

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION INTERPRETATIONS  
IN ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS

Karin Gwinn Wilkins

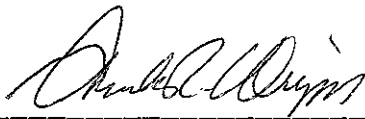
A DISSERTATION  
in  
Communication

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

1991



Supervisor of Dissertation



Graduate Group Chairperson

ANNENBERG

2/002

1991

W684

**COPYRIGHT**

**KARIN GWINN WILKINS**

**1991**

To Peter, Karel and Don

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work builds upon years of study with Oscar Gandy, Robert Hornik and Klaus Krippendorff. I am grateful to Bob, for his careful critiques of my work and for sharing his exceptional expertise, which has taught me to examine logically models of social science research; to Klaus, for enthusiastically encouraging my scholarship and inspiring me to think in new ways; and to Oscar, for challenging me to advance my theoretical development and unceasingly supporting my intellectual growth.

Throughout the process of completing my graduate work, many people provided support and encouraged me to follow this course. I thank my husband, Peter Siegenthaler, for being there and believing in me; my parents, Karel and Don Wilkins, for laying the groundwork for my academic ambitions and encouraging these aspirations; and my grandmother, Grace Knudsen, for supporting my ideas and studies. I am especially grateful to Peter, Karel, Don, Grace, Michael and the rest of my family.

I am also appreciative of Lane Browning, Moira McLoughlin, Nancy Morris, Chris Koepke, Nikhil Sinha, Barbie Zelizer and Amy Jordan for listening to my ideas and offering suggestions; of John Encandela, Jay Dahlke, Andrea Packard and Liz Clark for supporting me throughout the research process; and of Lorraine Ritacco, for generously lending her aid in numerous ways.

Most of all, I thank the people who spoke with me at length about their work: this research rests upon their contributions as respondents.

## ABSTRACT

### DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION INTERPRETATIONS IN ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS

KARIN GWINN WILKINS

OSCAR H. GANDY, JR.

This study explores how organizational contexts guide and constrain development practitioners' interpretations of development communication. The research focuses on questions surrounding the production of development communication, including: how practitioners understand and interpret development communication; and, how organizational contexts contribute to and constrain the production of development communication. An interpretive approach to organizational communication is used to build upon political-economic and systems approaches to the study of media industries and organizational behavior. Thirty-six members of international development organizations, including the United States Office of Population, Population Communication Services, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, International Planned Parenthood Federation Western Hemisphere Region, and Oxfam America, were interviewed in-depth about their perceptions of development communication (including their activity, their audience, and the role of communication in addressing that audience), and their organizational contexts (including inter-organizational dynamics with their donors, recipients and reference groups, as well as intra-organizational conditions, such as history, structure and decision making procedures). Respondents perceived development communication as a tool to inform, educate or persuade (role of communication) groups of individuals or society

(audience) who suffer as a result of individual deficiencies or macro-structural inadequacies (problem organizational activity is addressing). Patterns of interpretations were connected with dynamics within the studied organizational contexts, which embodied particular systemic relations with other organizations in environments. The process by which meanings underlying development communication are produced shapes and is shaped by practitioners' interpretations of development communication. These interpretations, in turn, are bounded by the dynamics created and perpetuated by individuals as they interact within organizational contexts.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction.....	1
II. Literature.....	5
A. Organizational Contexts.....	5
B. Interpretations of Development Communication.....	19
III. Methodology.....	30
A. Research Areas.....	30
B. The Study.....	36
IV. The Context of the Study.....	41
A. International Development Organizations.....	42
B. The Role of Communication in Development.....	45
C. A Brief History of Development Assistance in Population and Women's Health Issues.....	49
V. Descriptions of Case Study Organizations.....	58
A. USAID and PCS.....	58
B. UNFPA.....	62
C. IPPFWHR.....	65
D. Oxfam America.....	68
VI. Organizational Contexts.....	72
A. Organizational Reference Groups.....	72
B. Relationships with Donor Environments.....	75
C. Relationships with Recipient Environments.....	98
D. Resource Dependency or System Dependency.....	110
VII. Interpretations of Organizational Activity.....	114
A. Justifications for Organizational Activity.....	115
B. Problems Addressed by the Organization.....	123
C. Descriptions of Project Activities.....	127
D. Constructions of Organizational Activity.....	131

VIII. Interpretations of Audience.....	140
A. Relevance of Audience Image.....	140
B. Encoded Audience Constructions.....	144
C. Analytic Audience Constructions.....	153
D. Audience Image Formation.....	158
IX. Interpretations of the Communication Process.....	167
A. Assumptions about the Communication Process.....	170
B. Assumptions about Communicative Modes.....	177
X. Interpretations of Development Communication.....	184
A. Descriptions of Development Communication Constructions.....	184
B. Constructions within Studied Organizations.....	191
XI. The Organizational Context of Development Communication.....	199
A. The Systemic Nature of Organizational Contexts.....	199
B. The Contribution of Organizational Contexts to Interpretations.....	205
C. The Success and Failure of Development Communication.....	217
XII. Contributions to the Field of Communication and Recommendations for Future Research.....	221
A. Theoretical Contributions to Communication Research.....	221
B. Recommendations for Future Research.....	224
Appendix A: Interview Schedule.....	229
Appendix B: Initial Coding Sheet.....	234
Appendix C: Reliability.....	245
Bibliography.....	247



## TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1:	
Organizations and their Donor Relationships.....	94
Table 2:	
Characteristics of Donor Relationships.....	96
Table 3:	
Organizations and their Recipient Relationships.....	106
Table 4:	
Characteristics of Recipient Relationships.....	109
Table 5a:	
Justifications for Organizational Activity:	
Responses Across Organizational Affiliations.....	120
Table 5b:	
Justifications for Organizational Activity:	
The Role of Gender in Types of Responses.....	122
Table 6:	
Perceived Beneficiaries.....	146
Table 7:	
Inventory of Audiences Mentioned in Project Descriptions.....	154
Table 8:	
Belief in the Power of Communication to Change Audiences.....	171
Table 9:	
Inventory of Channels Mentioned in Project Descriptions	
by Organization.....	179

Figure 1:	
Perceived Reference Groups of Four Case Studies.....	75
Figure 2:	
Interpretive Understandings of Organizational Activity:	
Problems Addressed Belonging to Individuals or System and	
Being Addressed through Individuals or System.....	134
Figure 3:	
Audiences Defined Among Focal Organization, Donor Environment	
and Recipient Environment.....	159
Figure 4:	
Perspectives of Development Communication Across	
Organizational Affiliations.....	192
Figure 5:	
Environmental Dimensions of Organizational Contexts.....	203

## I. INTRODUCTION

"[M]ost attempts to use communication to achieve development outcomes have fared poorly" (Hornik, 1988: 13). This pronouncement reflects a wistful sentiment in scholarly literature of development communication. Communication projects are considered failures, within these discussions, in that audiences tend not to alter their behavior dramatically in response to communicative interventions. Despite the conclusion some observers of the field hold that communication campaigns rarely produce substantial changes in their audiences, a large amount of financial and scholarly resources are devoted to "development communication."

There are a variety of postulated explanations for the "failure" of communication campaigns. Many theorists blame the audience itself, for not being interested in or not comprehending messages. Failure is explained by examining properties of the receivers of the communicative messages. Others blame the supply, when marketed products or services are not accessible to audiences. For example, an organization might sponsor television messages telling mothers to take their children to health facilities for vaccinations, while these vaccines have not yet been distributed. Another explanation of failure has been called "political" (Hornik, 1988; Morss, 1985): projects may fail if political commitment is not high within donor or recipient institutions, or if there are competing political interests.

Still others blame the campaign itself, as being inappropriate for the intended audience. The message may be too complex, or use a vocabulary unfamiliar to an audience. A corollary to this discussion blames characteristics of the channel(s) employed through the campaign, not all of which are accessible to a given audience. For example, a television campaign asking mothers to

take children to clinics for vaccinations would not be likely to reach women in rural areas without televisions.

In most explanations of development communication's failure, campaigns are viewed as isolated entities, divorced from their organizational contexts. Audience members are blamed for not learning or acting on conveyed information. The vast amount of scholarly literature devoted to audience characteristics that may facilitate or impede the dissemination of information in development communication does not tend to account for other characteristics beyond this behavioral focus.

Media effects research as a whole also reflects this imbalance in communication studies, in which audiences as targets of media content dominate as subjects of investigation. Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott believe that communication scholars are shifting away from this type of research, due to a "disillusionment with the capacity of 'effects research' to fully explain the power of the media" (1988: 16). Instead, some researchers choose to study media organizations, which "embody the processes through which the output of the media comes into being" (Gallagher, 1988: 151).

Media organizations are "mediated by such factors as media ownership, finance, organizational conceptions of the audience, and the development of professional or occupational ideologies" (Gallagher, 1988: 154). Consideration of external contexts of media organizations is fundamental to understanding the nature and production of the media. This focus is as relevant for the study of development communication in particular, as it is for media output in general.

Communication studies of mass media organizations tend to focus on the entertainment industries; development communication offers a new arena for this type of study. Communication projects for development are produced within particular international organizations, operating under similar constraints as other types of organizations. Most U.S. television industries are funded by private

commercial sponsors, whereas development organizations are funded by private as well as public sources, including government and commercial donors. Development organizations may use television, radio or even interpersonal channels, so that the choice of not only content, but also of mode is constrained by assumptions about an audience. Also, while television and film industries produce programs to 'entertain' an audience, development organizations produce communication projects to attempt to change an audience. Audience considerations are integral to the production of development communication campaigns.

Organizations embody the processes underlying the production of development communication, which contribute to outcomes, or the subsequent successes or failures of development communication. Turning our attention to these processes will lead us to a better understanding of development communication as a particular activity performed by participants working within particular organizational settings. This research focuses on two questions surrounding the production of development communication: first, how do practitioners understand and interpret development communication; second, how do organizational contexts contribute toward and constrain the production of development communication, as it is conceptualized by participants?

