborative linkages, an organization was well-advised to seat the working board of committed and active members within the respective community. In fact, the laws to incorporate a nonprofit in the state of Michigan require the identification of such individuals.

Communication

This theme was also observed and experienced as an individually related phenomenon. Earlier, it was noted that organizational communication was necessary for its (the organization's) viability. Though the organization may endorse a communiqué, individuals enact it. People are at the root of communication and are by and large affected by it. Thus, there are reasons for having this variable appear in this category as well. In the example of Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association

(MASA), Abel said, "I would hope that every opportunity we get we should share (communicate) those goals and aspirations that we are working on." Once the organization initiates the process, communication continues on another level, from person to person, for assistance, to give meaning to the announced "goals and aspirations" or to act upon the received communication. Noting the significance of individually related communication and how it manifested in their organization, Aaron and Abel openly discussed their ". . . trouble determining who should receive the newsletter because of the types of information that is shared in the newsletter."

The whole MASA organization had placed great emphasis on the individually related communication. Early in their formation, they incorporated the services of Michigan State University Extension (MSUE) for individual communication skill building. This service was afforded two of the three cases and felt needed by a third. Individual communication skills were directly related to the leadership capacity of that individual. MSUE had a successful track record of providing that service throughout the State. They were encouraged to continue doing so with evidence from organizations like MASA and others mentioned by some respondents but not included here in this study.

For Youth Development Corporation (YDC) individually related communication meant referrals. As Calembert said, "Fifty percent of our referrals come from word of mouth. That's the best PR you can get. And it's free." Here, people are communicating with people. YDC was able to tap into communication mechanisms that translated to increased organizational effectiveness. Evidence, however, was gained only after those individuals who received that information walked through the

doors for YDC services. Therefore, another process that could be called *interpreta-*

tion to action augmented this continually evolving communication model.

The additional process to the communication model (here called "interpretation

to action") was found as part of the experience of some respondents in this study.

Filo called it "good follow through on the part of the leadership." This category was

significant because of the importance of perspectives and meaning making in commu-

nication. Consider a basic example of a communication from ABC Community

Foundation to nonprofits via internet announcing a Request for Proposal (RFP).

While using the communication technology (computer, fax modem, internet, e-mail,

etc.), the executive director of DEF, Inc. notices the communication under the

Gopher-established nonprofit organizations category.

Here was how the five processes explained this communication. The **commu-**

nicator was the ABC Community Foundation with a **message** about an RFP and

available funding. The message was developed through a mutually shared **medium**

called internet and sent electronically via fax modems attached to computers. The

researching executive director engaged in the communication was the **receiver** of the

electronic message. S/he followed the instructions on the communiqué and gave

feedback to the Foundation by indicating DEF, Inc.'s interest in the new funding

category and receipt of the instructions on how to apply for the grant. Now what

does this all mean to the **receiver**/executive director? From what perspective was the

message viewed? What meaning was applied to the content of the message? These

questions legitimize a concern for interpretation to action in communication. If the

meaning of the communiqué is perceived as disingenuous and worthless, then the

executive director may opt to ignore this particular communication. And the cyclical nature of communication suggests that the meaning and interpretation that ABC Foundation would have about DEF, Inc. is that they are not serious and the executive director is ineffective for not pursuing financing opportunities after determining a fit in goals and values. Noting the above scenario, follow-through resounded as a critical element for most of the organizations. Though he did not call it "interpretation to action, Townsend (1976) did point out that ". . . Even the best transmitters will fail if the intended recipients are unable and/or unwilling to receive and act on the messages" (p. 470). Furthermore, he noted that "Only through information transmission can the efforts of people be coordinated so that the organization can respond effectively to its environment" (p. 471).

Coordination

The initial literature review to frame this study identified control as a variable applied by effective organizations on the verge of institutionalization. That literature, by and large, dated back to the modern era during which control, positional leadership, and management by objectives, were the crux of the organizational development (OD) paradigm. That construct, however, undervalued the creativity and post-modern standards for organizations. As a result, some OD practitioners moved from control to coordination.

Understandably, the control phenomenon was still applied in some OD circles. In certain instances, the concept of coordination was broadly adopted or understood to be going on. Hence, many of the respondents spoke to the need for control within organizations since they witnessed much of it in their organizations. Their validation

of the control concept was made using the initial setting institutionalization variables

depicted in Figure 9. Control was not "thrown out" in the manner compliance was

done by Bopha. The researcher was led to modifying the concept (at least in name)

when repeated references were made to flexible organizations, changing goals, and

flexible leadership. Hotep's comments served as an example of this oxymoronic

posture. It can be attributed to nomenclature and taxonomy. In one instance, he

talked about a move away from control in the US and a ". . . a genuine kind of

participation among the collaborators where you [the organization] can get good

"coordination." The following exchange between the researcher and Hotep was

exemplary.

> **R:** Is there room for control along the operations of the leadership or the
> manifestation of the organization's institution status?

> **Hotep:** Yes, there is always some kind of control. If I am looking at an
> organization or institution, one of the variables that I look at is who are
> controlling the program--any specialized people within the institution, leaders
> of the institution, or the clientele of the institution? An institution where the
> insiders want to control the whole program and not let the outsiders or the
> clientele have a chance on it--and they can do that--then one can predict that
> the program is not going to succeed over time. . . . In all human interaction
> there are features of control. They will control various things and that is
> different from using the sort of control.

To further pronounce this theme, Hotep used an example of a jazz group.

Organizations can indeed function more like jazz ensembles where the band leader

says, "a one, a two, a one two three," and on goes the music. The coordination

comes in with regards to the fundamental operation of the ensemble. Hotep said:

> They have to, however, have some degree of coordination, because if they are
> going to do their certain thing in a restaurant tonight, they all have to be there.
> If one guy decides not to go and he happens to be the base player, and they
> can't do it without him, then they are in trouble; so they have to coordinate.

The jazz band metaphor works in that it suggests a certain amount of fluidity as expressed by each artist. In such an environment, the ensemble member has an opportunity to take initiative (a value identified by Bopha), be in "control" of his/her individual improvisation (called a "run" by jazz musicians and *fanatiques*), and contribute within the framework of a team. The leader of this organization type is one who is flexible and transforming as opposed to rigid and constraining.

Leadership

The leadership concept was always looked upon as a critical component to organizational effectiveness and the institutionalization process. For Calembert to refrain from the term "leadership" explicitly may speak to his positional role in the organization. All the other respondents specifically mentioned leadership as a component of institutionalized organizations. This situation may be akin to Gédé's of Tuscola 2001 who saw "leader" as a near pejorative term. Still, Calembert talked about leadership-related concepts. Policy and procedural guidelines were his hall-mark. He continually stressed his concern for order, organization and rules. He lived by his words--if his work environment was to serve as evidence. His office was neat and orderly, albeit small and windowless. He was able to refer to file cabinets and a Rolodex when asked for specific information. Those activities were managerial and, at best, functional/transactional leadership. From the earlier section, this culture necessitates control for both rewards and punishment.

Meanwhile, transformational leadership was the recommended style for institutionalized organizations. This type of leadership ". . . arises when leaders are more concerned about gaining overall cooperation and energetic participation from

organization members than they are in getting particular tasks performed" (Mitchell & Tucker, 1992, p. 32). In most of the literature, leadership was said to be a modern concept. Mitchell and Tucker (1992) laid out postmodern prescriptions for school executives in their descriptive comparison of transformational leadership. Their work (1992) validated the posture taken for leadership in this study and was expressed thusly:

> If leaders are working in cultural settings where goals are unclear or organizational members do not agree about them [no consensus, to use the phraseology of this study] effective leadership requires an approach that transforms the feelings, attitudes, and beliefs of their followers. Compliance is not enough under these circumstances; it is important to get followers to believe in themselves and in the goals of the organization [and to commitment, using the phraseology of this study]. Transformational leaders are "people oriented;" rather than focus on tasks and performance, they build relationships and help followers develop goals and identify strategies for their accomplishment. . . . Managers . . . rely more on transactional than transformational relationships. [To them] . . . task definition is more important than nurturing interpersonal relationships. . . . Transformational leaders see themselves as responsible more for redefining educational goals than for implementing existing programs. (p. 34)

The case may be that the leaders in the three cases applied transformational leadership intuitively, because it worked best for their respective organization. Consider, for example, Gédé and his empowerment of committees in Tuscola 2001. Those committee members saw their contributions to the organizational goals as testament of their, (in Imani's words,) "concern for the county."

Though Hotep's comments used less explicit words than those of Mitchell and Tucker (1992), he nearly approached the transformational leadership construct. The following exchange validated this finding.

> **R:** In your dealings with institutions what kinds of leaders have you found manifesting within these institutions to keep them as such?

Hotep: Tick off a few criteria (selecting fingers from hand to hand while going down a mental list): They **understand the doctrine**; they are **committed to the doctrine**; they are **able to explain it at all levels**; they understand it well enough so they **explain the doctrine to the staff** of the organization even though they are all in it and some of them even longer than the leader. The leader has to explain, 'we are here building a cathedral, we are not here just putting brick together'--the reasons why the world needs this organization. The leader has to be **able to explain that [doctrine] inside and outside to potential donors, to resource providers, whoever they may be, and also to clients.** That sometimes requires a leader that can speak nine languages or speak one language at many different levels to people of different kinds. Then there is a factor of shear energy and long hours of hard work. The leaders I have encountered [who] really carry their institutions, **tended to be both men and women of unusual vigor.** Maybe they are not physically all that strong, but they could hang in there day after day, after day--long days and short nights; get less sleep than everybody else; get to work earlier than most of the others; be there after the others are gone; sleep in the vehicle, whether it be a car, boat or a train or whatever; and be ready to work as soon as they land at the next place. I think that kind of characteristic tends to pervade successful institutions over the years.

There are other kinds of things that help institutions, but **it sure helps to know something about the various programs that the institution has.** He or she **must understand the doctrine**; that is critical. If the organization, let say, is a health care organization and it is going to employ physicians and nurses and technicians of various kinds, it is also going to build buildings, use equipment and it's going to have a transportation system and a communication system. Whoever the leader is can't understand all of that and couldn't be technically competent in all of those things. He or she has to have enough sanity to deal with it all. Another characteristic is flexibility. The world changes and the institution has to sort of ride with the changes of the current. That means that the leadership has to be quite flexible. If its flexible enough, when the way to achieve the rationale of the doctrine is to do different programs than they did last year, flexible leadership figure that out, how to adjust to it and help the staff. Plus the staff, hopefully they will be flexible people and leader type of people in it. But the staff, and I'm not talking only about paid staff, they might be volunteers, they might be members or whatever. When they learn how to do something well and it seems to work, they won't like to change. The doctrine has to bring people to the organization [and keep them committed].

The idea of youth and vigor in organizations was experienced and reiterated by Gédé

speaking for Tuscola 2001. Specifically Gédé said:

Am I interested in the 2001 project? Yes, and I want to see it grow. I think probably a younger President next time with some more energy would be

good. Too many gray hairs. Diversity; and I am going to be requesting that because when you get older you get certain ideas and when you are younger you get certain more and this organization should not end up with gray hairs.

This recommendation is also consistent with findings convincingly derived and reported by Vandenberg (1993) in her study of neighborhood associations in Michigan.

Category Three--Environmentally Related Themes

In Chapter Two, detailed attention was afforded the "environment" and its affect on organizations. The environment was a significant concept for organizations because they did not operate in vacuums. The interrelation between and among them served as evidence of a fluid co-existence of "open systems" that shared resources (human, capital, ideas, facilities, donors, etc.). As it relates to institutionalization, the environment played a certain role that otherwise defined organizations along the institutionalization continuum. These roles were part of the experiences shared by the participants in the three cases. For meaning, the environment was considered as the suprasystem or the collectivities of organizations pursuing either similar or even tangential goals. Regardless of their creed, the following themes, namely capital, collaboration, communication, community validation, flexibility/adaptability, and organizational transformation, were viewed as being related to conditions in the environment. Emphasis will be indicated by bolded words, terms and/or phrases.

Capital

Since most of these organizations had a nonprofit motive, the capital theme had different meaning to the various respondents in this study. At the onset, it was

expected that capital was the driving variable for the organizations' sustenance. Yet

the respondents barely mentioned capital as a significant observation in their

organizational experiences. Considered within these experiences were interactions

and activities outside their respective organization or lives highlighted by this study.

These experiences by and large emanated from the broader environment within which

these organizations operated. Moreover, the environment, over the years, had

developed mechanisms to check and balance organizations' procurement of capital.

Still, Gédé of Tuscola 2001 was not completely ready to identify this variable as

being a major factor for his or other organizations striving for institutionalization.

Even with the phone ringing (twice in total), unfazed, he went on with his comment

saying, "Well it takes a little capital, not a lot, surprisingly, not a lot."

Hotep had a different experience and made remarks suggesting a different

meaning to the capital needs for nonprofits. He addressed the granting and institu-

tionalization processes nonprofits endured throughout their existence. He offered the

following remarks:

> Hotep: If a young organization has enabling linkages and linkages outside to provide its resources, it has a chance of being institutionalized. If it doesn't, it is not going to get the resources **just because it claims to be an institution.** . . . Even if everyone could agree that they need programs like that and even if some government or non-government organizations are willing to provide funds for it, there is going to be a time limiting factor because nobody can get money forever. Nobody says you get money forever and that [they] will give you X amount of money, as we do in this country, on an annual basis. I shouldn't say nobody because some people have died and left a will which states that, but their will is probably not infinite. If it is enough money, than it can become institutionalized.
>
> That is how some of the foundations become institutionalized. A very wealthy family [for example], forget how they accumulate the wealth, if they decide that they are going to incorporate it as a foundation and take all of their capital and use only the interest of the earnings from it to do something, it is relatively easy for them to become institutionalized. That thing has then a

guarantee of resources for a long time. Now you say, what about its pro-
grams? Well, staff will invent a program if they don't have them. If staff
invents a program that is illegal or something like that, they may end up not
surviving. Some things have started without leadership, without programming,
without organization, but with a constant flow of resources. If they don't have
any programs or projects that implement that doctrine--as long as they still
have their resources--they may last a long long time. . . . We don't need all of
them to start with.

On the flip side, Bopha validated Gédé's experiences saying of the identified institu-

tionalization variables, ". . . Culture, communication and commitment. If you have

the rest capital comes." From the major theme **Diversity**, it was found that the

resources ought to come from varying sources. The base point of this discussion was

that the environment had created its own discriminating variables and factors to

determine which organizations would continue receiving grants. Erzule clarified this

constant dollar chase and the overall process for nonprofits as it related to institution-

alization or, to use her phraseology, "to arrive."

> **Erzule:** I think all organizations aspire to have stable basic funding and would
> like recognition and community support and there's never enough of that.
> Even those that have "arrived" are struggling. . . . One way to have "arrived"
> is to really tap in to regular dollars. . . . The second way that organizations
> (sort of) "arrive" is to tap a local source of funding. In many communities
> there are two sources of local funds: community foundations and United Way.
> Lansing has a new community foundation. Many larger communities like
> Detroit, Grand Rapids and communities throughout the country have sizable
> foundations that are local funding sources with businesses and individuals
> contributing. So I'm talking about funding dollars right now.
>   In order to get local funds, its a little bit more complex. Its not a
> matter of excellent grant writing or getting to people who know Washington
> and work to lobby. It's a little different. First of all, foundation funds are
> generally smaller locally. They may support programs for a number of years
> but it may be at a scale where they withdraw support gradually. United Way,
> Community Chest (in some communities) typically will have a board and they
> will review applications and they will fund organizations year after year after
> year, presuming they meet certain guidelines. Now that's changing too. A lot
> of communities are saying we want a different process for application; 'we
> want a different way to determine how organizations are funded.' So right
> now it's really uncertain as to which organizations will receive funds for next

year through United Way. There's no guarantee of funds for the same organizations. Increasingly, people who contribute money, even $10 or $25 a year, are saying we want our money to go to this specific organization. So donors themselves scatter and disperse funds so that a small group of the board members isn't making that decision. What this has done is to create a lot of publicity that has to go on about that organization to the community. Every $5 and $10 contributor to the United Way has the power to decide what to fund. It's costly and requires publicity for small nonprofit organization. It is harder than influencing two or three key people.

Overall, Erzule made even more far reaching comments which stemmed from her experiences. She pointed to the self-serving nature of philanthropy to date. "And the statistics prove this," she said. Continuing, she remarked, "If it's new and not proven then folks will not come around to support it." Erzule's point made Bopha's comments resonate considering his mention of Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association's (MASA's) million dollar grant being the result of partnerships, relationships and linkages. The relationship was established along several planes of organizational levels for general accountability and therefore expanded the circle of relationships for the organizations involved.

Collaboration

Collaboration was already shown as being related to that which organizations and individuals do. In an even greater context, the environment demanded collaboration. The responses almost suggested that without collaboration, an organization seldom moved along the institutionalization continuum. Echoing a point made earlier by Hotep, Erzule asked rhetorically, "How many of these types of organizations or institutions can the environment support?" With limited and diminishing resources being available in the environment, this question was asked repeatedly. This observation invariably led to many more organizations coming together to: share rent in

office buildings; jointly sponsor conferences and national meetings; share mailing lists of their membership; partner to submit proposals as a consortium of concerned organizations; and, organize in still more innovative ways than these mentioned here.