To address the first question of how practitioners understand development communication activity, this study builds on an interpretive approach to organizational communication. I assume that participants' interpretive understandings of development communication underlie information, education and communication (IEC) project activity directed towards a developing country audience. This emphasis leads to the following concerns: who the participants see themselves as addressing (their audience); how they perceive what the organization is doing (their activity); and, how they assess their attempts to reach that audience (with a

communicative intervention). Specifically, these questions include: How do development practitioners construct their audience?; How do they construct their activity in relation to that audience?; and What are their assumptions about the effectiveness and limitations of the communication process?. Answers to these questions will illuminate how participants construct development communication as a particular activity their organization is engaged in.

Although participants across organizations may share a particular vocabulary, how they perceive this activity and act upon those perceptions may differ in distinct patterns across organizations and other individual characteristics. Exploring these patterns may advance an understanding of development communication as a process perpetuated by individuals within organizational contexts, in order to effect a change in a developing country audience through a communicative intervention.

To explore the second issue noted, this study focuses upon the organizational contexts in which international development participants produce development communication. These practitioners produce communicative activity within particular organizational settings, each with a particular set of processes and constraints. Organizational contexts are believed to guide organizational activity. This research will explore how these organizational contexts and their conditioning environments may influence participants' understandings and actions.

Rather than attempting to explain the failure of development communication in terms of an audience's behavioral response, this study explores the organizational contexts of development communication. A careful examination of organizational dimensions which may constrain IEC project activity may reveal some important insights into the construction of development communication, and the subsequent success or failure of communicative interventions.

## II. LITERATURE

### A. Organizational Contexts

In this study I focus on the construction of development communication as a particular activity promoted through participants within international development organizations. Certain dimensions of an organizational context are believed to guide and constrain organizational activity, according to studies of mass media industries, and theoretical models grounded in political-economic and system approaches to the study of organizations. This body of literature will provide a model of constructs and relationships to include in this study, in an attempt to characterize an organizational context. Once this set of dimensions has been outlined, this study may further explicate the extent to which these factors are inter-related, and to which they bear some relation to the production of development communication. Before these relationships are explored, the following review explicates some of the dimensions that may have some consequence in organizational activity.

#### 1. Contributions from Mass Media Industries Studies

Mass media research has contributed to the study of the organizational contexts in which media are produced, exploring the relationships among political, economic and cultural institutions. Recognizing that "audiences have wide-spread dependencies upon media content but little direct or systematic role in determining content," many researchers have turned the focus of their attention away from audiences as receivers, towards

the media organizations producing symbolic content (Ball-Rokeach and Cantor, 1986: 18).

One trend in the study of mass media industries attempts to study organizations in relation to conditions in their environments. These conditions refer to attributes of an environment assumed to influence organizational activity. The environment might be characterized in terms of a relationship with a set of politically legitimating institutions or of financial institutions, such as sponsors of network news.

For example, Parker (1986) gives an historical account of how the "organizational environment" affects the content produced by the motion picture industry. This industry, he explains, needs to legitimate itself to political institutions, in order to deliver content to audiences; the audience, then, is influenced by the industry and several other institutions. This research describes how state institutions and the film industry negotiated the content of crime films over time, moving away from blaming "society" towards blaming individuals for their criminal behavior. Within this perspective, media content is seen as a "negotiation" between industry and legitimating institutions within the industry's environment.

Friendly's experience (1968) with CBS television news provides another example of an historical struggle between a mass media industry and particular institutions within its environment. Unlike Parker's description of the motion picture industry, Friendly argues that some of the most potentially crippling struggles he observed were not between the news organization and political institutions, but between the network and its sponsors. Programming (1968: 78) as well as content (1968: 25) decisions are shown to be made as a result of business or financial pressures. News content can be seen as a product of negotiations among executives, sponsors, and other peer professionals.



Gerbner incorporates both political and economic agents in his construction of "power roles" that may have a systemic "influence on how messages will be selected, formulated, and transmitted (1973: 559). These power roles include authorities, who maintain political leverage; patrons, who control resources; management, who implement policies; and publics, who respond (or do not respond) to projected messages and products. Each of these groups of actors may exercise power in relation to the mass media organization through a particular leverage, but some groups are more able to influence decision making than others.

Publics, or audiences, hold a minimal role in relation to the production of mass media. Audiences may react as individuals or in groups to attempt to influence organizations, such as through boycotts of television shows; however, many studies of the production process have demonstrated that audiences tend to be of secondary rather than primary consideration (the following section of this chapter elaborates on this point). Typically, producers have little knowledge of their audiences, and instead consider this group in terms of the categories used by primary patron organizations, such as commercial sponsors (Turow, 1984: 72-80).

It is the relationship between a mass media organization and its patrons that is believed to be the most influential among the power roles described. Once conditions with political authorities have been established, the "producer-patron" bond becomes the "most pivotal interorganizational force in shaping change and continuity in mass media material" (Turow, 1984: 43). According to a resource dependency model, mass media is more likely to be influenced by a narrower variety of patrons who are perceived as crucial to an organization's survival, than by a wider variety of less crucial patrons (Turow, 1984: 59).

Along these lines, a resource dependency model has been applied by communication scholars to guide their study of the relationships between the economic and political institutions

existing in an environment and the mass media organization itself. This approach derives from organizational theory in which the relationship between organizations and their environments is explained (Aldrich, 1979) in terms of dependence on external resources. Organizations, this model maintains, take in resources (financial, human, energy and information) from their environments in order to survive, and put products and/or services back into an environment (as described in open systems models). Resource holders may influence decision making in organizations if they are able to control a crucial component of resources needed by an organization to survive.

Communication studies subscribe to the resource dependency model when focusing on the role of donor actors and agencies in the production process of mass media industries. Some of these studies of organizations focus on the interaction between media institutions and their socio-political environments, while others examine the economic bases of organizations (Gurevitch et al, 1982). Both institutional and economic approaches attempt to examine output (messages) of media organizations as a function of the relationships among focal organizations and economic or political organizations in their environment.

The resource base of an organization furnishes an economic 'control,' according to the resource dependency model. This economic control, in terms of ownership and finance, maintains a latent influence on processes and outputs of media organizations. Exploring the varieties of influence exercised, Murdock distinguishes allocative control, or the "power to define the overall goals and scope of the corporation and determine the general way it deploys its productive resources," from a lower level of operational control, regarding "decisions about the effective use of resources already allocated and the implementation of policies already decided upon the allocative level" (1982: 122). Studies of control in communication industries tend to focus on how those

with allocative control shape the range and content of day-to-day production. One such study examines donor constraints of the mass media industry of book publishing. Turow (1984) attempts to locate mass media production within this resource controlling frame, describing how patrons of a children's book industry affect the process of publishing, the guidelines, and the final product itself.

This resource dependency approach has been applied to policy studies as well as media studies. Kelley (1978) outlines a model in which changing resource bases and total corporate income affect bureaucratic structures and policies. Wyatt and Phillips (1988) agree that financing, in terms of fiscal connections and dependency on other organizations, is an important component of organizational analysis.

Other studies follow this model when attempting to explain organizational output by the organization's type of ownership. In studies following this model, ownership represents a mechanism by which an organization acquires its financial resources. Rose-Ackerman has explored this relationship in several different circumstances. In a study of managers of charity organizations (1987), she concludes that when managers are less accountable to outside organizations (measured in terms of type, number and amount of grants), they are less dependent on them, and are more independent in pursuing policies they prefer. This finding has been supported by Dye's study (1984) of how the type and number of grants affects local government expenditures, Weisbrod and Schlesinger's (1986) study of private and public nursing homes and their levels of performance (type of services and client reaction), as well as Hartogs and Weber's (1978) description of types of relationships United Way managers have with their funding agents.

Deshpande (1981) divides ownership into private and public categories, finding that private organizations tend to use performance measures to adapt their outputs to meet changing

conditions in their environment or marketplace, while public organizations tend not to seek this type of information. This private/public distinction is thought to affect policy through the type of vulnerability it engenders. For example, Evan (1976) hypothesizes that a higher level of resource concentration in public universities than in private universities reduces public university administrators' autonomy in decision making; because public universities tend to receive a high concentration of resources from a state legislature, they are more vulnerable to outside pressure than private universities that rely upon less concentrated resources.

According to the resource dependency model, the nature of economic ownership plays some role in decision making processes within mass media organizations. That is, mass media industries and their products are constrained by the relationships maintained with fiscal contributors to the organization.

## 2. Contributions from Systems and Political-economic Theories

As outlined above, past research on the organizational contexts of mass media industries points to environmental factors as contributing to and constraining the production of mass mediated content. This research project draws on systems and political-economic approaches to the study of organizations, in order to understand how environmental dimensions are related to organizational activity.

Systems approaches have emerged from critical examinations of early classical organization studies, and have grown through contingency approaches explicating the role of an environment in organizational behavior. This theoretical base has evolved through several stages in the last forty years. Early classical theory tended to view organizations as machines with tangible structures, pursuing goals in the most efficient manner

possible. Early systems theory then placed emphases on environmental characteristics, viewing the organization as an organism situated within an ecosystem.

Open systems theorists focus on structural flows between an organization and its environment. The process is not seen as linear, but circular, through feedback mechanisms operating between an organization and its environment. It is assumed that organizations maintain an equilibrium through exchanges of energy and information, and cannot survive without negative feedback, which permits the organization to detect deviations and to reduce uncertainty.

Open systems studies, therefore, ask what are the roles, relationships and linkages within and among organizations; how does input from the environment affect the structure of the organization; and how organizational structure affects output sent back into the environment. The environment is described not as a closed, static arena, but as an open system of dynamic, flexible and responsive adaptations. Environmental input into an organization is seen as including energy, people, resources, and information. The transformation of input, or "through-put" (Katz and Kahn, 1976), involves the process by which input is turned into output: output refers to that which the system places back into the environment. The feedback dimension describes environmental responses to system outputs that allow the organization to gauge the effect of its output, and to adjust internal processes that effect subsequent output accordingly.

Organizations are seen as dynamic processes by open systems theorists. Information, as well as other resources, persons, and energy, flow in and out of organizations functioning as open systems. The more open and permeable the system is to information, the more information enters the organization and the more the internal structure is affected (Farace, Monge and Russell, in Littlejohn, 1983). Boundaries of the organization, in terms of personnel and information flow, are important

dimensions to consider when examining a relationship between an organization and its environment.

There are several examples of open systems studies of organizations. One study operationalizes feedback as pre-testing and post-testing messages in information campaigns: Cutlip and Center describe a feedback process by which message effectiveness is determined through measures of audience coverage, audience response, communication impact and process of influence (in Littlejohn, 1983). Another study describes the utilization of knowledge as an information input in public policy decision making (Rich, 1978).

The contingency approach, developed in the 1970s, grew from the open systems model. Lawrence and Lorsch (in Aldrich, 1979), among others, explored how different types of organizations adapted to various environmental circumstances. Their conceptualization attempts to determine how organizations cope with contingencies deriving from circumstances in their environment, such as changes in technology, size, resources and other factors. This perspective borrows the assumption of circularity from the open systems approach. The contingency model explicates the idea that organizations are internally differentiated systems, which are integrated when dealing with environmental conditions. In addition to the questions asked within the open systems approach, contingency theorists ask which structures fit best with organizational purposes and environmental demands (such as market and economic conditions).

An intensive series of contingency studies has been performed by the British scholars identified within the "Aston group." This group and their followers have published several volumes of work relating organizational structures to their environmental contexts in terms of ownership, size, resources and interdependence. Pugh's (1976) model underlies this contingency research, relating organizational context (size, technology,

dependence) and behavior (interpersonal interaction) to structure (activities, concentration of authority, centralization and lack of autonomy) and performance (reputation, productivity, adaptation, and morale). Defining context, in part, as dependence on an external donor environment, and structure as lack of autonomy have been important contributions by this group to the field of organizational behavior.

Blau (1974) has studied the relationship between size and structure, agreeing with the Aston group that larger organizations tend to be more centralized, with more specialized jobs than smaller organizations. He maintains that organizational context can be seen as consisting of the size and formal location of the focal organization among other organizations. Bolman and Deal (1984) believe that the inter-connections among organizations in their larger political and economic contexts is an area that needs further exploration in organizational research.

Size and concentration of resources (as a corollary of dependence) are important dimensions of organizational environments to be studied. Evan (1976) expresses the hypothesis that larger organizations with more concentrated resources are less autonomous in their decision making than smaller organizations with more diverse sources of resources. This structural model has been developed theoretically by open systems scholars, and further explicated by contingency researchers.

Like the open systems theorists, scholars of political economy tend to concentrate on structural relations of organizations as an explanatory mechanism of organizational behavior. Murdock reviews several approaches to the study of corporate control in media organizations. He identifies structural analysis as an approach going "beyond intentional action to examine the limits of choice and the pressures in decision making" (1988: 124). Some political economists reviewed in organizational behavior literature belong to this structuralist school (Burrell and

Morgan, 1979), assuming that conflict is inherent. This supposition contrasts with an assumption maintained by early systems theorists that equilibrium guides social systems. Within the political-economic paradigm reviewed here are quite diverse explanatory mechanisms, all sharing the same structuralist approach towards describing conflict in organizational systems.

One group of political economists tends to focus on structural components of organizations, attempting to unravel ways policies and operations are constrained by dynamics of capitalist economic structures. For example, Herman (1981) analyzes structures and powers of American corporations in Corporate Control, Corporate Power. He assumes that organizations are not isolated units, but are constrained by external controls. Control of an organization might be industrial or financial; financial control (comparable to Murdock's allocative control) being held by those primarily interested in external functions. An organization's type of ownership is shown to affect its internal structure, as well as its goals. Financial control of an organization may not be manifest in overt actions, but may impose latent constraints on managers. Herman's detailed account of financial constraints on organizations supports the notion that organizational processes and outputs are constrained by relationships with those agents and organizations controlling financial resources.

Weberian and marxist scholars have also contributed to political-economic theories in their applications to organizational analysis. Neo-marxists, according to Murdock (1988), "focus on the way in which the policies and operations of corporations are limited and circumscribed by the general dynamics of media industries and capitalist economies." This approach (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) to organizational study concentrates on the economic structure of power relationships among individuals in organizations, and of organizations within the structure of society. Internal organizational processes are seen as reflecting class stratifications within a society; as such, it is argued, organizations



exist to serve the society's elite. Economic structure is the key determinant of power relations, such that inevitable power struggles arise between different economic groups. Organizations exploit employees in a quest for surplus value and capital, and perpetuate a system of rationalization to provide legitimacy for their actions in their environmental system.

The radical weberian approach is quite similar to that of this group of marxists, replacing a focus on economic structures with an emphasis on political structures. While marxists may argue that organizations need to be studied within their economic structures, radical weberians (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) believe that organizations should be studied within their political structures. Organizations do not operate in isolation, but are embedded in a network of power relations. For a radical weberian then, any description of an organization's network of power relationships must include the State, being concerned with how the State dominates a social structure composed of organizations.

In his discussions of how power relations become legitimated as norms, Weber (1958) perceives bureaucracy as a distinct form of social domination. Power is seen as an unequally distributed, zero-sum phenomenon. Organizations, like society, are controlled by interest groups exercising power through ideological manipulation, as well as through visible forms of authority relations. Conflict is seen as an inevitable, disruptive force propelling changes in organizations.

Morgan groups these political-economic theories into a category of studies interpreting organizations as instruments of domination, whereby "groups find ways of imposing their will on others" through "processes of social domination" (1986: 275). In the world system, modern states and multi-national corporations can be seen as dominating less powerful states and peoples. Third world dependency is "exacerbated by the kinds of foreign aid

extended by agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF, and the United States Agency for International Development" (1986: 311).

Seeing an organization as an instrument of domination allows one to suggest dysfunctional or unintended consequences of organizational activities toward an audience, and to include ideological premises in a research endeavor. However, these approaches as they are reviewed here are uni-dimensional; they do not permit an organization to be both an instrument of domination in one arena, and a victim of domination in another. In the current study, international organizations are seen as dominating constructed audiences in one direction (as well as recipient institutions), yet caught within a larger system of dominating donor agents. Thus, organizations play not one role but several, and a model of organizational context needs to account for this multi-dimensional character.

Rather than focusing solely on political or economic domains, Luhmann (1982) suggests that an explanatory framework ought to encompass both within a systemic approach: the environment plays a key role in this conception: "the structures and processes of a system are only possible in relation to an environment, and they can only be understood if considered in this relationship" (Luhmann, 1982: 257). This framework allows for a multi-dimensional character of studied organizations, whereby an environment is "recognized as a set of possible constraints" (Luhmann, 1982: 284). The organizational context, in this research, denotes relational aspects between an organization and particular environmental domains.

### 3. Structural Dimensions of Organizational Context

From the preceding reviews of theoretical approaches to organizational study and of the resource dependency model, these explanations of organizational behavior point to particular dimensions of an organizational context that are believed to have some consequence in organizational activity. These dimensions

include dependence, characterizing a relationship between an organization's fiscal status and the nature of its donor environment; autonomy, reflecting a level of non-member involvement in allocative decision making; size of an organization; inter-connections with other organizations; frequency of interaction between organizational members and non-members; and functional positions of members.

Structural functionalists describe organizational context in terms of a level of dependency and size (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 162). Price (1972) suggests in his Handbook of Organizational Measurement that size be measured as a number of members or personnel. Resource dependency theorists discuss dependency as environments affecting "organizations through the process of making available or withholding resources" (Aldrich, 1979: 61). Dependence is a relation between two units, and power is seen as residing in another's dependence. Pugh (1976) and his colleagues have identified relationships between dependence and organizational structure, but these measures are considered by many organizational theorists to be invalid; by attempting to capture formal structure, and avoiding measures that could be affected by members' perceptions, they miss important perceived dimensions of dependence. Derived from Blau's theory of exchange in interpersonal relations, dependence can be measured in terms of the recipient's belief in the importance of that resource to survive, and whether alternative sources exist:

going to alternative sources and using control over strategic resources to negotiate for needed resources are the usual means organizations use to avoid becoming dependent on their environment (Aldrich, 1979: 120).

A dependent relation is one in which the fiscal status of an organization is seen as closely tied to a donor organization or set of organizations. Decision making, then, may be constrained by

fiscal sources, as well as by other power roles. Dependence on fiscal donors as well as other agents contribute to a lack of autonomy over decision making in an organization. One important consequence of organizational context, the literature suggests, lies in members' decision making patterns. Ownership is believed to constrain managers' abilities to make autonomous decisions: public organizations, according to scholars of public policy, are less autonomous in that they must respond to governmental institutions and interest groups, whereas private organizations are believed to respond to market conditions. An important assumption in this model is that independent organizations are autonomous and as such, are more likely to respond to audience or market demand than dependent organizations that are less autonomous. Nevertheless, the relationship between donor environments and an organization is expected to contribute to the nature of decision making in that organization. In reference to media studies, Gallagher (1988) finds that "the possibilities for, and limitations of, the autonomy of individual communicators within any media organization cannot be considered without reference to the economic base of the organization."

Autonomy is defined by structural functionalists as the extent to which decisions are made inside or outside the organization. "An organization lacks autonomy if decisions are taken at a level of authority outside the organization's own structure" (Pugh, 1976: 26). This group of scholars measures autonomy as the ratio of decisions, regarding such activities as hiring, selecting marketing territories, and determining the extent and type of market aimed for, that are taken at outside authority levels. Price (1972) outlines a series of questions asking organizational members how certain organizational activities are decided. This list was adapted to ask members of development organizations about the activities performed in the implementation of IEC projects, such as choosing country sites, developing budgets, and determining target audiences.