Using the term *coalition*, Hasenfeld (1983, p. 76) posited some main ideas that contributed to the understanding of collaboration. He identified the following conditions as being most conducive for collaboration: (a) Each organization on its own is relatively powerless against those who control the resource it desires (i. e., money, legitimation, clients, favorable legislations, service programs); (b) there is the right amount of complementariness and compatibility of interests among the organizations; and (c) each organization perceives a payoff that exceeds the costs of collaborating. The associated costs to collaborations limited their existence over time and thus their institutionalized potential. Hasenfeld (1983) used the example of six civil rights organizations in the U.S. to stress the point of how the Urban League, NAACP, SCLC, SNCC and the Negro American Labor Council collaborated from 1963 to 1965 by overlooking their differences and organizing the successful March on Washington. Doing so for these seven organizations led to the passage of landmark civil rights legislation that later brought unprecedented rights for white women and anti-discrimination legislation to "protect" African Americans/Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and other "people of color." The ultimate culmination of that collaboration was its demise.

Having already detailed the importance of collaboration, Bopha provided the definitive understanding of how the environment promoted collaboration. The following exchange clarified the meaning.

R: What is it about being an institution has to do with what the environment says you undertake?

Bopha: Maybe this is where the whole point of collaboration comes back in. One of the basic values that MASA has employed from the start is that we are not doing it alone; that **you collaborate** with others. So you **utilize the strength that an institution can bring**. You don't say, I'm not going to collaborate with Farm Bureau because there are people there who are trying to support the status quo in agriculture, while we are trying to move ahead. Instead you say Farm Bureau has a lot of strengths to offer in what we are doing so lets team with them. All of a sudden you have MASA who is being supported by Farm Bureau every time there is a grant being written; you have the president of Michigan Farm Bureau writing a letter of support, and the director of MDA writing a letter of support, and the Dean of MSU College of Agriculture and Natural Resources writing a letter of support. You don't have to be an institution to be able to rely on the legitimacy of institutions that are there. You can do it by partnering with them.

R: So, in a sense, institutions in the environment still have a role to play and organizations can still aspire to get to that particular status?

Bopha: They can, but another way to look at it is to say I don't aspire to get to that status, but my greatest aspiration is to move towards the vision that we have articulated. And if the **best way to do that is to collaborate with others and find the common ground where those visions overlap** then you do it. You borrow legitimacy from others; you receive a grant from the Kellogg Foundation; that can bring you legitimacy overnight.

A more summative take on the collaboration concept had to be discussed. Though it could be seen as related to the environment, individuals and organizations, collaboration prevailed most significantly in one level. Bopha touched on it briefly in the passage above while purposefully switching from "we (MASA) are not doing it alone; **you** collaborate." Individuals were really at the core of collaboration. In earlier sections where it was suggested that organizations could choose to "partner" or collaborate, it was mentioned with the assumption that the individuals operating within the organization concept (detailed in Chapter Two) was applied. It was found that true relationships are pursued by individuals who shared values and other ethics. The

individuals, after having expressed those same values, ethics (diversity, caring or otherwise), and similar goals and/or mission for their organizations measured and analyzed the extent to which potential collaborators had points of commonality. Next, the leadership followed through and communicated intentions to collaborate. All the while, they were mindful that one aspect of their respective organization could keep them from ever becoming a "merged" entity the way Hotep and Erzule predicted for Boys and Girls Scouts.

Communication

Environmentally, communication dealt with those interactions, planned or otherwise, that organizations undertook with others in the suprasystem. This form of communication might have been in the name or image that an organization conveyed, its stature or its effectiveness as an organization (or the illusion thereof). Speaking of Youth Development Corporation (YDC), Calembert said:

> . . . It's real critical too that we do not focus a 100% on that [delinquency] because I also think it's important that the organization not be labeled as an organization that's only for troubled kids. For instance if you're an employer, and I come with somebody, and you know that I work with ex-offenders and that's it. You know the person I've got is an ex-offender and that puts a certain judgment on that person before you ever even talk to them, based on the fact that I brought them. I think that it is real critical that we don't label our clients by virtue of them coming to us. The only label is that between 16 and 21 but not necessarily troubled kids because you want an employer to make a decision on whether they are going to take this young person based on the young person not based on whether they think there may be some problems because of who is sending them their way. We have had some funding sources ask us to focus 100% on people who are in the court system or who have come out of the court system. And I said no. Seventy to 80% maybe, not one hundred. Because I want the onus not to be on the kids. I want there to be enough "good kids" (if you want to call them that) that are in the program so that an employer doesn't automatically judge a kid by the organization.

In the preceding passage, Calembert expressed how the organization's name could communicate something potentially damaging for the rest of his organization. Bopha nearly touched this point with his observation for the word "stewardship" in the name of his organization--Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association.

Another sense on the communication with the environment or that is environmentally related dealt with the status or perceived status of the organization. Already, it was explained that an organization can call itself an institution even without having "arrived" or achieved the "many trappings of institutionalization." In such cases (most notably from the researcher's previous experience as a nonprofit executive) the key was to communicate "an illusion of bigness." During a conversation, that concept was coined and explained by a graphics artist at Michigan State University after many years' experience working with small nonprofit/community organizations. Almost similar to the way YDC used "nice paper stock" (in Erzule's words), an organization could communicate that it had become institutionalized even while really closer to being deinstitutionalized on the continuum. Such illusions often served to attract collaborators, grants and donors, and legitimacy from the environment. The caveat, however, was that illusions were seldom institutionalized. An organization that communicated mostly illusion would die once the community realized it had been disingenuous in its communication.

A final part of that communication with the environment or that was environmentally related was the external communication of the organization's name. External communication was more precarious in that it was highly susceptible to noise and other disturbances from the environment. Townsend (1976) noted that "Only

through information transmission can the efforts of people be coordinated so that the organization can respond effectively to its environment" (p. 471). Organizations communicated their intentions, missions, goals, program objectives, needs for resources, and other critical information through use of available media. By the end of the 20th century, this media had become more sophisticated to then include satellites, computers (internet) and fax modems; those were media. By name alone, however, organizations communicated to the outside public and thus were able to emit significant messages with staying power. Consider for example two organizations; one was named Rebels Without a Cause (RWC); another was called Reformed Wayward Children (RWC). While the acronyms suggest sameness, intuitively, it was safe to argue that the RWC communicating "reform" and "children" would be better received and thus legitimized. The key words in their name communicated causes most in the environment would support. The key then was in selecting an organizational name that: (a) quickly and effectively identified the cause of the organization, (b) easily transferred into a "punchy" call name with an acronym, (c) communicated in the language spoken by the client-system; and (d) stood alone without previous tarnish from a defunct organization or competition from an already existing entity already with that name. Most of the foregoing dialogue dealt with organizational marketing which was by and large communication. There were many examples, however, of organizations with names that incorporated "youths," "environment," "American," and "international," to name just a few of the "buzzwords" that ushered in the 21st century. Concepts associated with the future, fairness and equity also appeared to convey sentiments meritorious of support.

Community Validation

The direct relationship expressed by a category and its thematic underpinnings was exemplified by community validation and the environment. For this study, the community was the environment. By community, scholars of organizational development (OD) and organization theory meant the stakeholders, members (and even the subsequent committees they work on within the organization) donors, collaborators, and other institutions all of which made up the larger suprasystem. The other component was made up of those individuals in the community whose interactions with organizations served to validate the work that they did. Weber (1947) identified that relationship between the community and professions. Hasenfeld (1983), among a host of OD practitioners, made the same correlation between organizations and their surrounding communities. The same concept of legitimacy was found essential for organizations along the institutionalization continuum.

When Filo was asked to comment on the value of Youth Development Corporation (YDC) as perceived by the community, her response appeared mixed and somewhat inconsistent. The fact was that she responded at varying levels. When asked, "What is the perception of YDC by the community?", she said:

> Parents are appreciative. Teachers are not involved directly but they are appreciative. I have never heard anything negative about the organization. Never have I heard, "This [organization] is a waste of time." They may have difficulty in getting hard concrete data to prove that YDC works. I like this program because of the holistic approach to serving the children. They achieve visibility in the community through their board of directors.

At one level, she spoke about the overall constituents for whom she was qualified to speak after 12 years as guidance counselor in the community. Her credibility commanded attention when she said, "The broad community is down on the

population that YDC serves. A theme is needed; something that strikes the heart of the community." At another level, she gives personal validation with statements like, "I like this program. . ." and by participating in studies like this one about the organization.

Community validation, therefore, was expressed in many forms and at multiple levels. Reiterating the "organizations as living organisms" metaphor expressed earlier in Chapter Two, Hotep said, "There is a natural life cycle for institutions [here meaning institutionalized organizations] just as there is for organizations." He went on to say, "If an organization becomes institutionalized the value in and of itself seems to be best, the critical part of the definition." Hotep used the term "value in and of itself" to communicate the idea of community validation. He provided a thorough understanding of the relationship to the institutionalization concept with the prompting, "So, the definition of institution extends beyond the variables?" Hotep's informed reply was:

> I don't think that the variables define an institution. The variables are charac-teristics that an analyst can use in describing it and comparing one of them with another or in making some forecast about how long it is going to last or what to do. If in the beginning stage, you have a new organization and you want to institutionalize it, what can you work on. The variables are handy. But I don't think it [the organization] gets defined as an institution except sort of historically. This one was an institution because it lasted a long time and because people valued it in and of itself. They valued it in spite of what it was doing.
> Nation states and sovereign states tend to get a little of this--'That is my country and I'm a citizen of it. I hope it is always right, but right or wrong it is my country'--so they tend to become institutionalized. Now we have a lot of countries changing names, changing all the time so even that doesn't go forever. We have military occupations and countries which eventually become colonies for someone else. Sometimes that lasts 300 year, but even after the 300 years are over, sometimes they can go back and go to the old institutions and in that phenomenon some institutions go underground.

Hotep was speaking at a higher and more global level, highly related to the bottom

resulting box of Figure 1 in Chapter Two explaining social systems. It was refreshing

to have been able to follow his diatribe. Off the digression he remarked:

> . . . When has a thing become institutionalized? Without the time dimension, people have to value it--maybe not for the particular program at the moment, but by the value in and of itself; by the name and their perception of the doctrine; and that is probably a more important thing.

Bopha had a different idea on how these organizations would arrive to that

stature, if at all. Follow the exchange with him, reported in other sections of this

study, while discussing institutionalization as an organizational pursuit and validation

in the form of legitimacy from the community.

> **R:** So in a sense, institutions that are in the environment still have a role to play and organizations can still aspire to get to their particular statuses?

> **Bopha:** They can, but another way to look at is to say I don't aspire to get to that status, that my greatest aspiration is to move towards the vision that we have articulated. And if the best way to do that is to collaborate with others and find the common ground where those visions overlap then you do it. You borrow legitimacy from others, you receive a grant from the Kellogg Foundation; that can bring you legitimacy overnight.

Associated effects were the organizations' ability to gauge and read the environment.

Flexibility/Adaptability

The findings thus repeatedly pointed to certain amounts of flexibility and

adaptability in both the organizations and the individuals interacting within them.

Still, as a significant observation from 8 of the 10 respondents, these themes were

related to conditions induced by the environment. Furthermore, they addressed area

of inquiry one of this study purposed to answer how organizations establish necessary

procedures to deal with changes in the marketplace. The answer, in part, was through

flexibility in the organization (leadership, membership, policies and programs, etc.) and adaptability as predicated by the environment. Bopha provided a clear testament of the adaptation of these concepts within the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA) saying, "The more fluid we can keep this organization, probably the better off we're all gonna be." When asked, "Could it be perceived as an aim to arrive at that fluidity in organizations or is it a natural process?" his answer was quite detailed and replete with examples of academic institutions. Bopha expressed that:

> It is sort of hard to say what that looks like as a goal. If you read the litera-ture in business and industry and the management and leadership literature, all over the place right now, it talks about the importance of being flexible, of organizations and institutions having a great deal of flexibility to deal with the changing environment. And I think that is one of the reasons, for instance, it is so difficult for a university to deal with changing environments. It is because we have built in such rigidity. We built rigidity in budgets. We built rigidity in curriculum. We built rigidity in terms of who is here. You get promoted and tenured and most people stay here for a career. That doesn't allow a whole lot of flexibility in being able to adjust an institution to meet current needs as they come very quickly. We may have a faculty at a univer-sity who is largely trained in one age and has a world view in one age, who is being asked to educate our young people who will live most of their life in a completely different age. And my God, that's a challenge.

Speaking on experiences with the same MASA organization earlier, Aaron had already made the point to allow certain amounts of flexibility in his leadership style, the organization and his private business. Evidence of a need for flexibility in Aaron's private business stems from the fact that he farmed 1,000 acres farm and did custom harvest work on 4,000 [acres] more. He grew wheat and soybeans, but his major crop was hay, most of it for cash sale all of which complement his 60 brood beef cows and Holstein cows (MASA Newsletter, December 1994).

For Tuscola 2001 and Imani, adaptability meant "revisit[ing] their goals every couple of years . . . [to] constantly deal with changes in the environment." Doing so

suggested an even greater sort of transformation parallel to that observed for the

leadership within institutionalized organizations.

Organizational Transformation

One of the exit questions for this study was intended to set up for closing the

interview. The respondents were asked to make some concluding remarks or

observations based on their experiences. In most instances, the comment centered

around environmentally related activities that their organizations had arbitrarily

endured along the path to institutionalization. This exchange between the researcher

and Aaron of MASA was a representative example

> **R:** Overall what do you see the MASA Organization 10-15 years from now?

> **Aaron:** It's hard to say because I guess I would hope that the MASA organization would always have the capability to adapt and adopt whatever its members demanded out of it at any one point in time. My opinion is that the organization that is not responding to its members' needs perhaps would end up, I don't know if failure is the right word, but would end up at something less than what its potential was. The future of the agriculture industry would dictate what the MASA organization is 15 years from now.

Throughout this report of the findings from the cases, Hotep gave many

examples of organizations that transformed by changing their "doctrine" (termed creed

in this study) to keep the institution alive when the purpose had been achieved.

Adding to those Hotep examples (the National FFA, French Institute of Illumination,

Michigan Agricultural College, etc.), Calembert pointed to two examples of immi-

nently transformed organizations. One of these organizations was the Veterans of

Foreign Wars; the other was Schools for the Blind. In the case of the former, the last

foreign war took place so long ago that mostly the grandchildren of the veterans'

descendants were still living. For the latter, the advent of technology, better nutrition

and prenatal care by mothers is making it possible for more children born without

health deficiencies such as low birth weight, no eyesight or hearing or high mortality.

Similarly, technologies had and would likely continue to assist organizations transform

to stay viable until or even beyond the time when their organizational goals had been

accomplished.

Summary on the Report From the Cases

The foregoing categories and themes represented under them were derived

from the 10 respondents interviewed for this study. They represented and shared

observations from their experiences acquired while affiliated with the Michigan

Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA), Youth Development Corporation

(YDC) or Tuscola 2001. They were reported as miniethnographies to give the reader

a full working sense of the research environment and a better perspective of the

experience that was being shared by the respondents. This method of reporting was

selected here, from other styles of reporting that would have otherwise required flow

charts and graphs, because of the researcher's experience with that method after

having acquired it in a class setting from Susan Florio-Ruane, here at Michigan State

University, who many had regarded as having contributed one of the better miniethno-

graphies to the literature.

Relational Levels of Inquiry

Predecessors in this genre included such authors as Peters and Waterman

(1987) and Collins and Porras (1994). While focused mostly on macro for-profit

enterprises (big businesses; fortune 100 or better) they wrote In Search of Excellence

(1987) and <u>Built to Last</u> (1994) respectively. In the process, they enhanced the literature on subjects related to organizational "excellence," visioning in organizations, and organizational renewal [transformation as used in this study] to name just a few of the diverse categories of inquiry. Another of these informed works was presented by Senge (1990) who was also considered a pioneer of this form. Similarly, Senge's (1990) seminal work applied systems thinking to arrive at his celebrated concept of organizational learning. The reason offered was because ". . . Systems thinking leads to experiencing more and more of the interconnectedness of life and to seeing wholes rather than parts" (Senge, 1990, p. 375).

Max Weber (1947), the leading proponent of legitimacy and bureaucratization, established the sociological connectedness between professionalization and the mutual development they endure as members in organizations. Drawing from his work, Hasenfeld (1983) incorporated concepts in his work on human service organizations that were consistent with findings on bureaucracy and its impact on the suprasystem. Schön (1983) made the connection to organizations more explicit saying:

> The more an organization depends for its survival on innovation and adaptation to a changing environment, the more essential its interest in organizational learning. On the other hand, formal organizations also have a powerful interest in the stability and predictability of organizational life. . . . Surprise, which is essential to learning, is inimical to smooth organizational functioning. Thus organizations evolve systems of error detection and correction whose function is to maintain the constancy of variables critical to organizational life. They are "dynamically conservative." Significant organizational learning--learning which involves significant change in underlying values and knowledge structure--is always the subject of an organizational predicament. It is necessary for effective organizational adaptation, but it disrupts the constancies on which manageable organizational life depends. (p. 327-328)

Here, the assumption was that the organization and its individual members were committed to learning; had arrived at a level where they could be considered, in

Freirian terms, conscientized; and were willing to endure because, as Illitch (1970) said, education is lifelong. These assumptions were necessary because there were no definites on the relationship between "effectiveness" and "institutions." Ferreting through these concepts required some learning assumably gained by the respondents over the years and throughout their experiences with their respective organizations.

Each key qualitative term was given adequate exploration during this study. The correlation observed was at best marginal. Alone, effectiveness was viewed as an ambiguous variable and predictor though this study settled on viewing organizational goals as one key predictor. Institutions were said possible if only they were named so by a new association of individuals (as few as 2 to 10) coming together under a shared creed (doctrine or mission statement or purpose) and commitment. Bridging the two required a definition of the terms, particularly for institutions. Based on *a priori* understanding of institution, Question Number Two was pursued in this study. The intent was to determine how effectiveness contributed to the institutionalization of nonprofits.