Relations between focal organizations and an environment are mediated by boundary personnel and flows of information (Evan, 1976: 122). Boundaries, according to the systems perspective, are permeable, such that interaction allows information to filter between the environment and the organization. The frequency of interaction, or "amount of contact between organizations measured in either absolute or relative (to total frequency) terms" (Aldrich, 1979: 275), marks the intensity of the relationship between one organization and another.

Both frequency of interaction and functional position of members will be included in this study, given a supposition in the literature that boundary dimensions are important factors to consider. Aldrich (1979) finds that "little attention has been paid to the relation between participants' structural position and their perceptions" and that an organizational study ought to consider "whether members in different roles . . . perceive the same organizational reality as other members" (Aldrich, 1979: 125). Exposure to a particular environment is assumed to contribute to an understanding of organizational activity (Aldrich, 1979: 126). Thus, in order to explore relations with donor and recipient environments, people working with non-members from donor and recipient groups are included in this study.

## B. Interpretations of Development Communication

In this study I explore the relationships between organizational contexts and participants' understandings of development communication, encompassing their perceptions of their audience, their activity, and the communication process. To explore participants' perceptions, this study will build on an interpretive understanding of organizational communication. These interpretive models of organizational communication will contribute to a theoretical understanding of organizational context.

Furthermore, communication studies of media organizations complement the interpretive models when they emphasize the role of audience imagery in the construction of mass media products. Audience imagery is assumed to be an integral consideration in the production of development communication; as such, producers' images of audiences are an important dimension to explore in an attempt to understand the production of development communication as a set of organizational processes. I review some contributions from mass media industry studies toward a proposed examination of participants' perceptions of audiences, and then discuss interpretive approaches to participants' understandings in organizational settings.

### 1. Contributions of Mass Media Industry Studies

There are several approaches to the study of "audience image" in mass media industries: the "audience conflict" approach assumes that audiences are negotiated within power structures, and that creative and financial decision makers conflict in their imagery (Gans, 1957 in Kapsis, 1986); Becker's "artworld" approach takes on a more interpretive orientation, in which creators incorporate both dispositions of a primary audience and of other artworld members; in Cantor's (1971) "reference group" approach, a secondary audience (i.e. other film-makers) is seen as more integral to content decisions than the primary audience (viewers).

Cantor's The Hollywood TV Producer (1971) is a landmark study of audience image; the television film producer is described as an entertainment "gatekeeper," operating within a particular social context (1971: 6). Based on interviews, documents and field observations, she examines how producers are influenced by network and audience expectations (among other questions). She uses Merton's definition of "reference group," defined as a point of reference for shaping attitudes, evaluations and behaviors.

Cantor describes network constraints in producers' decision making. Producers express their recognition of network pressures (23 say there are none; 26 say occasionally; 10 note continuous pressure), but she notes that most do not overtly fight with these networks. Rather, producers follow their own "internalized standards" of the "viewing audience as they perceive it" (1971: 141). Most believe they "know" their audience from various surveys, but draw the audience image broadly, and not in terms of the categories that interested sponsors (1971: 169). Producers also note that their audience is different than surveys imply.

This study points to the importance of reference groups, transcending concerns with audience, in the production of mass media content. However, as a carefully defined sociological work, Cantor's analysis may be neglecting important economic and political constraints within the organizational environment. Kapsis (1986) acknowledges such constraints in his work by interviewing artistic and financial decision makers, cast and crew members, and examining script revisions, in an attempt to show how conflicting images of audience affect the content of "Halloween" films.

Elliott (1972) examines the production of a British documentary series "to explore the relationship between society, tv producers and audience." After four months of field work, Elliott was able to describe the television production team in relation to its societal and audience contexts. Elliott concludes that producers are strikingly "autonomous," and that content is a product of personal goals and biases rather than organizational expectations (1972: 143). While producers appear to work independently, they operate "within an accepted framework of assumptions" (1972: 136) and standardized procedures (1972: 164). In conceptualizing an audience, producers are not seen as being influenced but, rather, as subtly constrained by organizational expectations. Still, this model does not include

environmental constraints in which the organization itself must operate.

Gallagher (1988) confirms the assertion that a tension may exist between a producer's audience image and an organizational audience image. Moreover, these expectations are linked to an economic base: "the economic mechanism is closely linked to organizational perceptions of audience requirements and behavior" (Gallagher, 1988: 169). In terms of the resource dependency model, decision makers in mass media industries construct their audiences in terms of the categories that are appropriate for primary patron organizations (Turow, 1984: 80).

Television audiences are classified and sold in demographic categories useful to advertising sponsors. Indeed, one of the boundaries set between the producer and patron is believed to be the target audience for the mass mediated program (Turow, 1984: 51). To attract commercial sponsors, audiences are packaged into products that are bought and sold by media industries; media content, then, is structured to appeal to the most marketable audience groups. In sum, audience image is believed to be an important consequence of particular relationships between a producing organization and its donor institutions.

## 2. Contributions of Interpretive Studies

Interpretive approaches have contributed a great deal to the study of organizational communication, and are growing in popularity (Eisenberg, 1986). In that audience image as well as understandings of organizational activity are considered to be constructions held by organizational members, this study incorporates many of the assumptions of interpretive organizational theory. In this section, interpretive approaches to organizational communication are reviewed and discussed in terms of their relevance to this research.



Some organizational studies give prominent attention to members' metaphorical understandings, such as how they understand what their organization is doing and what their organization is like (Morgan, 1986: 329). According to Morgan, organizational activity is "never theory-free, for it is always guided by an image of what one is trying to do" (Morgan, 1986: 336). Behavior is not arbitrary, but embedded in our constructions of reality (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). To understand an organization's activity in relation to an audience, one may examine expressed interpretations and actions as interdependent in an ongoing cycle over time. As Eisenberg explains: "interpretations guide actions and actions shape interpretations, all within the framework of talk" (1986: 89).

Through communication, individuals in organizations create and transform their social, and organizational, realities. Organizational members construct their environments, and worlds, through language. Language, in turn, constrains how those constructions are created and acted upon. As an ongoing process of social construction, organizations are seen as cultures, in which interpretive schemes are created, communicated, sustained, and adapted. The images maintained by organizational members may either facilitate organizational activity, or reflect conflict within that group. These constructions have symbolic power: they direct and constrain what is intended (or unintended) and what is possible (or impossible) in an organization's endeavors in its environment.

Interpretivists do not believe that events themselves are significant, but that their meanings, determined through human interpretation, are. Humans create symbols to reduce ambiguity. Organizations are seen as fluid and ambiguous, held together through shared values and beliefs. Activities are seen as consequences of myths, beliefs and meanings held by organizational participants.

A particular understanding of language underlies this emerging interpretivist approach. Interpretivists focus on the subjective, inter-subjective and socially constructed meanings drawn by organizational actors (Putnam and Pacanowsky, 1983: 8). Those working within an interpretive paradigm seek to explain the world as it is constructed in individual consciousness and constructions (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 28). Studies of this kind describe how realities are negotiated through competing theories and definitions among organizational members in particular social contexts (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 271-4).

Interpretivism is often juxtaposed with functionalism, though these paradigms are not mutually exclusive (Putnam, 1983: 34). While functionalists view social reality as external to an individual, interpretivists view reality as socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Thus, for the functionalist, individuals are shaped by their environment; for the interpretivist, individuals create their environment. Communication is located in transmission and channels for functionalists, while interpretivists locate communication in interactive processes of humans making sense of their world. While the former approach delineates unilateral causality and the latter approach explores circular processes, either frame may be used to observe regularities and patterns in social systems (Putnam, 1983: 39-42).

Some of the concepts of interpretivist approaches to organizational studies come from the field of semantics. Many of these ideas begin with an understanding of human interpretation of symbols. Myths provide explanations and legitimate routines, while metaphors structure our realities by organizing the "domain of experience to which they are applied" (Krippendorff, 1988). In other words, metaphors provide cues from other contexts that aid in our interpretation of organizational events (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Meaning, then, is continually negotiated through language among humans.

Certain theoretical contributions are essential to an understanding of symbolism and communication within organizations. The idea that language should not be examined in terms of what it refers to, but how it is used, finds early theoretical grounding in the ordinary language philosophy of Wittgenstein (1958) and Austin (1962). Rapaport (1962) developed the notion that human behavior results from an individual organization of experiences along certain patterns, through language structure. The notion that our understanding is based on interpretation, not mere recognition of symbols, was developed by Eco (1984). Interpretive understandings of organizational processes are based in language philosophy, and in theories of the social constructions of reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

Within the interpretive approach are both naturalist and critical traditions. Naturalists focus on the status quo, to describe the nature of consensus within social groups. These scholars seek to understand the symbol systems, rules and norms that bind a collectivity. In contrast, critical scholars do not look for consensus, but for incompatibilities in constructed realities. Within critical interpretivism, there is an explicit concern with power relationships, as opposed to a naturalist's focus on shared meanings and values (Clegg, 1979). A key difference in these approaches is the inclusion of an economic and social context within critical scholarship (Putnam, 1983: 49).

Both critical and natural interpretivists share a belief that one should examine belief systems if one wants to understand organizational activity. Problems, Schön explains, are "not given," but are "constructed by human beings in their attempts to make sense of complex and troubling situations" (1979: 261). For example, he traces metaphors used in a variety of descriptions of slums and proposed social policy solutions in order to demonstrate that how people construct situations has particular consequences. Urban housing can be framed in terms of 'blight

and renewal,' whereby the community is seen as diseased when it was once healthy, or in terms of a 'natural community,' seen as not needing to be destroyed (as implied in the former metaphor) but as needing to be reinforced and rehabilitated. Solutions for a housing "problem" are shown to be constrained by these metaphorical constructions.