For Imani in Tuscola 2001, the relationship was somewhat nebulous (reading from her response alone). When asked, "Is there a correlation, in your opinion, between effectiveness and institution status?" her response was,

> There is a correlation between effectiveness and an institution but not that great. You do not have to be around 20 years to be effective. The question is does it [the organization] reach its goals. Do the goals keep changing?

Contrarily, Bopha's experiences that included his roles with Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association suggested otherwise. Follow a similar exchange with him on the topic:

R: What is the relationship that you see between effectiveness and what would be termed as institutions?

Bopha: I don't see a whole lot of parallel. I can look at huge institutions that by many standards would be termed pretty ineffective at responding to current needs and current social situations. On the other hand, I have seen new organizations of people, new associations of people, new collaborations, in a very short order, with very little of what we would call institutional infrastructure, be able to respond very rapidly and very effectively to meet the needs of constituents or meet the needs of stakeholders or meet the needs of neighborhoods or whatever. It might even be an inverse relationship between the extent of institutionalization and the ability to respond effectively.

The two terms may not have been "parallel" but they do have a relationship that can best be identified by the extent of the learning engaged by the organization and its members. Further insight is gained on Imani's conceptualization (otherwise, her personal definition) of institution and institutionalization [or her current level of learning] with the following exchange between her [Imani] and the researcher

R: Where do you see the organization 10-15 years from now?

Imani: I see Tuscola 2001 becoming an institution, well-established where people make use of the organization as a common practice, where the brainstorming, networking and the combining of county resources are common practices.

At one level she defined, in fixed terms, when an organization became an institution. The verdict was still being discussed. Next, she made the association to certain key variables, most of which have been identified by this study, that the analyst would use within that time period to assess the extent of their institutionalization. Finally, she made the connection to "people. . . use" suggesting concurrence with the "value in and of itself," "community validation," and legitimacy that Hotep, this study's participants, and Weber had expressed respectively while reporting their findings.

The examples from Imani and Bopha served to provide greater meaning to the

principles of organizational learning.

Senge's (1990) leadership disciplines and their inherent characteristics are

depicted in Figure 10. The three levels were indicated on the left column while the

related characteristics were shown on the right. Senge's (1990, p. 373-374) five

organizational learning disciplines were best explained by three distinct levels,

namely:

- practices: what you do.
- principles: guiding ideas and insights.
- essences: the state of being that comes to be enjoyed naturally by individuals or groups with high levels of mastery in the discipline.

Describing the construct shown above in Figure 10, Senge (1990) stated:

> . . . the disciplines of building shared vision and team learning differ from the other three in that they are inherently collective in nature. The practices are activities engaged in by groups. The principles must be understood by groups. And the essences are states of being experienced collectively. (p. 375)

He devised these disciplines to explain the collaborative application of the emergent

"state of being" that uniquely alters the practitioner in certain very basic ways. This

direct effect on the individual was referred to as *personal* disciplines. Still, as Senge

(1990, p. 375) concluded, "There is a common sensibility uniting the disciplines--the

sensibility of being learners in an intrinsically interdependent world." Organizations

and individual members were the players giving meaning to these disciplines and

embodying the interactive learning that would be necessary for success.

Levels	Learning Disciplines and Characteristics
Systems Thinking	
Essences	○ Holism ○ Interconnectedness
Principles	○ Structure Influences Behavior ○ Policy Resistance ○ Leverage
Practices	○ System Archetypes ○ Simulation
Personal Mastery	
Essences	○ Being ○ Generativeness ○ Connectedness
Principles	○ Vision ○ Creative Tension vs. Emotional Tension ○ Subconscious
Practices	○ Clarifying Personal Vision ○ "Holding" Creative Tension ○ Making Choices
Mental Models	
Essences	○ Love of Truth ○ Openness
Principles	○ Espoused Theory vs. Theory-in -use ○ Ladder of inference ○ Balance Inquiry and advocacy
Practices	○ Distinguishing Data from Abstractions Based on "Data" ○ Testing Assumptions ○ Left-Hand Column
Building Shared Vision	
Essences	○ Commonality of Purpose ○ Partnership
Principles	○ Shared Vision ○ Commitment vs. Compliance
Practices	○ Visioning Process--sharing personal visions; listening to others; allowing freedom of choice ○ Acknowledging Current Reality
Team Learning	
Essences	○ Collective Intelligence ○ Alignment
Principles	○ *Dia Logos* ○ Integrated Dialogue and Discussion ○ Defensive Routines
Practices	○ Suspending Assumptions ○ Acting as Colleagues ○ Surfacing Own Defensiveness ○ "Practicing"

Figure 10. Senge's learning disciplines.

Additional Models Addressing Organizational Dynamics

Research by Peters and Waterman (1982) revealed a construct made up of seven key variables to explain what they were calling organizational "success" and "excellence." Their focus on private sector for-profit organizations does not detract from their findings and resulting theories. In fact, they cited work before theirs by Harold Leavitt (1978) who designed the "Leavitt Diamond" consisting of: (a) task, (b) structure, (c) people, (d) information, (e) control, and (f) environment. The model above served to show relationships between these particular variables and "excellence" as pursued by managers. Their own copyrighted McKinsey 7-S Framework (Peters & Waterman, 1982) was well received by the decision sciences and broader business community. Still, the interconnected model below was a tool serving managers as "a useful way to think about organizing": (a) strategy, (b) structure, (c) style, (d) systems, (e) staff, (f) skills, and (g) shared values. In their model, Peters and Waterman (1982) differentiated between the "hardware of organizations" (namely strategy and structure) and the "software of organizations" (the remainder of the S's). Their copyrighted graphic centered "Shared Values" as the inner core of the spherical model. At the apex are Strategy, Structure and Systems. All the "S" variables end up being connected to the central core and to one another with straight lines. Therefore, a direct relationship is understood between Structure through Shared Values to the Staff (people). One of the lasting contributions from their modeling was the validation of intuitive deductions gained while theorizing on organizations.

An unfair characterization of these processes would have been to label them as "gimmick," commercialization or "cook-booking" for organizational development.

Contrarily, they were tools, as Hotep (in this study, just as Peters and Waterman and

Leavitt before him) suggested, that an analyst could use to measure the extent to

which an organization is realizing the conditions explained by the model. Consider,

for example, the four C's of Americorps and Vista. After celebrating 30 years (1965-

1995) of operation, it was important for them to show that they had remained viable

in part because of: (a) change, (b) commitment, (c) community, and (d) capacity

building. Another example from Ford Motor Company was dissected by Collins and

Porras (1994) in their postmodern review of and insightful work on "visionary" for-

profit companies. Specifically, they pointed to the company's Mission-Values-

Guiding Principles (MVGP) model. The intent was beyond offering proscriptions for

new organizations. Instead, they showed how different models can become incorpo-

rated into the very fabric of effective [in their words, "visionary"] organizations.

Toward a New Institutionalization Paradigm

This study began with an *a prori* understanding of institutionalization, support-

ed by evidence in the literature that certain key variables contributed to the under-

standing of institutions and institutionalization of nonprofit organizations. Those

variables are shown below in Figure 9 and included capital, commitment, communi-

cation, coherence, compliance, control, and culture. The findings from this study,

however, expanded that particular understanding and was best expressed in Figure 11

also shown below. From the original postulate shown in Figure 9, additional

variables were identified by the respondents representing the three nonprofit organiza-

tions. In some instances, certain variables were caused to be replaced or repositioned
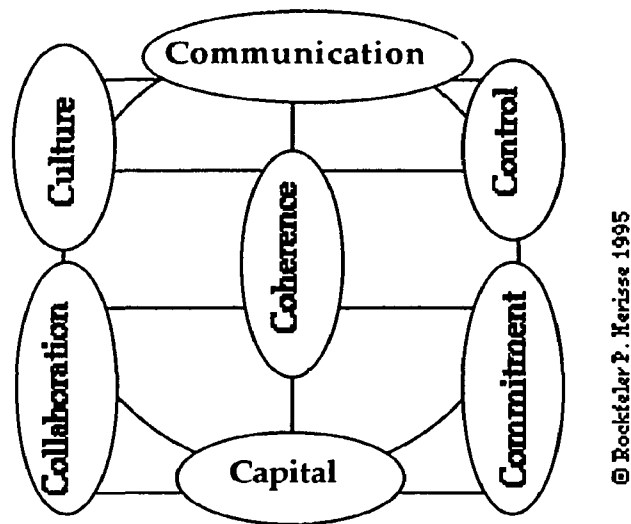
Figure 9. Seven institutionalization variables.
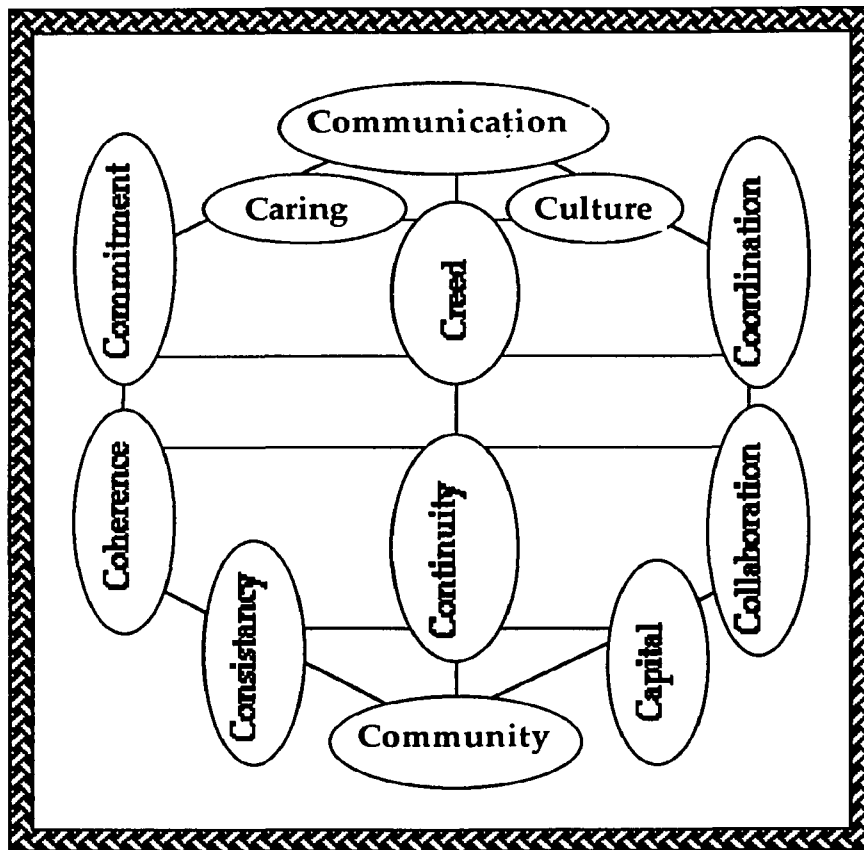
Figure 11. The twelve C's of institutionalization.

because they were either not experienced by the case study participants or were of marginal significance.

In Figure 11, the variables are strategically positioned because of their relationship to the institutionalization process and how they were experienced by the respondents in the three cases. **Communication** appears at the summit of our model while **Community** undergirds the core concepts. It is the milieu through which and with whom organizations and their manifestation of the listed variables is undertaken. Hence this variable incorporated the **Committee/Membership** theme. As supporting variables along the sides of the model are **Commitment** and **Coherence** (Consensus on Values) on the left and **Coordination** and **Collaboration** on the right. These variables were viewed as facilitators for institutionalization--they made the process possible by giving it meaning. Furthermore, they allowed for the incorporation of the **Leadership** theme that emerged in this study. Note that the transformational leader performs more coordinating and collaborative roles than s/he controls or dictates. At the core of the institutionalization process were **Continuity** and **Creed**. Repeatedly, time and doctrine were mentioned as the variables of significance when determining if an organization has been institutionalized. Without continuity, the analyst is unable to measure the full magnitude of an organization's claim to institution status. Then, over time, the analyst would look to the organization's creed and assure that it too has endured through **Consistency** in its methods, purpose, values, effectiveness and relevance among other variables. The **Caring** and **Culture** variables also appear at the top of the model suggesting their enveloping nature within institutions. As Hotep reminded about culture, ". . . it is always there." The caring mode now appearing in

this model emerged from a strain of behaviors, attitudes and ethical ideologies observed from the three cases and their members. The literature best labeled this observation as a Caring ethic. This same ethic allows for broader consideration to themes like **Diversity** identified in this study. Over time, however, there may be an even more appropriate terminology to explain this phenomenon. At best, its overall significance to the institutionalization process may become magnified. In the same light, the **Capital** variable was traditionally viewed as very crucial. In this study however, as Bopha said, ". . . if you have the rest [of the variables] capital comes."

Note how the variables are related and interconnected with a network of straight lines. The conclusion about these variables, however, does not suggest a linear relationship among them. Then the next step would have been to rank order them according to when and how they appeared within every one of the three organizations. Insofar that this case study found transformational leaders at their conceptualization with clear ideas about a creed--a calling statement to act--it falls short of making definitive proscriptions to the same. The process for other organizations in the surprasystem and other soon-to-be-conceived ones is situational. A model of that linear relationship among the variables resembles the following, Figure 12. After accounting for all the assumptions, a quantitative analyst could measure a particular organization's movement toward institutionalization. For them, there may be some merit in determining the exact relationship these variables may have amongst one another and to the overall institutionalization continuum. For example, is the relationship one of exponential significance where the whole formula is raised to the T-power? As such, as time is raised or increased, the institution would move "T"th

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┌────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  At any point in Time:  Time ──────►X               │
│                                                      │
│                                                      │
│     INST= F(IG+ΔENV+N+OG+SG+Ci)                     │
│                                                      │
│     Where:                                           │
│                                                      │
│     INST= institutionalization                      │
│     IG= individual goals                            │
│     ENV= environment                                │
│     N= number of alternative organizations          │
│     OG= organizational goals                        │
│     SG= societal goals                              │
│     Ci= communication, caring...community           │
└────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 12. Hypothetical linear model of institutionalization.

degree toward institutionalization. The relationship may even be one of quadratic

significance. The whole formula may be placed over N suggesting that an organiza-

tion will move closer, further along the institutionalization continuum to the extent

there are no other organizations in the environment meeting their stated function.

This study, however, consistent with its predetermined aims, presented a

framework of key variables that emerging organizations could use to analyze their

journey along the institutionalization continuum. The framework, Figure 9, was

strengthened with the emergence of more holistic psychosocial variables uncovered in

this study and depicted in Figure 11.

Chapter Summary

This chapter was presented in four sections. In the first section, a general

overview about the development of this study was provided. It was in that section

where the researcher's preliminary trials with the Ecuadorian non-governmental

organization Fundagro were discussed. Also described in that first section was the

choice of methodology used to generate theory about the phenomena precipitating this study. The Ecuadorian experience structured and validated the qualitative methodologies applied to generate the theories in this study.

The second section provided a comparison of the findings from the three cases by highlighting the major themes that emerged from the data collected. In all, 17 themes were identified. They were later coded and categorized under three broad terms that explained the emanating points of the themes. This taxonomic segmentation validated the relevance of the themes that emerged.

The third section explored related theories on the phenomena identified for this study (e.g. organizational effectiveness, institutionalization, organizational administration, etc.), but mostly from a managerial and for-profit perspective. The relational compendium on those models presented served to validate other intuitively conceived theories and approaches within nonprofits.

Finally, in the fourth section, a model that emerged from the constant comparative method and generated from the data collected, was presented. Furthermore, to the extent that the model suggested a linear relationship between and among the institutionalization variables, another model was framed for alternate analyses and further review in another study.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

> Nothing about the present is institutionalized. . . . I think that we are in the era where a collaborative mode is increasingly necessary compared to an individualistic control type. The individualistic type of mode is not as desired as it may have once been.
>
> --Hotep, Case Study Respondent

In the first section of this final chapter, a brief overview of the research purpose, procedures and major findings are presented. It is presented as an overall summary of the research. Next, there is a discussion on the conclusions generated from the participants' views about institutionalization and organizational effectiveness and the relativity of those views to the literature summarized in Chapter Two. Then, the recommendations for the Michigan State University Extension recommendations are provided based on the findings and conclusions generated by the data from this case study. Finally, axioms and generalizations generated from this study as well as suggestions for future research in this genre are presented.

Summary

The purpose of the research, questions that were answered and the methodology used to answer those questions are presented in this section. It begins with the purpose of the study, revisits the methodology applied in this study and lastly presents the more salient findings from the three cases and ten respondents who participated in the study.

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Purpose

Considering the magnanimous charge historically undertaken by the Michigan State University Extension (MSUE--formerly Michigan State University Cooperative Extension Service) in the State to educate and assist communities, it was important to document the impacts of that role on certain nonprofit organizations. If indeed organizations were going to be empowered or encouraged to begin processes that would enable them to "help themselves," MSUE had to become familiar with those conditions needed to help those organizations achieve effectiveness and maintain that status. This study focused on three specific cases representing the core MSUE program areas, namely Agriculture and Natural Resources; Community and Economic Development; and Children, Youth and Families. Overall, its purpose was to determine the characteristics of institutionalized nonprofits in Michigan as a basis for modeling and analysis. The following three broad research questions guided this study:

1.   How do organizations establish the necessary procedures to deal with change(s) in the marketplace?

2.   How does effectiveness contribute to the institutionalization of non-profits?

3.   How do the following Seven-C's--Communication, Control, Culture, Commitment, Capital, Compliance, and Consensus on values (Coherence)--contribute to the institutionalization of the nonprofits identified for this study?