Myths and metaphors extant within organizations display deeper power structures of these organizations, in that dominant frames of understanding reflect interpretive frameworks of those in power. The powerful members of an organization are able to dominate

language-in-use -- in metaphors, myths, stories and rituals through which members of dominant coalitions control issues that those with less power feel they may address (Eisenberg, 1986: 93).

Understandings of issues reflect power structures both within an organization and within its external environment (Clegg, 1979).

In a study of managers and striking employees in Disneyland, Smith and Eisenberg (1987) demonstrate that different metaphorical understandings of Disney operate among two levels of personnel. The management perpetuated an understanding of "disney as drama," emphasizing theatrical elements of their activity. This metaphor allowed managers to pursue a highly structured, rule-governed management style. Unionized employees, on the other hand, maintained a belief in "disney as family," such that the organization was considered to be a 'family,' and relationships, even between employees and managers, were expected to be 'friendly.' These conflicting metaphors typified opposing sides of a strike by unionized employees. Divergent interpretations of activity, it appears, may lead to organizational conflict. Smith and Eisenberg conclude that organizational conflict may be "better understood in the context of underlying world views of management and employees" (1987:

377). A study of organizational interpretations may need to examine competing themes and definitions of members.

Organizational activity may be a composite of members' constructions, but not all constructions are equal in weight (Deetz and Kirsten, 1983). Participants work together towards producing particular products or services within organizations; however, those persons in more dominant positions are able to project their ideological focus onto the activity than are persons less dominant within that hierarchical structure. As in the audience conflict approach (Kapsis, 1986), if audiences are negotiated within this power structure, competing definitions may exist across organizational roles. If this is the case, one would expect differences in interpretations across functional roles in an organization, or across hierarchical divisions. Functional role of the organizational member, then, will be an important dimension to include in this research.

Another dimension to include may be gender. Some organizational theorists argue that gender plays a role in how one perceives organizational activity. Morgan explains that organizations "operate in ways that produce gender-related biases in the way organizational reality is created and sustained on a day-to-day basis" (1986: 178). Along these lines, Carol Gilligan argues, in In a Different Voice (1982), that women construct social reality differently than men given different life experiences: thus she re-evaluates classical psychological theories of human development as excluding women's orientations. In essence, Gilligan demonstrates how

women perceive and construe social reality differently from men and [states] that these differences center around experiences of attachment and separation, [and] life transitions that invariably engage these experiences can be expected to involve women in a distinctive way (1982: 171).

Women, Gilligan believes, see morality in terms of responsibility, whereas men frame these issues in terms of rights and justice. Summarizing interviews with women concerning abortion decisions, she concludes that women construct moral problems "as a problem of care and responsibility in relationships rather than as one of rights and rules . . ." (1982: 73). Women tend to frame birth control in terms of responsibility to one's self and to others, in contrast to men's "moral imperative" to "respect the rights of others" (1982: 100).

From the interpretive model, organizational activity may be explained by examining what these understandings of organizational activity and audience image are, and determining whether these understandings vary with organizational position, or with gender. These dimensions are included, along with the other factors suggested by the structuralist models of organizational behavior, in this research.

Images within organizations may vary with individual characteristics, such as gender, of its participants; these differences may complement or conflict with each other. Participants, or individuals working within organizational boundaries as acknowledged members of that institution, both respond and contribute to the organizational structure that rules decision-making procedures and subsequent activity. Whereas individuals control this structure in varying degrees contingent upon their position in that organizational hierarchy, individual perceptions of that structure and resulting production may also vary with organizational position, as well as with other indices of differential socialization, such as gender. Both individual characteristics and socialization processes within organizations are believed to contribute to understandings of development communication.

One problem with the resource dependency model introduced earlier is that it does not tend to account for metaphorical understandings of an environment (Morgan, 1986).

Interpretive approaches allow one to incorporate participants' perceptions into a theoretical model of study. Aldrich finds that the resource dependency model "needs to confront . . . the issue of cognition and perception" (Aldrich, 1979: 132). Indeed, environments

have been treated as resources for organizational survival and growth or as images in participants' heads . . . . A comprehensive theory of organizational change will undoubtedly incorporate both views of the environment (Aldrich, 1979: 134-5).

It is the perception of dependence that is assumed to affect decision makers' behaviors; "situations may arise in which a resource is not critical for an organization's survival, but decision makers view it as crucial and act on their definition of the situation" (Aldrich, 1979: 132). It is the "perception of dependence" that "determines an organization's response to a situation of dependence" (Aldrich, 1979: 120).

This research will explore a model of organizational context that both builds upon interpretive approaches to organizational communication, and addresses environmental conditions and consequences described in political-economic, systems and resource dependency theories of organizational behavior.

### III. METHODOLOGY

#### A. Research Areas

The consideration of an environment in an explanatory model of organizational behavior is rooted in systems theories and approaches. Each system, or organization, can be thought of as having three reference points: to an encompassing system; to subsystems; and to itself (Luhmann, 1982: 264). The encompassing system is referred to as an 'organizational context,' characterized by the relationships between an organization and environmental domains. The underlying principle that persons and organizations operate within systems has gained credence and been adopted by other schools of research. Organizations need both political legitimacy and economic resources in order to function within a society. International development organizations also operate within their own environments, in which external circumstances introduce constraints into the production of communication campaigns for development.

Systems and political economic studies have extensively explored the link between resource controllers and focal organizations. An assumption within the open systems and political economic frameworks is that resource controlling organizations have some allocative control in focal organizations. However, there is little consensus as to the consequences of dependence on a focal organization, partially due to a lack of theoretical maturity, and partially due to the diverse backgrounds and interests of the scholars working in this field of inquiry.

The link between an environment and an organization is an area that needs to be explored. Interpretive theories may help to



explore the role of organizational contexts. Although most interpretive work focuses on internal dimensions within an organization, some scholars attempt to connect participants' metaphorical understandings to their organizational context. What is needed within interpretive models is an inclusion of environmental factors, as perceived by organizational members. To an interpretivist, an environment is seen as a perception, not as an objective external reality (Smircich, 1983). Extreme views of environmental determinism, as in much of systems theory, can be misleading; however, the inclusion of environmental factors in organizational studies is preferable to their exclusion (Weick, 1983).

The importance of including an environmental domain is being explored in interpretive work. Ideological constructions are rooted in, not mere reflections of, material and symbolic realities (Deetz and Kirsten, 1983: 162-3). How organizational members construct meanings, and their perceptions of their environment, are constrained by wider hierarchical structures in which they are situated. That human cognitions are related to broader institutional structures has been discussed in others' work (Douglas, 1986; Krippendorff, 1988). More than an individual's cognition, an environment is constructed through language among individuals within an organization.

In this research, I build on an interpretive model of organizations (emphasizing participants' or organizational members' inter-subjective perceptions of activity, audience and communication), incorporating environmental dimensions of organizational contexts, as discussed in systems and political economic approaches to organizational behavior. I explore individual practitioners' interpretive understandings of audience image and of their organizational activity, and search for connections between these interpretations and organizational contexts. The dimensions of organizational context, derived from

the literature presented, include such structural characteristics as dependency, autonomy, frequency of interaction with external organization members, and connections with other organizations; to consider organizational member characteristics, functional position and gender are included.

The first area of research to explore lies within an interpretive framework: I ask how organizational participants (as individuals and as groups) construct their organizational activity, their audience, and the communication process.

At this level I ask how participants construct their organizational activity directed toward an audience environment. The questions used to represent this dimension include: on a conceptual level, what are the problems that your organization addresses?; and, why is this important?. On a more specific level, members were also asked to describe their organization's information, education and communication (IEC) projects in developing countries. From the responses to these questions, I explore how organizational members perceive their generalized conceptual and actual activity. Respondents were asked to describe their own organizational activity, as well as the general activities of the other organizations in the sample.

Second, how do participants construct their audience environment? Again, there are both generalized conceptual and project level dimensions to this question. Descriptions of IEC project audiences provide information about specific audiences projects aim to address, and answers to "who are the beneficiaries of your efforts?" provide information about an idealized conceptual, "encoded audience" the organizational members believe they are reaching.

These questions about "audience" can be seen as fitting within Anderson's (1989) "formal" notion of audience: "those constructed in the discourse and practices of practitioners in the

art and industry of textual production, textual analysis and the like." The first dimension of a formal audience is the "encoded audience;" this audience is "assumed" in organizational members' discussions, and serves as an explanatory resource. This level can be discovered by examining organizational participants' discourse, and their released politicized statements (including public relations). The other dimension of a formal audience refers to an "analytic" audience, which participants use to claim "scientific" evidence. This level is more concrete, and is seen as the audience produced by participants in data collection. For the purposes of this study, the analytic audience is represented in discussions of particular project audiences. "Audience" refers to a group of persons a development organization intends to address and to effect with its organizational activity; this group is distinct from organizational "recipients" who are in direct contact with development organizations.

Last, it was asked how participants interpret the communication process, which they are participating in with IEC projects. I explore assumptions and attitudes about the potential of communication to affect audiences, by asking how "powerful is communication," and what makes communication projects "successful." The following open-ended questions were used to generate discussion about these topics: What makes a good communication project?; How successful do you believe IEC projects can be in effecting audiences?; What were some of the conflicts in the projects you have just described?; and, in descriptions of project activity, which channels were used. This set of interpretations includes participants' understandings of their own capacity to address the audience's problem, and an understanding of the role of communication in affecting that audience.

The second level of research explores the connections between these constructions and organizational contexts. Organizational members may differ in their constructions due to the different types of relationships their organization maintains with donor and recipient environments. The phrase organizational context, in this research, encompasses more than the characteristics of the organization and its environmental conditions, including the relationships between them [thus: organizational context = the organization + the environment + organization x environment (the interaction or relations between them)].

First, respondents were asked to describe their organization, and then, to describe themselves in relation to their perceived community of organizations engaged in similar activities. Dimensions considered in an intra-organizational context include size, age, nature of activity and history of the organization. To delineate inter-organizational contexts, or the structural relationships between the organization and others in its environment, I asked respondents to describe formal and informal connections with other organizations, and to discuss which organizations were similar to their own organization.

Respondents were also asked about specific relationships between their organization and donor and recipient environments. Dependency on a donor and a lack of autonomy in allocative decision making are dimensions of an organizational context that may constrain organizational practice or interpretive understandings of that practice. Perceived dependency builds on an understanding of an organization's resources needed to survive. This perception includes beliefs about the relative importance of these inputs, and the possibility of alternative donors. Autonomy represents the degree to which organizational members perceive themselves as having power to make allocative decisions with respect to their use of resources from their

environment. Allocative decisions define overall goals, and determine how resources are utilized (Murdock, 1982: 122). Questions about perceived autonomy locate allocative control either within or outside the organization. In order to address these issues, I asked respondents how budgets were determined; how country sites were chosen; and, how audiences were selected. For each question, any mention of a donor or recipient actor or organization was noted. If mentioned, the degree of importance in that decision process was ascertained from the textual response. These questions were coded separately for donor and recipient domains in each organization's environment.

Relations between an organization and its environment are mediated by interactions among members and non-members. Frequency of interaction with non-members, as well as among members, may contribute to frames of understandings about audiences and activities in special ways. Also, it is believed that frequency of interaction with persons in a donor or recipient environment may be associated with a perceived lack of autonomy in relation to that environment. More specifically, greater frequency of interaction with a donor environment may contribute to a perceived lack of autonomy with respect to that environment, just as frequency of interaction with a recipient environment might be expected to contribute to a perceived lack of autonomy with respect to those in that particular environment. To assess this relationship, frequency of interaction with donor and recipient environments was compared to perceived autonomy in relation to each respective environment.

Whether constructions appear to differ across organizational contexts was examined by comparing organizations. To further explore patterns of interpretive understandings, I ask whether other participant characteristics, such as functional position or gender, explain perceptions of organizational activity, audience, and communication.

## B. The Study

This research uses a comparative case study approach, exploring focal organizations as units of analysis. Each selected organization uses information, education and communication (IEC) projects concerning population control or women's health issues, as part of their development efforts. Four organizations were chosen as exemplars of different types of relationships with donor environments.

Members of focal organizations were expected to differ in their perceptions and activities as a result of accumulated experiences over time in their relationships with their donor environments. These focal organizations are distinguished by the type of funding arrangements maintained with donor environments, one aspect being whether their direct contributions stem from single institutions or multiple sources. Along these lines, the United States Agency for International Development (AID) Population Office represents a focal organization with a single source of funding, from the United States government. Its contractor, Population Communication Services (PCS), acts as an extension of this USAID office to design and implement its communication projects. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) uses IEC projects to promote population control, representing an organization with multi-lateral government funding channeled through a single institution, the United Nations. In contrast, the third organization, International Planned Parenthood Federation Western Hemisphere Region (IPPFWHR), has multiple sources of funding from several types of donors. The fourth organization, Oxfam America, also has multiple sources of funding; however, Oxfam America is different from IPPFWHR in that it intentionally precludes itself from government

contracts, instead acquiring funds from individual donors and foundations.

At the outset of this research, it was assumed that IPPFWHR and Oxfam America represented organizations with multiple funding sources and that the other two organizations were provided funds through single institutions. However, these relationships are quite complex in terms of the nature of the funding sources (such as public and private distinctions) and the closeness of the tie between the focal organization and the funder (such as whether there is a direct relationship or connections through an intermediary institution). It was also assumed that USAID and PCS could be analyzed as one organization in this research, because it was believed that PCS functioned as the producer and implementer of USAID development communication project activity in the area of population and family planning. Each of these sets of relationships between the studied organizations and their donor agents will be described in a later chapter.

The focus of this study is at the level of perceptions held by organizational participants. Using interviews, I follow the assumption that people's language and the way they talk about their work bears some connection to the way they perceive and act in the world. As in the interpretive model, there is an assumption that perceptions guide behavior, and that talk and action are mutually causal in relation.

Interviews with focal organization members constitute the primary method of study, supplemented by official documents, such as annual reports. A total of thirty-six people were interviewed between September and December of 1989. Nine persons in each organization were interviewed, representing different functional positions. These functional positions include: those persons who operate on the boundary with the donor environment, interacting with funding agents and dealing with

budgetary and contractual concerns; those persons who operate on the boundary with the recipient environment, managing the initiation and implementation of IEC projects; and those managers, directors, editors and evaluators who coordinate activities surrounding communication projects, but do not formally interact with donor or recipient actors. Each of these three functional positions are represented in the organizations studied.

The method of interviewing was to pose questions in the interview schedule [see appendix] following the logic of the respondent's discussion (so that the order of some of the questions posed depended upon the flow of the conversation). This instrument was first pre-tested with three participants of development organizations not included in this sample, and then revised before being applied in research interviews. Most of the thirty-six interviews were audio-taped. Three respondents chose not to be recorded, and another interview was not recorded due to a technical malfunction of the recording device. I took detailed notes of these interviews, and recorded my impressions in detail on paper and on tape immediately following these sessions. All interviews were then transcribed.

These transcriptions provided the basis for subsequent qualitative and quantitative coding and analyses. To explore patterns of responses across groups of persons sharing particular characteristics, such as organizational affiliation, functional position and gender, these answers were coded in quantitative form. Each transcription was carefully read and re-read, noting the variations of responses to each question. Responses given to each question were coded as either mentioned or not mentioned by the respondent; these were not mutually exclusive categories, since some informants offered more than one type of answer in a response to a given question. These dichotomous variables were combined and re-combined throughout various stages of the study, when exploring correlation and cluster analyses.



To add qualitative understanding to this quantitative approach, careful attention was paid to the particular responses themselves. The interviews provided rich examples illustrating patterns discovered in quantitative analyses. Qualitative and quantitative explorations each informed the other, and were employed simultaneously in examining the interviews.

Qualitative and quantitative analyses that were conducted in this study were drawn from the initial coding procedures used to categorize raw data in transcribed interviews. Efforts were made to assess the reliability and the validity of the categories used in analyses. To approach construct validity, multiple sources of evidence (including interviews and written documents) were collected and responses reviewed in relation to the context of data collection and underlying theory. In addition, interviews were pretested and categorizations discussed with numerous experts in the fields of communication, development and the sociology of helping.

The reliability of these categories was also checked. In interpretive work as in other forms of social science investigation, it is important to assess whether categorized information reflects variations in the data, "rather than the extraneous circumstances of measurement, the hidden idiosyncrasies of individual analysts, and surreptitious biases of a procedure" (Krippendorff, 1980: 129). More specifically, reliability can be seen as a level of agreement about the assignment of data to particular categories across coders. Accuracy of initial coding was addressed by checking inter-coder agreement (between two coders) on a sample of four transcribed interviews; levels of agreement were established for a subset of variables that were used in subsequent analyses (see appendix c).

In addition to offering interviews, respondents were asked to provide written materials concerning their organization's activities or projects, or to discuss materials I had already

received. They were asked how they interpreted these documents, in order to place these documents in the organizational context from which they emerged. Background materials were used to describe significant aspects of these organizations' histories, and to facilitate my discussions with organizational members. Written materials provide an important additional dimension to participants' interpretive understandings of organizational activity: public relations pieces, such as annual reports mailed to donors, are examples of politicized statements (Anderson, 1989) about organizational activity. These publications represent those voices within an organization able to project their constructed image into an environment. These documents are used to supplement (as both confirming and contradicting) findings from interviews with organizational members.

#### IV. THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Development communication is practiced and produced within a variety of organizations. This set is international in their scope, directing their activities towards developing countries. All share a commitment toward improving conditions in developing countries that are less well off than the developed countries hosting most of these organizations. The particular character of this group of organizations will need to be considered.

Moreover, addressing some of the models of development communication proposed in academic literature will complement further explorations of participants' perceptions of development communication. Perceptions of development communication may be understood in relation to scholarly work concerning the role of development communication.

Finally, in order to comprehend the particular context this research is set within, I will examine some of the historical trends surrounding organizational applications of development communication to a particular area of concern: the common focus of development activities in this research lies in the area of women's health and population control issues. Population and women's health have been relatively recent concerns in the history of foreign assistance to developing countries. Different organizations have acted in distinct ways to these issues, responding to a dynamic environment of constantly changing policies and emphases.

Before discussing the research project in detail, I will review some of the contexts of this study, including: the nature of international development organizations; the role of development communication; and, the history of some of the international

development organizations' responses to population and women's health issues.

#### A. International Development Organizations

Communications projects are implemented by a variety of international development organizations. These organizations constitute a class somewhat different from those represented in most mass media industry studies, which tend to examine private, for-profit organizations. Development communication is an activity pursued by diversely funded organizations, attempting to promote global development agendas. Organizational theory tends not to focus on international organizations, yet this group is of particular interest to those interested in development.

Development activities emanate from organizations international in character, yet operating under similar constraints as other types of organizations. Development organizations implement projects with recipient institutions, depending on a donor environment for resources. This donor environment may encompass government institutions, multilateral composites of government donations, or private sources of funding. Both private and multilateral donors have become important contributors to development activities (Morss, 1982: 1). If, indeed, a connection between macro-structural characteristics of an organization and its activity may be established, then a comparative case study of international development organizations with varied resource bases may illuminate these relations.

The nature of development assistance encompasses a variety of participant organizations, including bilateral, multilateral and private (nongovernmental) organizations. To compare organizational contexts relevant to international development activity, this study includes cases representative of each of these types of development organizations.

Beneath these three categories of participating organizations lies a complicated structure of donor and recipient relations, constituting the processes by which development activity is produced. International development involves exchanges among several donor and recipient institutions prior to the implementation of IEC projects. Donor organizations, such as the U.S. government or the Ford Foundation, may contribute to a development organization, such as the Pathfinder Fund, which in turn contributes to a recipient institution (which can be governmental or private) to facilitate project implementation.