Methodology

The study began with a set of seven psychosocial variables that emerged intuitively and from the literature on organizational development (OD). A holistic and systems approach were used in considering the variables and experiences that were to be uncovered during this study. Those experiences were critical and gave meaning to much of the study. The concept of meaning was a repeated construct for this study and required a closer review. The application of this concept and its broad implications to this study was dissected in Chapter Four. In a greater sense, the researcher was viewed as a human instrument. As such, the researcher had the flexibility in controlling some of the developments in the study and pursuing some areas that emerged with greater relevance and significance than others. An example of how this was done could be explained by the researcher's moving away from the prepared questions in Appendix B to inquire about other salient themes.

The participants in this study were viewed also as researchers in this study. Their discoveries during the research, while engaged in the interviewing processes, enabled them to better understand some finer elements about their organizational life. For some participants, this involvement was expressed when their comments steered the researcher far away from the planned questions. One of the benefits of qualitative research is its tendency to allow some flow and directional guidance by the partici- pants. Their questions, comments and observations helped direct the interviewer to lines of questioning previously overlooked or otherwise deemed inappropriate.

The research began with its own approach to answering the broad questions raised about Extension-assisted nonprofits and their "institution" status. These

approaches were considered as specific objectives which were to: (a) Address the research questions through literature reviews, interviews, document reviews and participant observations; (b) define institutionalization and the efforts made by three nonprofits in Michigan to accomplish that status; and (c) develop a conceptual framework by using the findings from this study, that may serve as a new model for analysis and use by emergent organizations. This fine tuning of the study took place after a first attempt to conduct this study in the international setting. While in Ecuador, the methodology held, but certain observations and experiences caused ambivalence about the discoveries being made. The literature was most helpful in answering some of the questions generated for and during this study. Still there was a theory generating component to this process. Here, as an iterative process, it required clear conceptualizations of the phenomena, detailed communications with data sources, and an effective data retrieval mechanism for further reviews and analyses. Moreover, the researcher was compelled to expand the cases to be studied for a broader sense on the experiences that would emerge.

Three organizations were selected to participate as cases in this study. In qualitative research, a low number of cases allowed for in-depth analysis and the discovery of truths that would have otherwise been overlooked or unreachable through a survey. The participating organizations were selected according to (a) their founding relationship with the Michigan State University Extension (MSUE) or whether MSUE was the incubator for their founding; (b) the organization's nonprofit status; and (c) the organization's scope of work in light of the three MSUE program areas.

The Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA), with its head-quarters in Kalkaska, Michigan was selected to represent the agriculture and natural resources program area.

Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated (YDC) was the second case in this study. They were selected based upon the recommendation of an Extension professional who had worked in the Lansing, Michigan MSU Extension office. During the interviews, it was discovered that YDC did not receive Extension support during their founding. The nonprofit, with its headquarters in Lansing, Michigan was retained as a case in this study because of its tax-exempt status, the timing in which the discovery was made, and the expectation that it would provide a classic example of an organization that attempted movement along the institutionalization continuum but failed (based on the agent's comments). Another benefit to keeping YDC as a case in this study was experienced after the data were collected. It was an important discovery when the researcher noted the extent to which collaboration was stressed and how MSUE had done so with other organizations. YDC had collaborated with other Michigan State University (MSU) units, even to the point where one of the respondents (Erzule), employed by MSU, served to validate YDC, its programs, services and existence.

The third case for this study was Tuscola 2001, Inc. Based in Caro, Michigan, this nonprofit operated within the community and economic development program area of MSU Extension Tuscola County. It was examples of developments within organizations like Tuscola 2001 and MASA that made the areas of inquiry in this study even more compelling. They had not reached the classic 10 to 15 years in

existence standard for institutionalization yet they showed many of the "trappings of

an institution." Tuscola 2001 was an example of community empowerment in the

true form advocated by MSUE. The investigation of this research, therefore, was to

explore the next steps undertaken by both the organization and the enabling agent

Michigan State University Extension. Though Bopha, one of the respondents in this

study disagreed, Hotep and the researcher saw these enabling institutions as "dino-

saurs." Their continuation served to make possible the proliferation of organizations

like Tuscola 2001. The data were provided to corroborate this view on organizations

and assess the role Extension could play in the marketplace.

For the data collection component that did not require document and literature

reviews and participant observation, strict methods were applied that would lead to

triangulation and validation of the data. First, an introductory telephone conversation

was conducted with each of the three organizations' representatives. The researcher

collected data as a participant observer in some instances. This level of participation

was made possible after a sufficient number of interactions with the organizations'

representatives during which trust in the researcher was gained. Structured open-

ended interviews were conducted with the 10 respondents selected to participate in

this study. On average, the tape-recorded interviews lasted 2 hours. The transcripts

from the tape-recorded interviews were later sent to the respective interviewees for

validation.

Data analysis was an iterative process greatly simplified by the transcripts and

the sophistication of word-processing computer applications that were available in the

latter part of the 20th century. The 10 interviews were grouped according to their

experiences or the organization about which they commented. From these interviews, salient themes were extracted, environmental conditions were observed and ongoing analyses were conducted as new themes emerged. After coding the significant themes, they were categorized according to the points from which they emanated or to which they were related. The relational categories for the emerged themes were organizational, individual and environmental. Finally, after integrating the themes and expounding on their manifestation in the three organizations, a theoretical framework emerged that could serve emergent organizations or analysts gauging the institutionalization of nonprofits.

Findings

This research began with designs to be descriptive, theoretical and holistic. Grounded theory methodologies were applied to generate the findings and related axioms. From the 10 respondents' opinions based on their experiences, the researcher arrived at specific findings that addressed institutionalization of nonprofits in the food, agriculture and natural resources sector. Also in the process, other discoveries regarding nonprofits' interaction with the dynamic environment and the fulfillment of organizational goals were made. Those findings and related discoveries, listed and briefly described below were the following.

Area of Inquiry One

How do organizations establish the necessary procedures to deal with change(s) in the marketplace?

The process of dealing with an organization's environment dated back to its founding. During the conceptualization of organizations, the founding members must consider the conditions of the environment, its current effect on nonprofit organizations, the number of nonprofits currently existing in the environment serving a closely related purpose, and the methods being applied to cope with their environment. Then, the founding members must extrapolate those conditions to test how they will fare in the future with those and spin-off (related) problems during the crucial early years of their organization. If an organization was late in applying this founding principle, the next possible strategy was to undergo constant renewal, and renewal without the inducement from the environment. Those organizations were encouraged to maintain a proactive stance to opportunities as opposed to a reactive mode from crisis to crisis.

Since organizations were human creations, it was suggested that the cement or "glue" that bonded them together had to be psychological and/or psychosocial. One psychosocial element said to contribute to organizations' dealing with changing forces in the environment was learning. One scholar called for "continuous learning." By this process, and consistent with the way Illitch (1970) defined education, organizations would have lifelong learners involved with them who constantly upgraded and their talents and skills. It also meant creating a subculture or mini-environment within the organization that emulated the larger social structure yet flexibly so that mistakes and learning could simultaneously take place.

The nonprofit leader still unconvinced by these findings could consider pursuing the following the stabilizing elements as to cope with the environment:

(a) a clearly articulated sense of mission, replete with guiding principles; (b) a leader, untiring, who enables, articulates, creates and motivates; (c) a committed and functional membership, volunteers and board; (d) a capacity to attract collaborators and partners for resources.

Area of Inquiry Two

How does effectiveness contribute to the institutionalization of nonprofits?

The relationship of these two variables was not as direct as first intuitively perceived. Instead of linear, the relationship was situational. In all, this study found that effectiveness was a varying concept instead of a scientific one. From a relativistic domain, an analyst was able to evaluate the extent to which an organization's effectiveness would lead to its permanence. Those analyses would require assessments of the organization's face goals (those listed and broadly communicated), satisfaction from stakeholders and collaborators in the environment, and review of the record on members, clients, and previous experiences with other actors in the environment.

From the participants in the study, direct experiences were mixed on the relationship between institutionalization and effectiveness. This inconclusivity was attributed to meaning and interpretation of the institutionalization concept. One finding was that the relationship between the two terms was slight and prevailed when the organization was able to change its goals. Imani was of the mind that effective organizations constantly changed their goals. The findings from this study supported that mindset. Then, it followed that once an organization was able to stay viable,

change its goals to stay current with the changes over time, and remain effective, an organization could become institutionalized.

Bopha disagreed because of his experiences with looking at institutions that were ineffective--yet they were not deinstitutionalized. His posture to disassociate the two concepts would have been better understood if his measures for effectiveness were known. For example, his measures would be assessed on whether they included societal goals, organizational goals (functional goals), membership involvement, community validation, and leadership succession, to name just a few of the effectiveness variables related to nonprofit organizations.

Area of Inquiry Three

How do the following Seven-C's--Communication, Control, Culture, Commitment, Capital, Compliance, and Consensus on values (Coherence)--contribute to the institutionalization of the nonprofits identified for this study?

Most of the seven institutionalization variables held as determinants with which an analyst could assess the "propensity to institutionalize" for nonprofit organizations. In arriving to this finding, some key assumptions were made. First, it was unclear that all organizations aspired to institution status albeit most referred to themselves as such. On the normative side, organizations were discouraged from having institutionalization as a goal. *Pro forma* or "cookie cutter" aspirations for organizations were found to be constraining and antithetical to the kinds of organizations that would usher in and survive well beyond the 21st century.

Of the institutionalization variables dismissed from this study, one was rejected on the lack of psychosocial merits. The leadership style reported by the 10 case study

participants rejected the notion of requiring compliance from the membership. Even when the researcher purposely solicited answers using the terminology, the respondents progressed to explanations about self-induced and -motivated members borne by the organizational creed, culture and commitment. Thus, the findings on compliance suggested that the new mode of organizations and standards for their successful operations precluded this typology from infiltrating the postmodern institutions.

Similarly, the control variable that failed to emerge from respondents spoke to modern and classical standards. Organizational leadership was found as a critical element to the institutionalization of nonprofits. That type of leadership was accompanied with requirements for the overall organization, its operations and players. The leader in these postmodern institutions, instead of controllers, were coordinators, facilitators and flexible untiring individuals.

. . . On Organizational Leadership. This research was intended to be descriptive, constructivist, but not revisionist. The literature was found replete with scholars who capably reported on the topic. Some of their theories, by and large, were held even in this study that set for alternate lines of inquiry. Consider for example the findings from Vandenberg (1993) lauding transformational leadership and the need for youth, vigor and energy in presidential or key leadership positions. This study found several respondents of the same mindset. Gédé, the position leader of Tuscola 2001 noted this truism. He said that he would personally engage the leadership succession processes for his organization. Though he talked about structure and form for Tuscola 2001, noting the successes of his predecessor, he relied on the committees--empowerment, a hallmark of transformational leadership.

The transformational leadership that was advocated in this study also led to the variable types dominating this study. Those variables were found within the experiences of the case study participants and ultimately gave way to the theoretical framework found applicable in the analysis of institutionalized nonprofits.

. . . On Institutionalization. Institutionalization was found to be a "folk concept" that could be assessed through phenomenological inquiry. Those inquiries were best suited for dynamism in the subject matter. They seldom dealt with concretes or definites that could otherwise be quantified. Institutionalization was found to be a degree; it was a continuum along which organizations could move by accomplishing certain "trappings of institutions." Institutions were said to achieve those "trappings" with a strong, endearing, and well communicated creed; with symbols like a logo or an insignia, a uniform, a flag, a song, a myth; by developing alumni associations and other mass followings; and by providing a service or serving a function that causes it to be in great demand by the validating community.

. . . On the Role of Extension. This study began with a critical analysis of Michigan State University Extension's (MSUE) practice of empowering community organizations in multiple categories. In Michigan, those categories were agriculture and natural resources; children, youth and families; and community and economic development. Extension was found to have played a major role in the formation of two of the three organizations that participated in this case study. Bopha, a founding member of the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA), better explained that role during the following exchange with the researcher.

> **R**: I understand the that Extension had a role in the original founding of the organization. Could you speak to that a bit?

> **Bopha:** Well, to the extent to which I am **employed as an Extension Special-ist,** absolutely. To the extent to which we had **out of the 40 people, about 4 or 5 of which were Extension field staff,** yeah Extension was involved. To the extent to which **Extension ultimately put some funding to help pay for the cost** associated with this kind **of conferencing and workshop, traveling, and facilitator expense,** yeah Extension was involved. . . . MASA is an independent organization. But there happen to be people who are Extension professionals who also see value in being members or leaders in the MASA organization. . . . But **Extension is not playing the role of housing** the office of MASA or anything like that.

Leadership development was one other service found to have been provided by

Extension to the two organizations it assisted during their founding. The list of

organizations that it had assisted in the same form was quite lengthy in the late 20th

century when this study was conducted. The third organization (the one that did not

receive Extension support at founding) indicated that they would welcome leadership

development sessions with Extension or any other mode of collaboration. Therefore,

the role that Extension played in the community of nonprofits was found important

albeit insufficiently far reaching. Compounding this finding was a different posture

among the ranks about the normative role of Extension with nonprofits.

Imani was also an Extension Specialist working with a nonprofit organization

the same way that Bopha worked with MASA. She was of the opinion that:

> The services that MSU Extension can provide Tuscola 2001 are similar to those provided to 4-H. The services include office space, secretary and office support. Information and university resources including current data are very important for any project that Tuscola 2001 may research. The ongoing assistance form the community development agent has been the driving force that has motivated the Board and provided a form of security for the organiza-tion.

Contrary to Imani's views, Bopha expressed that:

> The **most important** aspect, I think, **is helping people build the leadership capacity they need to independently function in their organization.** If we don't do that and we are there being the enablers, we are the ones writing the

bylaws and we are the ones organizing the meetings, we are the ones organiz-
ing the funding--when I say we, I mean Extension--you are creating a co-
dependent relationship that then is very hard to break down the road. We [in
MASA] are then much better off, if this is the direction we want to take from
the very start, to make it very clear that this is not an organization that is
going to be run by Extension or that it is going to be built by Extension. We
[Extension] are here to provide some resources from the university, whether it
be resources in technical understanding, whether it be resources in education
or in research--on-farm research in this case--or whether it be **resources in
leadership development**. That is who we are as a university, **we are not
here to run organizations or to set up organizations**. Our job has to do
with education and knowledge sharing.

Regardless of the level, the finding from this study still suggested a continued and

(according to some) an increased involvement by Extension in its support programs

for nonprofit organizations.

Conclusions

At the onset of this study, the researcher encountered a phenomenon where

start-up non-profit organizations expressed the characteristics of institutionalized

entities. When this incident was observed in the international setting, away from the

guidance of experienced researchers and the collective wisdom from literature, it was

presumed, at best an anomaly. After confirming the methodology, revisiting the

literature on organizational development, institutionalization and organizational

effectiveness, the "new discovery" became an emerging approach to institutionaliza-

tion encouraged by the conditions of the postmodern era and the environment of the

late 20th century.

The process began, first, with organizations and their members simply

assuming the institution name. Without the necessary "trappings of institutionaliza-

tion," new organizations were calling themselves "institutes" or "institutions." In the

latter part of the 20th century, there were many informal discussions at Michigan State University about the need to curtail the granting of "institute" status to University units. The last ones granted up until that time (this printing) were the Julian Samora Institute and the David Walker Research Institute. A new "litmus test" was being created for organizations and their members. Tangentially, institutions that had the "trappings" wrestled with the processes to keep their organization intact. Strong institutions like the United Way, the NAACP and the National FFA Organization for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons were challenged by the conditions of the environment leading into the 21st century.

The National FFA Organization scenario, since it was related to the food, agriculture and natural resources system, had more relativity to this study and was considered in light of the findings and conclusions from this study. Moreover, the researcher, advantaged by having served as a consultant for the organization on matters relating to organizational marketing and development, was more familiar with this case. For months, Congressional discussions in Washington, DC about reorganizing the Federal government threatened to abolish or "reinstitute" the U.S. Department of Education. That Department granted the FFA organization its legitimizing order in the form of a Federal Charter in 1950.

Possible scenarios of realignment were drafted and the National FFA proactively began to position themselves to "save their Federal Charter." Admittedly, the Organization served an important role that was validated by a membership over 428,109 in 1995. The conclusions from this study would cause the transformational leaders within the National FFA Organization or the Agricultural Education profession

(assuming, of course, that there were any), to rethink about "saving the Federal Charter." Learning from the transformational leaders whose experiences with institutionalization were detailed in this study, the Organization would reassess the merits of a Federal Charter. The inflexibilities and stifling conditions it breathed into the organization would invariably cause them to transform the Organization, with the same caring ethic Erzule and Dambala spoke about in this study, for it to really serve all the potential youths and adolescents.

The final result of this result was a model depicted in Figure 11 that organizations can use to assess their movement along the institutionalization continuum. The end result from such analyses would be to operate at higher levels of effectiveness as opposed to a mad rush to institutionalization status--to be "arrived." Since time (expressed as continuity and consistency) and creed were so critical in the institutionalization process, organizations would be well advised to stay within the limits of their definitions for effectiveness while they express and accumulate the "trappings of institutionalization."

Axioms and Generalizations Drawn From This Study

The following postulates and oversimplifying generalizations emerged from the interviews and other activities (personal un-recorded conversations) undertaken throughout this study. They reflect the general learning mutually shared by the researcher and case study participants. These "soft" theories were reported sequentially and without rank ordering.

1.   When an individual feels that they have something to offer then they become committed and committed to sharing.

2.   Nonprofits never truly "arrive." They are in a constant state of renewal and transformation.

3.   Collaboration gives legitimacy.

4.   An organization doesn't have to be an institution to be able to rely on the legitimacy of institutions that are already there. It can do it by partnering with them.