Many observers have speculated upon the various agendas of these development organizations and have surmised consequences of these agendas. U.S. bilateral assistance, for example, has often been criticized for not addressing audience concerns but, rather, for operating primarily to further political and economic aims of the present administration (Guess, 1987). "Control over expenditures," Quandt believes, "is the most important tangible congressional role in the conduct of foreign policy" (1977: 22). Congress maintains control of foreign aid by allocating finances annually, according to resource and regional goals established by the State department. Guess, among others, argues that U.S. foreign aid is highly politicized, and that development programs are a function of bureaucratic politics (1987: 2).

Government foreign aid institutions are not alone as a target of others' criticism. In a study of the politics of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' (OPEC) foreign aid, Hunter discovered that her assumption that multilateral aid would not be as vulnerable to influence from external organizations as bilateral aid was unsubstantiated. Instead, she believes that both types of development organizations are influenced by donor institutions (1984: 172). What she does not cover in her sample are international development organizations with a private funding

base, or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Yet, NGOs contribute a significant proportion of resources to global development activity.

Bilateral, multilateral and private organizations operate within distinct environments. Environmental conditions are especially important to consider in studying international development organizations, operating within a global network of state and private institutions. The correspondence between an organization and its environment, according to Ferguson (1988), may be revealed in decision making practices of the focal organization. In his study of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), for example, Ferguson explains how UNCTAD, an external donor organization, was able to influence and change decision making procedures in the IMF. As part of a global system, international development organizations are subject to the rules and structures of that system. A study of such organizations, then, ought to be "sensitive to macro-structural phenomena" (Clegg, 1979: 147). A comparative case study would allow one to contrast structural relations within environments.

A comparative case study would also permit one to compare perceptions across organizational contexts. One proposed consequence of particular macro-structural relations is on activity, and interpretations of that activity. Development organizations, like other 'helping' institutions, set the agenda for which societal situations are deemed to be 'problems,' and how these problems are addressed. These interpretations of global problems, solutions, and audiences serve to legitimate the organization as an actor in the world system.

"Helping institutions" (institutions that explicitly profess a "helping" goal), whether they are oriented in international development or domestic philanthropy, seek to remedy situations they define as problematic. Critical examinations of private, philanthropic institutions come to similar conclusions: wealthy foundations are able to set the agenda of what are considered to

be the social problems worth solving (Arnove, 1980). In essence, foundations, like international development organizations, fund programs which are compatible with their participants' own perspectives of social problems.

In the area of international philanthropy, foundations desire "orderly growth at home and abroad" (Arnove, 1980: 12).

Development organizations, like foundations, fund programs that perpetuate and legitimate their own perceptions of problems, according to the critical argument outlined above. Perceptions of problems contribute to the type of solution, or project that an organization might implement to solve that problem. The perceptions of problems maintained by participants from a diverse set of international development organizations will be explored in this research.

## B. The Role of Communication in Development

The field of development communication is rooted in theories explaining the development processes of nations. Underdevelopment has been traditionally thought by some to be caused by individuals not having necessary characteristics or skills: development communication could be used to change these individuals in order to facilitate national development. Another cause of underdevelopment has been articulated as the structural characteristics within nations: communication could be used then to inspire changes in institutional structures as well as policies and norms. Both of these perspectives have been criticized for focusing on processes within nations, rather than external global constraints, such as the international economic system, which inhibit some nations' development. While this critique merits serious consideration, I will focus on the discussions of development communication within national contexts, because

that is the arena of activity promoted by international development organizations, which are the subject of this research.

International development organizations generate a variety of projects and programs. These projects vary greatly, ranging from building roads to improve the infrastructure of a developing country, to investing in health education for individuals. Development communication is one component of this overall development activity. Communication campaigns are fairly recent in the history of development assistance. In an early period of development activities, program support, such as large infrastructure investments in major roads and agricultural activities, were more popular than they are currently (Morss, 1984: 465-6). At this time, communication campaigns are popular development activities, used to inform, educate and persuade audiences of development messages.

Development communication has come a long way since its initial entry into the fields of scholarly research (see Schramm, Lerner and others in Pye, 1963 regarding early conceptions of the role of communication in development). Many practitioners currently are attempting to improve development communication, in a variety of endeavors. Communication may fit a variety of functions in development activity.

Communication may address development problems manifest in individuals or in macro-structural conditions within nations. Some of Hornik's defined roles for communication in development help to explain these different functions (1988: 3-13). To address development problems at an individual level, communication may function as a "loudspeaker," projecting messages to individual audience members; to address a structural level, communication may function as an "institutional catalyst" promoting institutional change, or to "supply" demand by encouraging change in distribution systems. Development communication may attempt to change normative climates and other aspects of a political-economic framework (including



policies) when emphasizing structural conditions. These distinctions between development messages designed to change individuals and those designed to change structural conditions serve the purpose of this discussion, although many observers of the field recognize a degree of interplay between these two roles: Hornik's discussion of 'communication as complement' (1984), for example, explores the notion that messages projected toward individuals may work best when accompanied by other factors, such as institutional and personal commitments, and sufficient resource bases.

Communication to address individual concerns has been a popular focus of development communication research. 'Social marketing' represents a sophisticated empirical approach in this regard. Solomon describes "a social marketing perspective on communication campaigns" in a recent edition of Public Communication Campaigns (Rice and Atkin, 1989). He begins with Kotler's (1975) definition of social marketing as

the design, implementation, and control of programs seeking to increase the acceptability of a social idea or practice in a target group(s). It utilizes concepts of market segmentation, consumer research, idea configuration, communication, facilitation, incentives and exchange theory to maximize target group response (1989: 87).

Marketing philosophy, according to Solomon, assumes that "the goal of an organization . . . should be to meet consumer needs and wants" (1989: 90). Others, he remarks, compare marketing to "warfare, with the battlefield inside the mind of target individuals and audiences" (1989: 90).

To foster awareness, social marketers promote social ideas or practices to segmented audiences: "the key is to consider and learn about each key segment and plan a campaign to reach each segment efficiently and effectively" (1989: 97). Solomon believes

that research is an important feedback dimension to the marketing process, to monitor the success of these campaigns. Feedback is used to adjust the activities of the actors producing the messages. Expectations of success, he asserts, should be "modest"; rather, one can employ a "hierarchy of effects" to judge success, expecting high levels of campaign exposure, followed by lower levels of attitude change, and then lower levels of behavior change.

Another aspect of social marketing involves the use of commercial channels, for distribution and other aspects, in project activity. Family planning projects have worked within this social marketing framework, according to Solomon, promoting physical products, such as condoms, and distributing them through commercial channels such as pharmacies.

Given Solomon's description of social marketing, projects are designed to promote an idea, service or physical product to a segmented target audience. Organizations should be concerned with "consumer" needs, and learn about consumers through research. It is assumed that mass media will have an effect on the knowledge and awareness of an audience, but will be less successful in changing that audience's behavior.

Complementary to this social marketing approach, development communication also may be used to address structural conditions within nations. Normative conditions may be changed among leaders or within a populace to facilitate individual behavior change, or political-economic frameworks may be adapted by encouraging different policies and distribution networks that may inhibit individual change.

Projecting messages to address individual or structural conditions are both located within 'top-down' perspectives of development communication as in Krippendorff's 'control paradigm' of communication for development (1987); the sender of the development message maintains an asymmetrical relationship with an audience, who may be convinced to respond

'rationally' to influential communication. On the other hand, development communication can be seen as centered within an audience of 'information-seekers' (Krippendorff, 1987) who actively participate in the construction of development processes. This "grass-roots" perspective shifts attention away from messages produced by an elite or by an exogenous set of actors, towards messages constructed within local communities. Audience groups, then, both participate in and are responsible for planning and implementing development activities. The role of development communication in this frame may be to "feedforward" (Hornik, 1988) individuals' messages.

To summarize, information, education and communication projects for development can be quite divergent in their goals, activities and expectations. Communication can play different roles in promoting development in a national context: communication can be used to address development problems rooted in audiences as individuals or in normative or political-economic structures constraining individual knowledge and action; or, communication can be used by audience members themselves to address development problems as they define them. How these perceived functions may differ across different types of development organizations will be explored in this research. Perceptions of communication are believed to contribute to the production of the development projects that are implemented in a developing country setting; interpretations have consequences in development work by shaping and limiting that activity.

### C. A Brief History of Development Assistance In Population and Women's Health Issues

This research focuses on development activities dealing with women's health and population control issues. Development projects in women's health typically concentrate on issues related

to reproductive capacity, either pursuing maternal health programs, or population programs.

International population efforts, which tend to be intertwined with women's health concerns, have a distinctive history within the United States in the last thirty years. "Non-involvement" characterizes early U.S. activity in the field of population in the 1950s and early 1960s (Wiarda and Helzner, 1984: 86). At that point, enthusiasm for the capability of western resources and expertise to transform developing countries swept the field of development assistance. The 1960s approach, generalized for this discussion, typically promoted western structures as exemplary models for less advantaged countries. Population growth became a preeminent concern of development theorists interested in explaining national standards of living. Economic models incorporated population characteristics, to demonstrate that rapid population growth has particular consequences in the economic health of a nation. At this stage, population was considered to be largely an economic concern.

As theories of development changed in the 1970s, so did perceptions of the role of population in that process. Researchers began to shift their attention from economic consequences of population growth toward demographic and attitudinal determinants of fertility (Wiarda and Helzner, 1984: 94). Thus, international population assistance "evolved from a macro-level, neo-Malthusian population bomb perspective . . . to the recognition that many interrelated factors help determine the levels of fertility" (Wiarda and Helzner, 1984: 102).