5.   The way to keep people committed is to build a compelling vision of what can be accomplished through a collective action.

6.   True commitment comes when individuals can understand how they can contribute to an effort that is larger than they.

7.   If people listen, are committed, allow give and take and compromise, then diversity will work.

8.   Excellent leadership can write words that will communicate the doctrine.

9.   The doctrine has to bring the people to the institution.

10.   The leader who understands and upholds the doctrine can be opportunistic about all of the other variables (whatever they may be) of institutionalization.

11.   In all human interactions there are features of control.

12.   If an organization has a doctrine (which it arguably must have), one of the functions of leadership is to help people see that their own objectives and goals are coherent to that doctrine.

13.   A young organization that has enabling linkages and linkages outside has a great chance of being institutionalized.

14.   An organization that does not have enabling linkages (partners, collaborators, etc.) will not get the necessary resources just because it claims institution status.

15.   For an organization to be an institution is to first call itself one; over time, with an enduring doctrine, it can become institutionalized.

16.   If an organization wants to be institutionalized it can not stay with one outside donor.

17.   The process of winning grants is first about relationships and linkages, then it is about having excellent and coherent ideas.

Recommendations

This chapter concludes with a set of recommendations for practice and future research. The recommendations reflect the breadth of the learning facilitated by this study for all the participants. Otherwise, they stand to capitalize on delimitations that might be resolved with ulterior methodologies or "human instruments."

Recommendations for Nonprofits and Extension

1.   Extension should continue to provide leadership development seminars as part of its regular programming in Michigan Counties.

2.   Extension should continue to provide leadership development seminars for community/nonprofit organization leaders as part of its ongoing programs.

3.   Extension should provide seminars or materials that would serve aspiring nonprofit organizers early in the organizing process.

4.   Extension should conduct an assessment of community/nonprofit organizations it has inspired or assisted to date. These organizations would then become partners/collaborators in meeting the needs or facing the identified issues in the Michigan communities.

5.   Scholars and practitioners in Extension should be encouraged to develop written materials on topics that will prove useful to nonprofit organizations and their leadership/membership.

6.   Extension should actively seek out collaborators while remaining objective to partner with client groups underrepresented by the rigid three core category (agriculture and natural resources; children, youth, and family; and community and economic development) programming mode.

7.   The Extension organization should revisit its own creed and determine the cause of the alternating views about its normative role with nonprofits.

8.   As a grantmaking institution, Extension and other donor institutions should review their policies for awarding grants being sure to stress collaboration, community validation and creed. Doing so will enable more small organizations to partner and overcome the stigma of newness and organizational inexperience.

9.   Extension should identify partners to fulfill the needed task of informing nonprofits about communication, information technologies and communicating with the environment .

10.   Extension should pursue and advocate the merits of organizational flexibility, adaptability and the broad spectra of diversity (programs, people, partners, paraprofessionals, services, leadership, informants, etc.).

11.   Extension should identify partners to assist in the dissemination of knowledge about the merits of collaborating, with entities that share their values and mission, as means to increase their propensity to receive favorable funding consideration.

## Recommendations for Future Research

The following recommendations for future research draw from delimitations in this study and discoveries made both prior to implementing the U.S.-based study and after undergoing the in-depth case study analyses with the 10 respondents involved.

1.   Qualitative researchers would be advantaged by having experiences in interviewing techniques, analyzing and coding qualitative data, and reporting the findings. This experience could be gained from the classroom or a pilot run of the intended study.

2.   Qualitative methods should be applied to assess the merits of "The Twelve C's of Institutionalization" identified in this study.

3.   Whenever possible, the researcher should attempt to experience/observe the phenomena being investigated. Though participant observers require skill and tact, in most cases, doing so will heighten the perspective.

4.   This study should be attempted with a larger sample size leaving the study still the range for in-depth case studies (1-10) while increasing the cross references who would validate the findings and theories.

5.   Careful selection processes should be applied when identifying the case study organizations and the individual organization members/stakeholders/users/ collaborators/donors/etc. who will participate in the study.

6.   The researcher should be very flexible and attentive throughout the research process, always being sure to review salient themes and how they relate to the research aims and the questions prepared for the interview.

7.   Quantitative methodologies might be applied to larger sample size of organizations and respondents that would alternately measure the prominence of the institutionalization variables including those depicted in Figure 11.

The following research questions were generated in light of the findings and conclusions from this study.

1.   Do all nonprofits aspire to institutionalization statuses?

2.   What is the effect of information technologies on organizational effectiveness?

3.   What is the mathematical significance of the time variable on the institutionalization of nonprofits?

4.   What is the significance of segmenting the environment between institutions and organizations?

5.   How do nonprofits invoke the transformational leadership typology in their organizations and daily operations?

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form

Dear Organization Leader:

The Michigan State University Department of Agricultural and Extension Education is studying your organization in hopes to identify those characteristics which make it effective and able to stay the Environment to then become an institution. I am conducting this study as a doctoral candidate in the Department under the auspices of Dr. Harrison Gardner. We are planning on talking with organizational leaders, select personnel and clients/ beneficiaries of the institution. Our interest is in the way these people interact, the things they do, and the effects they have on the organization. For the purpose of this study, we are using terms like organization, voluntary association, and nonprofit interchangeably. Here, institutionalization is the process whereby organizations become sustainable.

This research will follow a case study approach. We anticipate that the individuals visited will allow us to record their perceptions about institution building and survivability in the marketplace. We are especially interested in determining leadership's handling of capital, communication, consensus on values (coherence), commitment, control, and culture and their effect on organizational sustainability.

As a participant you have the following rights:

o   You will be asked to respond to structured open-ended questions for up to 2 hours.
o   Responding is voluntary: you can refuse to participate or otherwise withdraw at any time.
o   You will receive a written transcript of the interview and a summary of the research findings.
o   You will be invited to provide reactions to the written transcripts.
o   The interview and all related materials will be strictly confidential through use of codes.
o   Excerpts of the interview may be used in sections of the final research report or presented through various media.
o   Your name and other identifying characteristics will not be associated with any excerpts or included in any report.
o   You may be asked for a follow-up interview and/or site visit. Such return visits would be entirely optional.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Should you have any comments or questions after returning your signed copy of this form, you may contact me, Rockfeler Herisse, directly at: Michigan State University, 409 Agriculture Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824, phone 517- 355-6580, FAX 517-353-4981, E-mail 22355rph@msu.edu.

I understand the research and procedures as described above, and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

_____

Name (Print)   Signature   Date

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions for the Study on "Factors Associated with the
Institutionalization of Nonprofit Organizations: A Case Study of
Extension Assisted Organizations in Michigan"

INTERVIEW WITH IDENTIFIED RESPONDENTS

Name:

Title:

Institution:

Date:

Time:

Location:

Interviewer:

****

1.   Introduction

1.1.   I am ...

1.2.   This is a case study during which we will visit with your key personnel
to record their perceptions on your status among other organizations in
the marketplace. We are especially interested in the determining the
effect of leadership's communication [strategies], consensus on values
(coherence) [building processes], commitment [building processes],
control, capital [usage and allocation] and culture on organizational
sustainability.

1.3.   I will be taking notes for later use in writing about our findings.
Everything you say will be considered confidential. (Organization) will
be identified as a participant in the project, but all materials used in our
study will be presented in a manner that will not permit the revelation
of sensitive information or respondents who wish to maintain their
anonymity.

1.4. (Organization) will have an opportunity to review the write-up prior to its publication. For the purpose of this study, we are using terms like organization, foundation, voluntary association, non-profit and philanthropy(ies) interchangeably. Here, institutionalization is the process whereby organizations become sustainable.

1.5. Before we begin, are there any questions you have about the project?

2. Background

2.1. I would like to begin by asking some general questions about you and about your appointment to your current position.

2.2. When were you brought in to this position?

2.3. What was your position before that?

2.4. How were you selected for this position? (If search committee probe for membership, process).

2.5. There probably were a number of people who could have been considered for your position. What do you think are the most important reasons why you were selected?

2.6. Who preceded you in the position?

2.6.1. In what ways would you describe yourself as similar to or as different from your predecessor?

2.6.2. How have you been able to continue the vision of the original founders? (Probe for the precise vision as articulated in original framing papers).

2.6.3. What continued support did you continue to receive from founding members or organizations that helped you get started, if any?

2.6.4. What additional support, if any, did(does) the institution need from those founding supporters? (Probe for how Foundation/Extension/ Founder(s) can help).

3. Goals and Values

3.1. When you are asked to briefly describe (Organization), what do you say?

3.1.1   What do you think is a really important function served by the organization?

3.2.   What are the major goals of (Organization)?

3.3.   Are the organization's goals communicated; to whom and how?

3.4.   In what ways do you hope the organization will be different five years from now than it is today?

4.   Taking Charge

4.1.   What were your first impressions of (Organization) when you took office?

4.2.   When you arrived, did you have a plan in mind about what you wanted to accomplish?

4.2.1. Were there things that concerned you during the first few months of your appointment that no longer seem important to you?

4.3.   What were the most important problems or things you had to deal with immediately when you became president (vice president, etc.) or first came on board?

4.3.1. Why did you think that these problems were so important?

4.3.2. How did you deal with them?

4.3.3. What were the outcomes for the organization and for you?

4.4.   To what institutional problems or areas do you give the most attention now?

4.5.   If a colleague came to you and said, "I've just accepted the presidency of an institution very much like this one. Can you give me any advice about what I should do my first few months in office," what would you say?

4.6.   What do you as (state position of respondent) have to do to get the job done?

4.7.   How are organization members inspired to feel commitment to (Organization)?

5. Identifying Leaders

5.1. So far, we have been talking about the presidency and other hired administrators who are expected to function as leaders. In most organizations, there are other people who have leadership roles as well. I'd like to ask you about these people.

5.2. Do you think there are some other important "leaders" in this organization?

5.2.1 Why do you consider them to be important "leaders" in this organization?

5.3. I'm interested in the ways in which people in this organization work together. Could you describe your working relationship with the future leaders you have mentioned?

5.3.1. (Probe for board, administrative, community leaders not mentioned in 5.3)

5.4. There has been a lot of talk about the need for good leadership, and lately, a lot about empowerment in organizations. How would you describe "good member leadership"?

5.4.1. How about good board leadership?

5.4.2. How about good leadership among senior administrators other than the president?

5.5. How necessary is it for organizations to hire full-time, well-prepared specialists to ensure organizational success in the marketplace?

6. Critical Incident

6.1. What do you think was the most important event or incident in this organization since its founding?

6.1.1. Could you describe it in more detail?

6.2. Who played leadership roles?

6.2.1. How do you relate to those incidences? What lessons were learned?

6.3. How have (Organization) policies and programs changed to deal with crises?

7.   Leadership Effectiveness

> 7.1.   How would you describe yourself as a leader?

> 7.2.   What do you think are the major effects you have had on this organization as president?

> 7.2.1. Which of these has given you the greatest sense of accomplishment?

> 7.3.   How do you tell if you are being effective as a leader?

> 7.4.   How does leadership relate to organizational effectiveness?

8.   The Future

> 8.1   What do you think will be the most important issue or problem facing this organization over the next year or so?

> 8.1.1. What leads you to say that?

> 8.1.2. How are you likely to be involved in it?

> 8.1.3. How is it likely to turn out?

> 8.2.   How does (Organization) respond to changes in the environment?

9.   Is there anything else you would like to say about leadership in and survivability of this organization, or in the administration of nonprofits in general.

10.   Exit

APPENDIX C

Appendix C

Memo Sent to Extension Personnel via CEENet

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To         :   All Extension Personnel
From       :   Rockfeler P. Herisse
Subject    :   Graduate Assistant Needs Your Help!
Date       :   January 25, 1995
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GRADUATE ASSISTANT NEEDS YOUR HELP!

I am a doctoral candidate in AEE working on the institution-
alization of nonprofit organizations. As you are involved
in one of Extension's three program areas, maybe you've been
helping some of these non-profits or witnessed their demise.

We need your help in identifying three to four of these
effective nonprofits. We are particularly interested to
know if these organizations serve one of the three program
areas, did the organization fail after conception or is it
still operating successfully, and who is a contact person
there?

Thank you in advance for your support in identifying these
four nonprofit organizations. The results of this study
will be disseminated at the next Extension Conference here
at Michigan State University.

Rockfeler Herisse, Graduate Assistant, Agr'l. & Extension
Education
Michigan State University, 409 Agriculture Hall, East Lan-
sing 48824

Your reply can be made by CEENet message to anraee to my
attention. You may call me at my AEE office: 517-355-6580.

My E-mail address is 22355rph@msu.edu.

Thanks again.

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APPENDIX D

Interviewee Summary Form

_____ Pre-Interview   Number of participants: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____ Location: _____

Status of room location (draw if necessary):

Duration of meeting: _____   Duration of interruptions (if any): _____

Topics Discussed:

Describe Interaction:

_____ Post-Interview   Number of participants: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____ Location: _____

Status of room location (draw if necessary):

Duration of meeting: _____   Duration of interruptions (if any): _____

Major Themes:

Describe Interaction:

APPENDIX E

Appendix E

Key Themes Drawn From the Transcribed Notes on the Interviews
With the Case Study Participants

Thematic Categories	Source and Respondents' Validated Perspectives									
	A₁	A₂	A₃	B₁	B₂	B₃	B₄	C₁	C₂	C₃
Capital	S	S	s	S	s	S	s	s	S	s
Caring	P	P	P	S	S	S	s	P	P	P
Coherence	s	s	S	S	s	s	s	S	S	P
Collaboration	S	S	S	S	s	S	S	s	S	S
Commitment	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Committee/Membership	S	S	S	s	S	s	S	S	s	S
Communication	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Community validation	S	s	S	s	s	S	S	S	S	S
Consistancy	P	P	s	s	S	S	S	S	s	S
Coordination	P	s	P	S	s	P	P	S	S	s
Creed	S	S	S	S	S	S	s	S	S	s
Culture	s	P	S	s	P	P	P	S	S	P
Diversity	S	S	S	S	S	S	s	S	S	s
Flexibility/Adaptability	S	S	S	S	P	S	S	P	S	S
Goal revision	S	S	s	S	P	s	s	S	S	S
Leadership	S	S	S	P	S	S	S	P	S	S
Organizational transformation	S	S	S	P	S	S	s	S	S	P

Value Codes: S = significant and repeated observation; s = less significant--implied but not stated; P = possibly significant but not stated.

Other Salient Themes	Source
Brainstorming	Imani (C₃)
Conflict	Hotep (C₂)
Consensus	Gédé (C₁)
Culture	Hotep (C₂)
Follow through	Filo (B₄)
Networking	Imani (C₃)
Organizational focus	Calembert (C₁)
Youthful leadership	Filo (B₄)

APPENDIX F

Appendix F

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

Qualitative studies, particularly those that use interviews, generate volumes of data. Noting that characteristic, this description of the research process, the sources of data, the types collected and the methods used to code, categorize and present the findings, is offered in this section.

Data Collection

The 10 respondents were contacted by telephone in the week preceding the intended interview. They were informed about the study and solicited for participation. Once their tentative interest was confirmed, they were sent consent forms (Appendix A) to sign. This process took some time since each organization representative had to secure approval from their board prior to allowing the investigation of their organizations.

Each interview began with a greeting and a statement of gratitude for the signed consent form and willingness to participate in the study. The introductory statement used with each respondent is shown in Appendix B. Slight modifications were made to fit the name of the organization and individual being interviewed. Then they were asked if there were any questions or clarifications they needed to have answered or given before continuing with the interview.

List of Interviewees

Respondent(s):	A_1--Aaron and A_2--Abel
Affiliation:	Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association (MASA)
Location:	East Lansing, Michigan
Date:	April 12, 1995
Time:	1:00 PM to 2:30 PM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	A_3--Bopha
Affiliation:	Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association
Location:	East Lansing, Michigan
Date:	May 2, 1995
Time:	10:00 AM to 11:45 AM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	B₁--Calembert
Affiliation:	Youth Development Corporation, Inc. (YDC)
Location:	Lansing, Michigan
Date:	April 13, 1995
Time:	2:00 PM to 4:30 PM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	B₂--Dambala
Affiliation:	Youth Development Corporation, Inc. (YDC)
Location:	Lansing, Michigan
Date:	April 27, 1995
Time:	10:00 AM to 11:30 AM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	B₃--Erzule
Affiliation:	Youth Development Corporation, Inc. (YDC)
Location:	East Lansing, Michigan
Date:	May 3, 1995
Time:	1:30 PM to 2:50 PM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	B₄--Filo
Affiliation:	Youth Development Corporation, Inc. (YDC)
Location:	Lansing, Michigan
Date:	May 4, 1995
Time:	9:00 AM to 10:00 AM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	C₁--Gédé
Affiliation:	Tuscola 2001,Inc.
Location:	Vassar, Michigan
Date:	April 6, 1995
Time:	3:00 PM to 5:30 PM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	C₂--Hotep
Affiliation:	Lansing community member. Institutionalization expert.
Location:	East Lansing, Michigan
Date:	May 18, 1995
Time:	10:30 AM to 11:55 AM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Respondent:	C$_3$--Imani
Affiliation:	Tuscola 2001, Incorporated
Location:	East Lansing, Michigan (via E-mail, phone, FAX)
Date:	May 30, 1995
Time:	2:15 PM
Interviewer:	Rockfeler P. Herisse

Additional Sources

Observed a Tuscola 2001 Board Meeting from 7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. on April 12, 1995 in Caro, Michigan. Attending this meeting required some members and the researcher to leave their homes as early as 5:00 a.m. Of the three cases, this organization had the only scheduled board meeting within the study's time frame. Participating as an observer was significant in that the researcher was able to witness communication within the group, application of transformational leadership, various stakeholders and collaborators, and validation from the community at-large.

Publications, Documents and Other Materials

Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association

American Farmland Trust and Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association.
    April (1993). Michigan Sustainable Agriculture Project--1992: On-
    farm research and demonstration results. Washington, DC: American
    Farmland Trust.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (1)2. July 1992.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (1)3. December 1992.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (2)1. March 1993.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (2)2. June 1993.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (3)1. January 1994.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (3)2. April 1994.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (4)1. January 1995.

MASA. The land steward: Newsletter of the Michigan Agricultural Stew-
    ardship Association. (4)4. December 1994 [sic].

MASA. (July 7, 1994). "Collaboration: Working together to solve prob-
    lems." A pamphlet. Kalkaska, MI: MASA.

MASA. (Summer 1994). "Collaboration Works." A bulletin. Kalkaska, MI:
    MASA.

Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated

YDC. Youth Do Count News. Quarterly Newsletter of the Youth Development Corporation. March, 1995.

YDC. Individual Employment Services 13-21 Year-olds. Organizational brochure.

YDC. Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated Annual Report 1994.

YDC. Youth Development Corporation, Incorporated Concept Paper.

Lieutenant Governor, State of Michigan. (February 14, 1995). Letter to the Board of YDC.

Henry R. Pattengill Middle School, Lansing School District. (February 17, 1995). Letter to the Director of Y.D.C.

Tuscola 2001, Incorporated

Tuscola 2001, Inc. (June 1991). Tuscola 2001: Action plan for the future.

Tuscola 2001, Inc. Tuscola 2001: Action Plan for the Future. Organizational brochure.

Tuscola 2001, Inc. (April 12, 1995) Agenda and invitation to attend Board of Directors Meeting.

Tuscola County Advertiser. (March 25, 1992). Tuscola 2001. (123)34. Caro, MI.

Tuscola 2001, Inc. (December 14, 1994). Agenda for the Board of Directors Meeting.

Identifying and Categorizing Themes

The Interviewee Summary Form in Appendix D was used to transcribe and record major themes identified during the interviews. The key points related to those topics identified in the literature and relevant to the study were recorded and shown in Appendix E. The overall interaction was recorded and gave a better sense of the meaning these themes had to the respondent and her/his organization. For validation, the themes were compared against the transcripts from the interviews. Furthermore, each respondent was asked to review this/her own transcripts and assure that his/her true experiences and viewpoints were accurately presented. Once validated comparatively, the themes were transposed onto large newsprint and labeled for each respondent. Printing and posting the cross-section of validated themes allowed for easy identification, correlation and adjustments to fit into the model. Those themes and their source were also shown in Figure 8.

Sample Verbatim Comments from Transcripts of Select Participants

Aaron--Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association

Q: How are you (collectively) able to continue the vision of the founding members I mean the original vision that you and others shared initially, how are you able to keep that vision intact today?

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R: Well, I guess I believe that our organization will evolve into whatever it evolves into. As the agricultural industry and the structure of that industry continues to evolve and change over a period of time. I guess and I would hope as president of that organization that we as an organization don't expect too much too fast because I think our organization will develop and become what it wants to become as the industry that we represent and talk about changes, adapts, and adopts many different technological changes that are going on in the world.

Q: What about other organizations? I understand that Extension played a role in the initial founding of the organization?

R: Well, Extension plays a role in an awful lot of things that happen within the agriculture industry at many levels. And there are many many opportunities within the agriculture industry that Extension has an opportunity to play a role and that's something that's been developed over time that's just I guess an accepted fact that Extension has resources and there are resources to be used and quite frankly it's too bad that an awful lot of things that are attempted don't get some Extension help and Extension resources before they proceed too much. . . .

Q: Who sought whom at that time? Extension sought you out or were you so involved within the same community that it just happened they knew about your need?

R: No, I guess at that time we were still together because you know Extension was part of bringing this effort forward in the first place and still at that point in time. I would say . . . it was a gentlemen's agreement but we were in a partnership at that point in time. And I think you know Extension was helping us get our feet on the ground, helping us become something that we could become, showing us some of the potentials that we had if they were developed right. They were there when we needed that help in doing leader-ship training and exploring some of the alternative ways we had to go--could go. I guess Extension was kind of holding our hand. And I hope we used it wisely.

Q: Now related to that mission statement what do you think is the really important function that MASA serves?

R: MASA is to be a vehicle to transfer information about such systems not to anyone and I believe this. Whether they are members or non-members. We have information I think it's our duty to disseminate that to whoever might benefit from it.

R: I guess what I'm referring back to is the strategic planning we did. We kind of set forth a set of goals and objectives to implement or help us implement and fulfill our mission statement. . . .

Q: What about MASA do you thinks drives or commands so much commitment from its members? I mean every organization kind of looks to that. Particularly if you are talking about volunteers. . . . What is it about MASA that makes people feel so committed?

R: I think most individuals in the MASA organization really believe that they have something to offer and are willing to share that. And the fact they are committed to sharing as best they can. . . . I would almost bet that throughout the year they have done a lot of other things in you know in their daily lives and in their daily farming operations that have helped to help further the organizations.

Q: Now those things that we've mentioned before, the capital that we just talked on, the commitment that the organization members feel, the control that the president and leaders and board have of the organization, consensus on values the organization has in regards to sustainable farming methods for the environment, how do you think or to what extent do you feel that these elements contribute to organizational sustainability?

R: The organization is sustainable. The industry that we're associated with, being agriculture, is never, in my opinion, going to cease to be better information and as long as that is the situation there will always be things that this organization can do and I just believe that we have to be a part of that. So I don't see us not needing to put resources into generation and dissemination of these types of information.

Q: Those elements that we've talked about before--if you didn't have them could MASA be what it is today?

R: No. For any organization to stay around--to have any influence--it has to provide results and no extra generation dissemination of this information at this point. Had we not have done that I don't know how many positive results we could show our members that we had done.

Q: Is there anything else that you would like to say in general about the survivability of this organizational or nonprofits in general?

R: No. I guess not. I hope we're around as long as we are needed and I hope that as long as we are needed we can contribute to fulfilling those needs.

Q: About the future of the organization--what do you think would be the most important issue or problem facing this organization over the next year or so?

R: New member growth. I think we have to continue to bring on some new members and there are different ways that I suppose we can do that. 'Cause I hope we continue to generate interest among non members and make ourselves available to individuals in a positive way that they feel like we have something to offer them.

Q: Overall what do you see the MASA Organization 10-15 years from now?

R: It's hard to say because I guess I would hope that the MASA organization would always have the capability and the ability to adapt and adopt whatever its members demanded out of it at any one point and time. Because my opinion that the organization that is not that then that means that it is not responding to its members' needs and perhaps would end up--I don't know if failure is the right word--but would end up at something less than what its potential was. The future of the agriculture industry would dictate what the MASA organization is 15 years from now.

Q: ou know, we have talked about all these variables--control, communication, culture, capital, the consensus on the values that we are calling coherence, compliance and commitment--being so important to the organization. Are there any other variables that you have seen . . . that organizations need to have to be effective and to be institutions?

R: I guess I'd have a hard time identifying. I guess if there is anything within this organization or within my farming operation that I would like to try to avoid to set a set of immovable parameters that the organization or my farming operation that could move into or out of or if the situation demanded it. I think we're finding that flexibility in so many things today is an important component.

Bopha--Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association
Q: Tell me about the original conceptualization of the Michigan Ag. Stewardship Association.

A: Really it started with posing a question: "Is their a constituency in sustainable agriculture that needed to be identified in this State?" Myself and ____ were both known to be working in the area of research in education of sustainable agriculture and we would be getting calls from people, from farmers and others around the state being asked questions and other technical issues and other kinds of issues. At some point, when we saw these kinds of organizations showing up in other states we

wondered, "Is there a need for this kind of identifiable constituency group in Michigan?" We really posed that question to a group of about 90 people who gathered on campus for one afternoon. These were people involved in our extension staff. The invitation was also issued to people involved in soil and water conservation districts around the State. . . Based on that one meeting it was apparent that yes there was an identifiable constituency that wanted a voice and that was interested in organizing.

Q: How was the initial leadership identified for the organization?

A: The way that we identified the initial leadership was asking extension staff and the soil and water conservation staff who in their communities are considered leaders and are interested in sustainable agriculture, from that the group self selected. We asked two questions: Are any of you interested in on-farm research projects; and are any of you interested in participating in a leadership development program? Out of the roughly 90 people that were there, 40 said yes. So we created a leadership development program that, from our prospective, was focused on building some of the necessary skills it takes for people to be effective leaders in different kinds of settings. But those people who came together were also very interested in using that time together to put the structure around an organization. So we used our time together in those leadership sessions doing both the communication skill building and understanding individual leadership style stuff. At the same time, time would be set aside for looking at bylaws for the organization and for creating a mission and goal statement for the organization.

Q: I understand the that Extension had a role in the original founding of the organization. Could you speak to that a bit?

A: Well, to the extent to which I am employed as an extension specialist, absolutely. To the extent to which we had out of the 40 people, about 4 or 5 were Extension field staff, yeah Extension was involved. To the extent to which Extension ultimately put some funding to help pay for the cost associated with this kind of conferencing and workshop, traveling, and facilitator expense, yeah Extension was involved.

Q: How is Extension continually involved with MASA or its continued support for the organization?

A: I don't really view it in terms of support. I view it in terms of a partnership. In Extension, we have been very careful to try to create Extension as partner with MASA and not as an organization that is supporting it or somehow holding it up or anything else. MASA is an independent organization. But there happen to be people who are Extension professionals who also see value in being members or leaders in the MASA organization. So, there is a lot of overlap. There is a lot of cross fertilization. But Extension is not playing the role of housing the office of MASA or anything like that.

Q: What is the commentary about the initial founding entity and then the growing process through which an organization can become partners or co-user in whatever the environments may be for whatever the benefits may be?

A: Well, I think it's important if that's the way you want it to happen you have to know that from the start. So the most important aspect, I think, is helping people build the leadership capacity they need to independently function in their organization. If we don't that and we are there being the enablers, we are the ones writing the bylaws and we are the ones organizing the meetings we are the ones organizing the funding--when I say we, I mean Extension--you are creating a co-dependent relation- ship that then is very hard to break down the road. We are then much better off, if this is the direction we want to take from the very start, to make it very clear that this is not an organization that is going to be run by Extension or that it is going to be built by Extension. We [Extension] are here to provide some resources from the university--whether it be resources in technical understanding, whether it be resources in education or in research, on-farm research in this case or whether it be resources in leadership development. That is who we are as a university; we are not here to run organizations or to set up organizations. Our job has to do with education and knowledge sharing.

Q: What else consisted of that founding vision?

A: It was a vision for what this organization could provide both to its membership and to others outside the membership to learn more about sustainable agriculture and it was basically that MASA was going to be a group of people dedicated to fostering and sharing information about an agriculture that was agronomically sound and environmentally safe and economically profitable.

Q: So in a sense you are reiterating the mission statement?

A: Right! . . . and the mission that was developed by the members of the organization. It was not a mission statement that I developed. It was not a mission statement that was somehow got laid on them. It was one that they spent time internally developing.

Q: . . . What does an organization do to keep self-sustaining commitment and keep the people continuously motivated without any control or other activities?

A: I would ask the question the other way around. It is not apparent to me how control or coercion or any other means can keep people committed because commit- ment comes from the heart. The way you keep people committed is to build a vision of what can be accomplished through a collective action. That vision, being so compelling to the people who are committed to it, they stay involved. The actions that are being taken by the organization are viewed as consistent with that vision and consistent with that commitment. People will always come and go for lots of various reasons, but you don't compromise your vision. You say we believe we can create an

agricultural future that is going to be more environmentally safe and agronomically sound and economically profitable. We do believe that; we do believe that is necessary; we believe that stewarding the agricultural industry and resources in this state for the future are vitally important to all of us and you don't waiver from it. I believe that true commitment comes when individuals can understand how they can contribute to an effort that is larger than them. A lot of people think that commitment comes from receiving services and "well, if you have an organization that can meet people's needs of what they want and what they need and the services that they require, then people will stay committed." No I don't believe that. I think that the higher commitment is one that is going to be developed based on what I can contribute to my community and not what I take from it. MASA is simply providing a vehicle for people who have this kind of vision for an agricultural future to contribute to a community who is doing this work.

Q: What about the goals of the organization, how is the organization able to continue on pursuing its goals and objectives with the changing elements of the environment over time?

A: You have to understand that it is not an old organization so we don't have a real long track record, but there are a number of very talented individuals that have committed their time and energy to this organization. It is that talent and energy collectively that creates the possibility of achieving those goals. It is individuals willing to take the initiative individually and collectively.

Q: The time limit factor is brought up again. Where to you see the organization 10, 15, or 20 years from now?

A: It sort of concerned me that even the premise of the interview when we started that this is about institutionalization and I'm not sure that it is. I believe that we are in a very unique time right now, in a unique time in the history of our species on this planet. I heard somebody say this a couple of weeks ago at a session and it really hit me. If you look at the eras that we have lived through--the ice age, the stone age, the agricultural age, the industrial age, the information age--that we are the first generation to, not only live in at least two majors ages that we have been through on this planet, but over a transition time as well. I mean if you think of the time when we moved from the middle ages to the industrial age to the renaissance. There were several generations who just lived in the transition time between these two ages. We are living when things are changing at such a greater pace than it ever has before, that we are faced with living part of our life in one age and the rest of our life in another age and living through the transition. This has never happened before. I think that it is apparent that the institutions that were created in society to take care of, for example, an industrial age, are largely irrelevant. I mean they are still around but they're undergoing tremendous upheaval because through this transition time and into a new age, they can't function the way they did before. I believe that we are heading into a time when institutions need to come and go. To view success as institutionalization and here for a long time, that may denote failure as often as it denotes

success. That success might look more like groups of people with common vision and common aspirations coming together around important issues collectively exerting leadership for change and that 10 years down the road, when the issue they came together on is no longer a critical issue, that effort dissolves and these people are now together in a much different group. It may not even be the same group. But individuals who were involved in this have now sort of moved and are now involved in some other important social movement. I believe that the Michigan Agricultural Stewardship Association is part of a social movement. So from that perspective the institutionalization is not what is important. What's important is the capacity building of people, that people need to, in this time, in this transition state that we are in, on this planet, people need to be improving and enhancing their skills of living on the planet and living with each other. We need to develop the kinds of relationships that are necessary for us to come together and then move apart in this fluid kind of organizational and association structure so that we can meet the social needs that are going to come at us and they're gonna come at us very quickly. As soon as we rigidify ourselves into an institution, then our mindset starts to become, "What do I need to do to keep this institution alive"? Even though the institution may largely become irrelevant to the social movements that need to happen, our mindset is still how do we keep the institution alive and we start acting in ways that no longer look like the vision of who we are, the vision of who we were when we created ourselves.

Q: What is an institution to you? How do you see MASA in the sense of an institution?

A: Institution probably isn't the right word. We need to be thinking of new ways to communicate. It may never be about a building. It may never be about a paid staff. All that stuff that we thought of as institutions, it may never be about a bureaucracy with procedure books at all, but so often we view those things as signs of success. I am not at all sure that those signs really mean success any more. In some cases they might. In this kind of situation I am pretty convinced that it doesn't. The more the fluid we can keep this organization, probably the better off we're all gonna be.

Q: Could it be perceived as an aim to arrive at that fluidity in organizations or is it a process?

A: It is sort of hard to say what that looks like as a goal. If you read the literature in business and industry and the management and leadership literature all over the place right now it talks about the importance of being flexible, of organizations and institutions having a great deal of flexibility to deal with the changing environment. And I think that is one of the reasons for an instance it is so difficult for a university to deal with changing environments. It is because we have built in such rigidity. We built rigidity in budgets. We built rigidity in curriculum. We built rigidity in terms of who is here. You get promoted and tenured and most people stay here for a career. That doesn't allow a whole lot of flexibility in being able to adjust an institution to meet current needs as they come very quickly. We may have a faculty

at a university who is largely trained in one age and has a world view in one age, who is being asked to educate our young people who will live most of their life in a completely different age. And my God, that's a challenge.

Q: What is the relationship that you see between effectiveness and what would be termed as institutions?

A: I don't see a whole lot of parallel. I can look at huge institutions that by many standards would be termed pretty ineffective at responding to current needs and current social situations. On the other hand, I have seen new organizations of people, new associations of people, new collaborations, in a very short order, with very little of what we would call institutional infrastructure, be able to respond very rapidly and very effectively to meet the needs of constituents or meet the needs of stake holders or meet the needs of neighborhoods or whatever. It might even be an inverse relationship between the extent of institutionalization and the ability to respond effectively.

Q: What about the component of being an institution that has to do with what has been called legitimacy and what the environment has to say about what you under-take?

A: Maybe this is where the whole point of collaboration comes back in. One of the basic values that MASA has employed from the start is that we are not doing it alone; that you collaborate with others. So you utilize the strength that an institution can bring. You don't say I'm not going to collaborate with Farm Bureau because there are people there who are trying to support the status quo in agriculture while we are trying to move ahead. Instead you say Farm Bureau has a lot of strength to offer in what we are doing so lets team with them. All of a sudden you have MASA who is being supported by Farm Bureau every time there is a grant being written; you have the president of Michigan Farm Bureau writing a letter of support and the director of MDA is writing a letter of support and the Dean of MSU College of Agriculture and Natural Resources is writing a letter of support. You don't have to be an institution to be able to rely on the legitimacy of institutions that are there. You can do it by partnering with them.

Q: So in a sense institutions are in the environment still have a role to play and organizations can still aspire to get to those particular statutes?

A: They can, but another way to look at is to say I don't aspire to get to that status, but my greatest aspiration is to move towards the vision that we have articulat-ed. And if the best way to do that is to collaborate with others and find the common ground where those visions overlap then you do it. You borrow legitimacy from others, you receive a grant from the Kellogg Foundation; that can bring you legitima-cy overnight.

Q: In a sense we are moving toward a reframing of institutions and institutional-ization. The whole paradigm is shifting or changing evidenced from what I have been able to gather from the interviews. One interviewee told me, "We have a statement from the Governor. We have a charter; we are a chartered organization. But so what"? he said. "That still doesn't pay our bills or stay consistent in defining the goals of the organization." . . . What will be the effect on the environment if all of a sudden we have new concepts of when an organization is an institution?

A: All you have to do is look around because it is happening. I don't think that is something that anybody controls. I don't think it's something that there's one person with a switch who says all of a sudden, "OK, we now have a different concept." I think that many of us already have a different concept and so the implications are what you are seeing right now. One of those implications is the Michigan Ag. Stewardship Association and how it is structured and how it grew and what it is about and I believe that you can find other such examples. I'm not saying that that's the only one.

Q: One of the themes that I am pursuing deals with institutionalization and what it may end up doing for the rest of the organizations. For example, it would be to find a successful and long lasting organization that has shown over 10 or 15 years that it has been able to reach its grasp and continue to grow. MASA was able to do that without the number of years of experience; is this going to be a reoccurring trend or what was special about the MASA approach that made it overcome the usual climb of the 10 or 15 years?

A: Partnerships and Relationships. Getting grants is no different than anything else in life; it is done through relationships. You always need to have great ideas. But there are many more good ideas than there is money to support them. What is the difference between a good idea that gets supported and a good idea that floats out there and never gets supported. I believe it has to do with how well you articulate the idea and how well it can fit into another organization's vision for what they are doing and relationships. And we had all three. We had some people with great ideas in MASA. We have people with those ideas fitting well into where other organization see themselves going for the future, but they are so involved in taking care of business right now. I believe Farm Bureau also sees itself as in the future, heading towards much of the same vision for agriculture as MASA does. But an organization like Farm Bureau is so tied to what they are doing day to day, and the services that they're providing day to day, that they don't have the time, energy and personnel to look ahead like that. They are acting on today's problems and MASA is acting on tomorrow's promises. So you have that and then you have relationships . . . .

Q: Usually new organizations try to establish those relationships. The common way is by keeping track of people that they meet over a period time, otherwise they try to pursue them through boards of directors. What . . . (question not completed)

A: There is a third way. Break down the mindset of what an organization and an institution is. Collect around you other organizations, those people who have the relationships, those people who have the vision that is encompassed in the vision of that organization, and then you have the relationship intact. You don't have to do it through boards. There are some people who say give me a position on a board, title and I'm with you . . . .

Q: Is MASA considered to itself as effective?

A: Very.

Q: By what standards or criteria is that effectiveness measured?

A: Probably by standards of activity towards goals and by standards of impact and standards of influence. It's not by standards of buildings or membership or wealth of board members or status of board members.

Q: Some of the reoccurring themes that I have been able to identify are capital, commitment from the members, culture of the organization, a certain amount of control that the leadership applies or allows, flexibility to allow the members to that which they are capable. Would you say that this is consistent with what you have seen with MASA or with what institutions can do?

A: I think that they are all important.

Q: You have added a collaboration to those that I have seen, or at least talked about the communication piece as well. In a sense you haven't termed them as such but you hit on many of those and it is being presented in a type of framework.

A: Now you have to put an 8th C in there. Where are you going to put it?

Q: . . . How important it has been for your organization?

A: Very, more important than any of these. More important than compliance. Compliance is not nearly as important as collaboration. Culture, communication and commitment; if you have the rest, capital comes. I don't know, control? I guess it depends on how you frame it. It is definitely a very important aspect or an important issue.

Q: Are there any other general comments that you would like to make about effective organizations or the whole concept of institutions?

A: I think that what you are doing is really fascinating work.

Calembert--Youth Development Corporation

Q: I'm sure you have been able to see some of the background information on the development of the organization. How have you been able to continue the vision of the original founders?

R: I think the original reason it was set up was primarily as a delinquency prevention and that was the original intent. I think we've carried that mode of operation through everything we have done. When you look at what we are doing now, it's different from what they did in 1971 when they started, but what you do to prevent delinquency, and the types of problems you're seeing in delinquency, are vastly different now than in 1971. If you look at our programs now you will still find a high percentage of kids who have been involved with the court because we are still trying to do something to keep them from getting even further into the system or prevent them from getting into the system in the first place.

Q: And what continued support do you get from the founding members or from organizations that helped you get started?

R: Well, we originally started under model city, the city of Lansing and the city of Lansing still provides support. There is no model city anymore. We get money from the general fund and the city of Lansing; that's the been the one cord that's gone all the way through from the beginning to now. Some of the other federal monies etc. have changed their whole dynamics and some of those things have changed over the years, and some things have been in and out, but the city has consistently been through all that.

Q: Were there any additional players in the conceptualization--the founding--of the organization that you know of?

R: No, the city was the main force.

Q: What additional support would you envision or is expected, anticipated from the city or from those founding people?

R: Well, I don't know that you I cause the city's support has decreased because part of their support was federal dollars and other dollars. They have been in the past and we got a little bit more money this year than last year which was the first time in several years we got an increase. Their pot of money gets smaller and there are more people who want it. I anticipate an increase this next year because our new mayor has youth as a major focus. As a matter of fact they've just let it be known that there is some money specifically outside of the normal realm of where we get our dollars. . . .

Q: I'm going to move on the goals and the values of the organization. When you are asked to briefly describe Youth Development Corp., what do you say?

R: I'd say we are primarily a delinquency prevention program and our primary focuses are currently youth employment and in counseling, and those are the primary areas we focus on right now.

Q: And so by that would it be safe to say that it's the really important function that the organization serves, the delinquency aspect of it?

R: Yeah, right. I think it's critical, it's real critical, too, that we do not focus 100% on that, because I also think it's important that the organization not be labeled as an organization that's only for troubled kids. For instance if you're an employer and I come with somebody and you know that I work with ex-offenders and that's it, you know the person I've got is an ex-offender and that puts a certain judgment on that person before you ever even talk to them. Based on the fact that I brought them. I think that it is real critical that we don't label our clients, label our clients by virtue of them coming to us. That the only label is that between 16 and 21 but not necessarily troubled kids, because you want an employer to make a decision on whether they are going to take this young person based on the young person, not based on whether they think there may be some problems because of who is sending them their way. . .

Q: In what ways do you hope the organization will be different 5 years from now than it is today?

R: Well, I think I'll always hope that financially we would be better off. . . . I don't know that you need necessarily to say you have more money; what you do need is to be able to say it's more stable. That you are not every year scrambling to see how the pieces are gonna fit together. I mean it would be nice if somebody could guarantee you a level that you could learn to live with that level. . . .

Q: What about the issue that the organization serves delinquency cases?

R: I would love to think sometime that any organization that serves delinquency could work themselves out of business. But I'm also realistic to know that you'll never do that. So I think I would see us still focusing on that group and the programs might be different 5 years from now because what works or what seems to be working may be different. And I that's important to keep an eye on. You don't get stagnant in what you do based on "I'm comfortable with this." Sometimes you have to say, okay, this worked in 1970; 1995 it ain't gonna work. . . .

Q: What would you say are the core values of this organization or of those that you tried to maintain as a leader in this organization?

R: I think I value the individual. And the fact that every individual has the right to do well. And that we need to be there when they are ready to exercise that right. Also, I think it's important that we recognize the fact that sometimes people come here to get help who really aren't ready. It's more like I need to do this because Mom and Dad are saying that I need to be doing something but I'm not real

committed at this point. Or it's almost like the other day I was talking to somebody; it's the difference between wanting a job and wanting a paycheck. I mean there's a clear difference there. Yeah, I'd love to get money, but do I really want to work for it. That's another thing. You know, I think we really need to be there when they want a job. You know, like when they've decided there is a reason to do this, and I insist to staff here if a kid doesn't work out for whatever reason, they stop showing up, whatever happens, that we always keep the door open; that we don't say because you flupped here you can't come back. We always say to them, you know we're here when you get ready to get help; I'm here, call. We have enough clients who come in now and they do nothing and a year from now they're whole motivation their whole attitude is different. . . .

Q: When you first came into office did you have in mind some things you wanted to accomplish?

R: Yeah, I definitely wanted to get beyond. When I first came here, I remember they had a press conference of sorts. Because the previous director had a lot of flack with the mayor. The newspaper wanted to know what it is I was going to do to get the mayor off YDC's back. So my #1 thing I said I'm not talking about the previous director and his problem with the mayor. I'll tell you what I'm going to do is that we're not going to give the mayor anything to find wrong with YDC. And knowing that particular mayor he will have to find something else to pick on because that was his style. He liked to have a whipping boy. And YDC was it when I came here and six months later it was somebody else because he no longer had anything negative to find. And that's my way of operation. . . .

Q: Was volunteer usage in YDC heavy in the past?

R: When I first came here there was very little, very little volunteers at all.

Q: Do you have intentions, or at least what is the status of the voluntary nature of this organization, or the listed--the registered--voluntary nature of this organization?

R: Well, we have usually from 10 to 20 regular volunteers at any one time. And so there are certain jobs we count on volunteers doing. I mean one of our programs we have a part-time staff member and the rest of the staff in that program is totally volunteers or interns (people we don't pay). That program has been going for 8 years. They consistently have been able to get the volunteers and interns to keep that program going like that. In our mentoring program, we currently have 21 mentors all of whom are volunteers. And the one part-time staff member who works with that part of the program. We got a half time person being able to serve one-on-one 4 hours per week 21 kids essentially. You are getting a much better, and to me that is much more effective use of your dollars. To have somebody there who can train people, to teach them what you want them to do. Who will do that on a volunteer basis. Plus you're benefiting society in the sense that volunteerism does something for the people who volunteer.

Q: Were there some things that concerned you during the first few months of your appointment that no longer seem important to you now today?

R: Yeah! I spent the first year I was here writing personnel policies, organizational policies, administrative procedures, and things like that. We change them every now and then but there's not a major overhaul. I mean when I came in and a lot of those things didn't exist or it was all verbal. There was not anything written that says this is it. So I probably spent the first year writing lots of those things and now I go we go back and review those things on an annual basis but typically they are relatively minor changes made. So I don't spend a lot of time doing that. I didn't spend as much time writing for grants and so on. Now I spend a lot more time writing for grants and deal with money issues than I spent then.

Q: Could you speculate on the intent during the framing of the organization? Does or did the constitution suffice to get the people along, through the formative years and to coordinate the million dollars that they got for the first years of operation?

R: Yeah, I think so. I think they had the basic framework. I think the problem was more internal; you know, I think people basically knew what YDC was doing but inside the organization I don't think it was as clear as to how you do and clear lines of communication and clear lines of who does what. And those kinds of things, those were more the problems than I think programs were well founded and people knew what the program wanted to do. More of the problem was things like how do I get paid. You know that's an exaggeration. I meant that's do we get paid on Fridays or can I do this or can I do that? which are more internal kinds of things rather than what programs are doing or how we are doing? I think that that was I felt like that has always been YDC's strengths. The program will do and serve what it was set up to serve. That has always been clear and people have always understood that and felt that was valued. . . .

Q: Now to what institutional problems or areas do you give the most attention?

R: Right now probably money. Just because that's the most critical, and from my prospective it's the most critical, because if I can solve that problem then programs are there that are needed. The staff feels like they don't have to worry about whether they are going to get a pink slip next week. And they can put their effort into their job. I think that's probably the number one thing right now. I think we have got programs that we think are working effectively. I would like to expand some of those. But if you don't have the money to expand, then at least be able to continue at the level you are at. This is important anyway.

Q: If a colleague were to come to you and say I've just put in for the presidency of an institution very much like this one, can you give me any advice about what I should do my first few months in office. What would you say to her/him?

R: I think I would say listen to the people that already there see what they think of the organization, how they are feeling, what direction they think the organization is going in. Both staff and board. Then also be particularly attuned to what the community thinks. Your level of support in the community is critical to your success. I think I said earlier on the tape 50% of our referrals come word of mouth. If I don't get that 50% of those referrals then I am gonna dry up essentially because I've lost a major portion of clients, plus that also means I've lost community support because people aren't telling people there is a good program down the street. That's the best PR you can get. And its free. . . .

Q: And the members that you talked about within the organization--how are they inspired to the commitment to the values and to the goals of YDC?

R: Well, I think the main thing is that you keep them involved with that. By dialoguing with them periodically how what they are doing fits into it. I think it's real critical with like the Board of Directors or volunteers is to constantly keep them fed with success stories. Things that say to them what we are doing is working. We just received an award from the Lieutenant Governor's office for our mentoring program. That does a lot. You take that letter from the Lieutenant Governor to the Board meeting and let them read the letter that does a lot for them. 'Cause now when they are out talking to people about YDC I say by the way did you get a chance to see in the paper that we won an award for this. . . .

Erzule--Youth Development Corporation
Q: When do you consider an organization an institution?

R: In the past you've "arrived" in one or two ways. Well, I'm not talking about voluntary associations. One, during the years of the 60's and 70's, you turned to federal grant dollars, and if you got the right combination of board members and staff working on federal funds. Once you're hooked in to a particular type of federal funds, for example, funds that were earlier earmarked for youth job vocation training. Those funds were pretty consistent from year to year. It has just been in very recent years that has not been consistent. And frequently, even organizations that are saying, "Oh, we will get [some] federal dollars as happened last year," turned around and said, "No, you're not because Congress didn't pass that bill. So they end up scrambling. So, one way to have arrived is to really tap in to regular dollars. Some boards have unique fundraisers on the board. Board members are valued who can speak on your behalf to the community about you and to provide the kind of community support that may be needed to getting the word out to the broader community about your services.

The second way that organizations (sort of) "arrive" is to tap a local source of funding. In many communities there are two sources of local funds: Community Foundations and United Way. Lansing has a new community foundation. Many larger communities like Detroit, Grand Rapids and communities throughout the

country have sizable foundations that are local funding sources with businesses and individuals contributing. So I'm talking about funding dollars right now.

In order to get local funds, it's a little bit more complex. It's not a matter of excellent grant writing or getting to people who know Washington and work to lobby. It's a little different. First of all, foundation funds are generally smaller locally. They may support programs for a number of years but it may be at a scale where they withdraw support gradually. . . . There's no guarantee of funds for the same organizations. Increasingly, people who contribute money, even $10 or $25 a year, are saying we want our money to go to this specific organization. So donors themselves scatter and disperse funds so that a small group of the board members isn't making that decision. What this has done is to create a lot of publicity that has to go on about that organization to the community. Every $5 and $10 contributor to the United Way has the power to decide what to fund. It's costly and requires publicity for small nonprofit organization. It is harder than influencing two or three key people.

In addition, United Way has review panels. They go out visit and talk with volunteers, talk with everyone outside the organization. They determine whether the organization is worthy for that award. The review panel offers a different way of assessing the need and the people saying they can address those needs. And supposedly, that's designed in such a way that is as objective as possible, as fair as possible, to new organization.

Another criteria for funding is if their services are in demand. And this has a two-fold ramification. You find in nonprofits that they really don't want to offend anyone so they'll sometimes serve more than their staff has ability to deal with quality. Part of that is because everybody is a potential funder and after all we serve the public and can't say no. So you see staff juggling a lot of responsibilities really trying to be as broad based as possible. Sometimes serving a wider variety of services that they maybe aren't equipped or staffed to do well. And those are some of the pitfalls. Whatever the service, it is something the media as well as the community accepts and feels they have a need for. The media may say we have done enough stories on literacy; we are looking for stories on street gangs. See if your services can tap this.

Part of being "arrived" is being like corporations: merge to have new products and services. Look at the automobile dealers. They no longer just sell Chevys; they also sell Hondas. Because if the U.S. economy is down you can also depend on the Japanese economy. And so to some extent, for some organizations who are large enough to be able to shift their services like the Catholic Social Services for example. Catholic social services serves every age group, refugees, youth, seniors with Meals on Wheels, and non-Catholics, too. But Youth development Corporation is unique in that while other organizations added or changed their youth services, Youth Development Corporation is still providing the same employment service for youth they started with. The only addition has been to piggy-back with MSU for Mentoring/Tutoring in addition to counseling and Job Search Strategies.

Q: In what conditions did you find YDC when you first began working with it?

R: It was located on Michigan Avenue. It was a small one-room operation. Now it is approximately a small three-room operation. They certainly are operating on a very lean budget, with very committed staff and board members. They really maximize their volunteers. They maximize the community people. You can see that they have to fight for everything they get, every piece of equipment. The floors are worn, everything is old. When you're institutionalized, maintenance is easier. An organization says, "Geez, we should be funding your services but you bought new carpeting. I don't wanna pay for carpeting, I'm contributing to your kids, not your carpeting. So you never really see the kind of maintenance that is needed for an organization to look like it's "arrived." And what does that mean for young people. Most of them feel that most organizations should look like the corporate model of glossiness--big desk, clean and modern looking. When you walk into that place people have said that their reaction is sort of horrifying because its depressing, "It looks like a pit. Do these people know what they're doing?" So it doesn't look like they have "arrived." But that's that double-edged sword again--if they really looked like they've arrived. Some funders like foundations only fund start-up projects for services. I've heard, 'Oh gosh this organization must not be struggling because look at the kind of paper they're using, fancy type for this newsletter. They could be printing this on cheap quality stock or something like that. So you've got that double-edge sword for different populations; kids you serve versus funding sources.

Nonprofits have to walk a fine tightrope and look not overly successful but not so bad that people feeling uncomfortable there. YDC had a newsletter that students mimeo-graphed. One aging mimeograph machines is used; you can hardly find them any more. Students do some of the writing. Occasionally there might be a typo. You see I think that's important that those students have a part in that operation. I also think it' important that those of us who really care about the kids and their learning find some computers to donate to them so that they can teach the kids to use comput-ers now--not mimeograph machines--because businesses are already beyond that.

The question is one of limited or finite resources in a small community. The issue is do you "arrive" through competition; increasingly the buzzword is you're gonna arrive through collaboration. There may need to be some mergers of organizations. So instead of competing for the same dollar, people can visibly gain more stake-holders and show that they're doing their part to join forces and provide services efficiently. We've seen a little bit of this in rural cities, St. John's in Michigan and we're either going to see a lot more of that or less services.

Q: What do you think the implications are going to be?

R: That's a good question. I think right now people like the idea because we're in lean years. I don't think a nonprofit is ever truly "arrived." I think it is always a challenge. I think the board turns over and tries to develop new programs, services and funding sources; continuously renewing who your funders are. Training board

members and the continual public educational process is undervalued as effort goes to maintaining the organization. You sort of can say that I have "arrived" as an institution when you're constantly changing to meet the needs of the changing publics that you serve and are accountable to.

Q: Do you think all organizations aspire to become institutions?

R: I think all organizations aspire to have stable basic funding and would like recognition and community support and there's never enough of that. Even those that have "arrived" are struggling. The YMCA may merge with the YWCA or Boy and Girl Scouts may merge in the future. 4-H has changed some of its image from rural to urban to reflect the reduced rural population. That is what will challenge them in the future.

Imani--Tuscola 2001, Inc.
Q: Do you consider Tuscola 2001, Inc. an effective organization? Why or why not?

R: I consider Tuscola 2001 a very effective organization. Tuscola 2001 is only using 25% of its potential. An example of the effectiveness that 2001 has is the Caro Airport. The village of Caro came to the Tuscola 2001 Board with a possible project that they needed assistance with. Tuscola 2001 acted as the spearhead to organize the county people, leaders, government people, concerned citizens to form an Airport Authority. Tuscola 2001 continues to monitor the project each month through a 2001 board member. Tuscola 2001 is made up of leaders, citizens, board of commissioners joined together acting as a catalyst to implement, evaluate, and follow up on a project. Some of the characteristics that lend to Tuscola 2001's success are a broad base of county members, strong leadership, great team effort, collaboration among leaders, agencies, and a strong sense of county. It also helps to have accomplishments and projects to build on. Tuscola 2001 moves their monthly meeting around the county and hosts village, township leaders, special projects and concerned citizens for input and networking.

Q: To what do you attribute the organization's effectiveness?

R: The effectiveness of Tuscola 2001 success can be attributed to keeping the organization in the private sector. The members do not look for government to do it for them. As stated in question #1 the strong sense of belonging to a team of concerned citizens that can work together identified by the strategic plan of the county.

Q: Do you consider Tuscola 2001 an institution?

R: Tuscola 2001 is not old enough to be an institution. It is not well enough established but moving in that direction.

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Q: Is there a correlation, in your opinion, between effectiveness and institution status?

R: There is a correlation between effectiveness and an institution but not that great. You do not have to be around 20 years to be effective. The question is does it reach its goals. Do the goals keep changing? Tuscola 2001 goals keep changing. Tuscola 2001 must revisit their goals every couple of years.

Q: How does the organization deal with the changes that are constantly going on in the environment?

R: Tuscola 2001 constantly deals with changes in the environment. The environment to us means wetlands, P.A.116, barn preservation, water, park preservation, river planning and preservation, farm land, trees, open spaces, and clean air to say a few. Tuscola 2001 is how the people of Tuscola county want their environment to be.

Q: What additional services can Extension provide the organization?

R: The services that MSU Extension can provide Tuscola 2001 are similar to those provided to 4-H. The services include office space, secretary and office support. Information and university resources, including current data, are very important for any project that Tuscola 2001 may research. The ongoing assistance from the community development agent has been the driving force that has motivated the Board and provided a form of security for the organization.

Q: Where do you see the organization 10-15 years from now?

R: I see Tuscola 2001 becoming an institution, well-established where people make use of the organization as a common practice, where the brainstorming, networking and the combining of county resources is a common practice.

Hotep — — Tuscola 2001, Inc.
Today, I am speaking with an expert on institutionalization, hoping to get a different take on the discoveries on the institutionalization process and how some of these organizations are now being considered institutions without necessarily meeting all major elements of an institution.

Q.   How has the definition of institutionalization come about to date?

A: These institution variables that you were referring to, like the doctrine and the linkage that provides an enabling legislation, or some other enabling linkage, and the leadership and the organization and resources, etc., those are variables which an analyst can use to examine a process, but I don't think that is what defines an institution. I would call a group of human beings an institution if they endure with

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the same doctrine for a long, long time. They organize for some purpose; if they could achieve that purpose then they can disband and that's the end of it--it never becomes institutionalized. But if they have sort of an ongoing sort of purpose and they organize for that purpose and they stay together for that purpose and it lasts a relatively long period of time (not necessarily 10, 100, or 1000 years because it varies). I'm also assuming that no institution is permanent. There is a natural life cycle of institutions just as there is of organizations. If an organization becomes institutionalized, it is valued in and of itself. It seems to me that that is the most critical part of the definition. . . .

This idea that it is valued in and of itself--you mentioned FFA. There are things like that which people get associated with over time. They develop alumni, they develop loyalty, they develop commitment, and if they are designed to achieve a certain purpose then that's great. But then those who are committed to it will try to achieve that purpose. Now let's say that they do achieve that purpose, then what. If some-thing is institutionalized and there is no longer that purpose because it has been achieved, in a few cases they have been able to keep the institution anyway. They redefine the goals and they say that they are similar. . . . Some of those--the excep-tions are the religious organizations--they could last 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,000 years especially if they are not too discrete and concrete about what they are trying to do. If they keep their doctrine sort of flexible and very broad in general, those institutions can last a long long time.

I would argue educational institutions tend to last (some of them) a long, long time even though they may change their mode of operating and change their curriculum to fit the needs of the time they can continue. If an educational institution institutional-izes its curriculum. . . . You can institutionalize it. You get the course within the curriculum. But when it becomes absolutely obsolete, then it will die. If the whole institution is encompassed by it, then the institution will also die. It may hang on for quite a while. . . .

Every human group has some kind of doctrine. There is some rationale for why they participated. They see that the individuals are going to get something out of it. And it promises them some thing--maybe just an opportunity to serve others, maybe just an opportunity to suffer, but it is something or they wouldn't do it. These are the important variables, but the extent to which they become institutionalized depends on how the combination is put together and whether or not it gets maintained with the linkages and whoever enables it. You can pass a law. We have lots of organizations which die even though the laws are still in the books. So they did get authorized but another thing is resources. Somebody has to provide them resources. Resources can be money, can be people, can be buildings, can be ideas. Resources can come from their clientele or can come from outside from their sponsors but there has to be some flow of resources. We have that quite often in public institutions. There is a law in the books saying there must be one of these. But nobody is willing to give money to it. And you come back and say why they don't. And I would come back and say, the organization, its doctrine, its program, is not sufficiently valued by its clientele or

its clientele doesn't have sufficient clout among the larger group involvement that is required and therefore it doesn't continue. Sometimes they get classified like a dinosaur. The trappings of the institution are attractive. They will have a label; they will have a flag; they will have a logo; they might even have a song or two and it has people with great memories, who are alumni of it and they are loyal to it. It can continue even after the program becomes obsolete or it fails to change with the times in terms of uprooted and didn't make it in an earlier stage it isn't delivering anything. It could last for a while like but I'm suggesting sort of a life cycle. As those things creep in, the institution either figures out new programs. If its doctrine is still sound in terms of general principles, but the kinds of ways of achieving it didn't work, don't work any more, it can change its program and continue. But if it keeps the same programmatic course even when there is no need for it, then the institution itself gets weakened and may very quietly disappear. It may take a long time for it to disappear or a new one will be born out of it. It might keep the trappings. I mean if it has a good symbol; if it has a logo that everybody likes or a name--like brand name. . . .

Q: So the definition of institution extends beyond the variables?

A: I don't think that the variables define an institution. The variables are characteristics that an analyst can use in describing it and comparing one of them with another or in making some forecast about how long it is going to last or what to do. If in the beginning stage, you have a new organization and you want to institutionalize it, what can you work on. The variables are handy. But I don't think it gets defined as an institution except sort of historically. This one was an institution because it lasted a long time and because people valued it in and of itself. They valued it in spite of what it was doing. Nation states, sovereign states, tend to get a little of this. That is my country and I'm a citizen of it. I hope it is always right, but right or wrong it is my country so they tend to become institutionalized. Now we have a lot of countries changing names, changing all the time so even that doesn't go forever. We have military occupations and countries which eventually become colonies for someone else. Sometimes that lasts 300 years, but even after the 300 years is over, sometimes they can go back and go to the old institutions and in that phenomenon some institutions go underground.

Q: You stress the concept of time. How relevant or how important is the time variable or concept as it relates to institutions?

A: In the idea of institutionalization, it is very important. We could organize a thing today and call it an institution. We set up a Herisse and _____ Research Institute and we call it an institution. We name it that and we may even get a license for that and may be get some kind of charter for that. So in two days we became an institution. Probably who ever is providing our funds if they don't do it the next week you won't see it, if we had some letterhead we would probably cross it out, because we don't exist any more even though we called it an institution. When has a thing become institutionalized? Without the time dimension, people have to value it.

Maybe not for the particular program at the moment, but by the value in and of itself, by the name and their perception of the doctrine, and that is probably a more important thing. When forces, political, military or whatever determine to destroy an institution, and we have plenty of that in our days, it is a lot easier to destroy the buildings and the program and even the flow of resources than it is to destroy the doctrine. If the doctrine was sound and appropriate and the people had loyalty to it, they will go underground to protect that doctrine. They may end up in new buildings or without buildings. I mean they may have to change their programs. So I say the doctrine is a key, huge variable in terms of institutionalization, but it is only a variable. Because there are a lot of things that can have a doctrine. You can write a statement and say that is our doctrine. If some people believe in it, they agree, 5 or 10 people share the same doctrine they can institutionalize something around that doctrine. The other predicament is leadership. If there is zero leadership, if there are people who are really committed to this sort of doctrine, this rationale, this *raison d'être* for the organization, but none of them want to do any work and none of them will come to meetings, there will be no continuity which is the time dimension which is a necessity if you're going to call it an institution.

Q: In your dealings with institutions what kinds of leaders have you found manifesting within these institutions to keep them as such?

A: Tick off a few criteria. They understand the doctrine; they are committed to the doctrine; they are able to explain it at all levels, they understand it well enough so they explain the doctrine to the staff of the organization even though they are all in it and some of them even longer than the leader. The leader has to explain we are here building a cathedral, we are not here just putting brick together. The reasons why the world needs this organization. The leader has to be able to explain that inside and outside to potential donors, to resource providers, whoever they may be and also to clients. That sometimes requires a leader that can speak 9 languages or speak one language at many different levels to people of different kinds. Then there is a factor of shear energy and long hours of hard work. The leaders I have encountered really carry their institutions, tended to be both men and women of unusual vigor. Maybe they are not physically all that strong, but they could hang in there day after day, after day-- long days and short nights; get less sleep than everybody else; get to work earlier than most of the others; be there after the others are gone; sleep in the vehicle, whether it be a car, boat or a train or whatever and be ready to work as soon as they land at the next place. I think that kind of characteristic tends to pervade successful institutions over the years. There other kinds of things that help institutions, but it sure helps to know something about the various programs that the institution has. He or she must understand the doctrine that is critical. . . . Another characteristic is flexibility. The world changes and the institution has to sort of ride with the changes of the current. That means that the leadership has to be quite flexible. If it's flexible enough, when the way to achieve the rationale of the doctrine is to do different programs than we did last year, flexible leadership figure that out, how to adjust to it and help the staff. Plus the staff, hopefully they will be flexible people and leader type of people in it. But the staff, and I'm not talking only about paid staff, they

might be volunteers, they might be members or whatever. When they learn how to do something well and it seems to work, they don't like to change. The doctrine has to bring people to the institution. What tends to happen is the doctrine is there and times change and the kinds of programs that are appropriate to achieve that doctrine at one period of time after some years are now different. This is where we come back to distinguish an organization from an institution. We can organize to clean the water, but it is not going to be institutionalized. Over time as conditions change, if we are committed to the doctrine the people should have ample safe drinking water. . . .

Q: You are consistent with notion of doctrine. Let me understand this notion a little bit more clearer. Is it the same thing that other folks call a mission or a mission statement?

A: It is similar. Yes, a general overall mission statement could be the same as a doctrine. In fact, in some languages it is better to say mission than it is to say doctrine. Sometimes in the English language the word mission connotes the wrong kind of thing. The concept of doctrine is sometimes defined as **the essential rationale**. Why does the world need this organization if it is an organization that is becoming institutionalized. That is why leadership has to be able to do something. Leadership has to be able to state the doctrine. Excellent leadership can write words that will communicate the doctrine. A doctrine is a very slippery, elusive kind of phenomenon; it is this sort of great idea. . . . You could have a very beautiful logo but somebody else has a very similar logo and they do terrible things. You probably have to change your logo because you're going to be accused of being like them. . . . The essential doctrine is more than the name, the logo, the leadership, the organization, the structure, and the resources. When it gets institutionalized, I mean . . . you accuse me coming back to doctrine over and over again, I would argue yes because that is the thing that is most likely to become institutionalized and will carry the others. . . . FFA in schools is going to teach such and such subject and lots of people are going to join because they want to be farmers in the future. In a community, when 80% of the people there who are coming from farming families, that was a good thing. In a community where 2% are coming from farming families, it is unlikely that the others will want to be "future farmers."

Q: What would it mean to the overall world of organizations if we were to look at institutions differently. For example, a foundation that has historically said that we will only give moneys to institutions and with a specific time definition of when one can consider them institutions and so therefore young start-up organizations will not get . . . (Example not completed)

A: Someone else is gonna take the risk. They're sort of protecting their money. If you survive as an institution over a period of time then we will have confidence in you and then we might give you money.

Q: We are back to leadership . . . moving away from that transactional type to a more community-centered, committee-driven entity. What is your take on that type of leadership?

A: I think that we are in the era where a collaborative mode is increasingly necessary compared to an individualistic control type. Now I'm saying that but if the institution has top leadership based on controls and they don't want to be collabora-tors. You're looking at the changing role and I think that that is a definite direction caused in part by the excessive specialization of our present year. People with all kinds of expertise tend to become overspecialized in a narrow segment. So to deal with the major problems (their lost) we all lost. Even some of the money that was won, take some sort of team effort, by a collaborative group. The world--the individualistic type of mode--is not as desired as it may have once been. Institutions want their top roles to work cooperatively rather than individually. The changing world and the changing environment caused in the excess of specialization that people in all kinds of sets of expertise have a tendency to become over specialized in our own segment. To deal with the major problems in the world even the minor prob-lems take cooperation. Whoever is providing the leadership, the leadership has to appreciate the contributions of the great variety of talents and not only those in his or her field. . . . Nothing about the present is institutionalized; you can say well, I would like to go to this department at MSU because they have these three great scholars there and you might get there and find that those three don't even speak to each other. Then maybe the only time that they meet is on your committee meeting or they don't even know each other that well. It seems to me that is not feasible to take advantage of what information and learning is about now. So now the challenge for the leadership is to stimulate, enhance, encourage and reward the collabora-tion. . . . Institutionalization requires a certain commitment and that is why if there are 12 institutions with the exact identical doctrine then why should individuals stay in one compared to going to the others. Resources are absolutely necessary because you have two institutions with the same doctrine. One of them was creative getting resources for decades and the next decade it sort of fails at getting attempts getting the resources from the outside world. I'm a biochemist and I can't get reagents in my lab by anyone in the town, but if I go to the university they all give all of those things. So where is the commitment to the institution and this is a phase of dealing with institutionalization an organization can become institutionalized it can become deinstitutionalized and that is usually a step towards its reincarnation or its disappear-ance.

A: There is another one like cooperation which I don't see here, but from a leadership perspective it seems the easiest one to implement is communication. The next one is probably cooperation, then there is another one coordination. And you can do all of those without collaboration. Collaboration to me implies a genuine kind of participation among the collaborators where you can get good coordination in a military organization for example or simply in an orchestra. When a director holds up his baton all of the musicians are coordinated and they won't play his first note until he gives the signal and when he cuts it at the end, if they're gonna stay in that

orchestra, they all stop playing. They are not collaborating in the sense that, "should we drag that note out a little longer or should we have a little faster," they discuss that before and after. A jazz group is different; a jazz group they're sort of collaborating with each other. There won't be one guy standing. One guy might start the pace off and get the group started. That is more like collaboration. Their coordinated effort though is in some ways needed. They have to have some degree of coordination. Because if they are going to do their certain thing in a restaurant tonight we all have to be there. If one guy decides not to go and he happens to be the bass player and they can't do it without him then they are all in trouble, so they have to coordinate. Collaboration is a somewhat different thing, some of the things that you have here like control some of that has to be there in any organization, but the control is very different with coordination without collaboration. With the mechanism for doing all of that is communication. If leadership can't communicate it will be very hard to do any of the other things. Culture I see as a larger thing; they tend to all be in a culture. Culture will control certain things and culture will enhance certain things and it is always there. If the leadership can't get any commitment, coherence might itself.

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