By the mid 1980s, population assistance no longer held its uncontroversial status. George Bush, an ardent supporter of global population control efforts in the early 1970s (personally expressed in the foreword to Piotrow, 1973), altered his expressed views before he won the 1988 U.S. Presidential election. A changed political climate had been set in 1984, when the U.S. administration announced its new position at the international

population conference in Mexico City. This policy stated that the U.S. would no longer fund any organization supporting abortion as a method of birth control, whether that activity was funded by the U.S. government or any other agency. This policy went further than the 1973 Helms amendment, which prohibited U.S. funds being used for abortions but did not restrict what recipients might do with other donor contributions.

This policy caused several major recipients of U.S. government funding to lose their status as grantees. This change in policy had enormous repercussions, extending to the beneficiaries themselves. For example, despite the fact that abortion is legal and free in Turkey, family planning counselors, who are supported by USAID contributions, are not permitted to discuss abortion as an option with their clients (Bronner, 1989). This approach to international population represented a changed climate, in which international development organizations promoting population activities were more likely to encounter opposition than in previous decades.

At present, population and women's health concerns take a variety of forms in development assistance, maintaining a focus on the contributing and constraining factors of population growth, while expanding this focus to include more user or client oriented concerns in research.

Population and women's health activities have been quite susceptible to historical shifts in the United States, as administrations and publics advocate particular arguments directed toward different targets over time. There are several key actors and organizations involved in this history of development efforts focused on women's reproductive health. Some of these organizations are included in this research, to provide a comparative set of case studies. The role these organizations played in this history of activity directed toward women's health and population in international settings will be explored.

This research uses a comparative case study approach to explore the connections between organizational contexts and perceived development activities and goals. The organizations studied include the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Office of Population and its subcontractor Population Communication Services, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the International Planned Parenthood Federation Western Hemisphere Region (IPPFWHR), and Oxfam America. These organizations have worked together and separately in pursuit of this type of development assistance in these past thirty years.

As a part of international development efforts, international population assistance has not always been popular with the U.S. public and government administrations. Margaret Sanger, an early advocate of family planning, faced a great deal of opposition when founding the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) in 1952. IPPF was incorporated by a British act of parliament, and still maintains its headquarters in London. Its Western Hemisphere Region (IPPFWHR) office was founded in New York, in 1954, as a non-profit, tax exempt U.S. corporation.

As a private foundation, IPPF was able to promote global population issues from its inception, when at first it did not receive government support. IPPF and its affiliate Planned Parenthood of America were instrumental in bringing population issues to the American public agenda, with a concentrated radio and television campaign (Osborn, 1967: 372).

IPPF did not begin to acquire any significant financial resources until after 1959 (Piotrow, 1973: 18). The organization did develop financially in the 1960s, as population control became a more acceptable and popular issue with the U.S. public. IPPF fund-raisers at that time included Hugh Moore, founder of Dixie cups, who widely distributed a brochure entitled the "Population Bomb," arguing that overpopulation was the "greatest threat to

world peace." William Draper, financier and family planning advocate, was also active in lobbying Congress on IPPF's behalf: Congress encouraged USAID to use private organizations, such as IPPF, since population experts preferred not to work directly for USAID's controversial government programs (Piotrow, 1973: 99).

The U.S. government did not adopt population in its development efforts until 1963, when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee first devoted funds specifically for population control programs; two years later, President Johnson supported these programs, applauding "our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity of world resources" (Caldwell, 1986: 99). Just a few years earlier, President Eisenhower decreed that the U.S. would not maintain a "political doctrine in its program that has to do with the problem of birth control" (Caldwell, 1986: 98). President Kennedy began to incorporate a concern about rapid global population growth into foreign aid programs. By 1965, the USAID created an Office of Population (Caldwell, 1986: 103).

Population assistance did not become a part of United Nations activity until 1969, twenty-four years after the founding of the U.N. itself. In 1967, U.N. Secretary General U Thant proposed the establishment of a U.N. trust fund for population activities (Caldwell, 1986: 105). U.S. government contributions helped to establish the UNFPA two years later (Piotrow, 1973: 136). The UNFPA was created, in part, "to promote awareness . . . of the social, economic and environmental implications of national and international population problems" (Salas, 1984). These programs, according to their literature, are designed to extend assistance for population activities at the request of developing countries. While population programs have not always been popular, "now it's respectable" in developing countries, according to one UNFPA member.

The USAID Office of Population expanded over time, to become the largest single supporter of population programs in the

world, according to Piotrow (1973: 155), who now directs Population Communication Services (PCS), a grantee of USAID. Caldwell (1986: 103) attributes the early popularity of the population office in Congress to the lobbying efforts of William Draper. This growth made the U.S. government a major actor in the field of global population, joining the other two major players, the UNFPA and IPPF. Global population control was a popular development activity in the 1970s. In USAID,

where once a birth control program had seemed to threaten the life of the agency, by 1972 that very program seemed the only popular activity in the agency, untinged by partisan conflict and unrelated to controversial military and economic problems (Piotrow, 1973: 185).

Indeed, population received so much financial support during this era, that other USAID bureaus attempted to redefine their projects, such as those in maternal and child health care, as population control to attract funding (Piotrow, 1973: 152). By 1972, however, population problems had received a great deal of public attention, which Piotrow correctly predicted would attract "increased hostility from Catholic opponents of abortion" (1973: 218).

The donor environment of international population assistance has been described as complex and unstable, as donor states change and recipient definitions of population problems change (Ness, 1979: 643-644). Because of the policy introduced at the Mexico City conference in 1984, financial support of UNFPA and IPPF was severed, and funding for population programs dropped from 300 million to 230 million dollars (Bronner, 1989). After a seventeen-year financial relationship with USAID, IPPF lost its twelve million dollar funding when it refused to sign the Mexico City clause in 1984. Since that time, informants report, the clause has been reconsidered by the family planning affiliates.



With the exception of the Planned Parenthood of America association, the other associations in the western hemisphere region voted to accept the clause in order to receive U.S. government funds. Currently, the IPPF and the Pathfinder Fund are legally challenging the Mexico City policy in New York and Washington D.C. courts, claiming that "the Mexico City clause interferes with Planned Parenthood's rights of free speech and association" (Pathways, May 1990).

When discussing their organizations' histories, many of the respondents discuss the increased need, or demand for population activities from recipient government institutions. While population control appears to have become more of a sensitive issue in the U.S., practitioners in this field believe that developing countries are much more accepting of population efforts now than before. A respondent from UNFPA finds that "now in the 1980s they have realized that they have a problem"; another believes that the U.S. government made a "severe mistake" by reducing its contribution to population concerns, in that they had been "in control of family health issues" and now "the tide is completely turned."

Population Communication Services, as a subcontractor to USAID, is extensively involved in development assistance efforts in the field of population. In their role as an extension of USAID communication interests in family planning, they have attracted more resources each year to become a major player in the field of population for development activities. Their 1988 annual report states that as communication technologies have been diffused during the 1980s, governments and family planning managers have begun to use communication strategies to encourage family planning (1988: 3).

Projects themselves have changed, according to respondents in this study. In the lifetime of their particular organizations, programs have become more "sophisticated," and the focuses have shifted. Both UNFPA and IPPFWHR participants point to a new

focus on men as an important change in their field activity, whereas projects had traditionally focused on women alone. USAID and PCS representatives, though, pointed to a shift in geographical emphasis from Asia and Latin America to Africa, and an emerging trend linking population with environmental concerns in their particular Office of Population.

Compared to the other three studied organizations, Oxfam America's endeavors in the field of population and women's health issues are relatively recent and minimal. These concerns are not explicitly within Oxfam America's agenda, a representative explained, but they are on "the people's agenda and we are glad to support it." As a result, some programs in Asia deal with family planning issues, while projects elsewhere incorporate maternal health concerns.

Sensitive to the tension accompanying IPPF's vulnerability to changes in U.S. government policy, Oxfam America explicitly states that it does not seek, nor would it ever accept, U.S. funds for its development activities. Rather than being focused on one particular issue, this organization pursues a variety of development projects, without U.S. government funding.

Oxfam America began its development activity in 1970, as an "autonomous development and disaster organization, cooperating in a world-wide network known as Oxfam" (Burek, Koek and Novallo, 1990: 1194). In its first ten years, Oxfam America was quite small. Informants explained that this organization started in Washington D.C. "at the time of the famine crisis in Bangladesh," and was "reconstituted" in Boston in 1974-5. At that time projects were identified through contacts with the British Oxfam.

The British Oxfam was founded in 1942 in Oxford, U.K. by Quakers, (members of the Society of Friends), to assist in transporting food and clothing at the end of World War II. Money was channelled through the Greek Red Cross to such places as

occupied Greece and Belgium. According to Jones (1965), Oxfam was established to fight "the war on behalf of the human race."

Oxfam began as a small organization of a few hundred persons sifting through worldwide requests and selecting certain programs to assist people in Asia and Africa, excluding communist states. Committees of volunteers allocated funds for these programs. Jones boasts that Oxfam is a "tradition that makes one think that there may after all be such a thing as Anglo-Saxon civilisation" (1965: ix). Since the early 1960s, Oxfam has altered this self image, to emphasize a grass-roots approach to development.

Oxfam America, while not being primarily involved in the field of international population assistance, provides an interesting example of an organization that consciously precludes government funding from its resource base, while promoting grass-roots development activities, including women's health projects. The other three organizations studied here (USAID/PCS, UNFPA and IPPFWHR) constitute a group of major players in the history and the current development activity of international population assistance. Among these four organizations are varied contexts of development communication efforts in population control and women's health issues.

## V. DESCRIPTIONS OF CASE STUDY ORGANIZATIONS

This study treats four international development organizations as separate case studies. Before the environmental relations of each is considered, I will characterize the intra-organizational contexts of these four organizations. In the following sections, I depict the individual characteristics of the respondents, as well as their visions of their organization's structure and activity. Also, each informant was asked to describe the other organizations in this study, to complement the picture constructed by members with another portrayed by non-members from other development organizations, in order to provide a more comprehensive assessment of these organizations. These provocative discussions elicited images of the other organizations, as well as allowed respondents to articulate which attributes distinguished their own organization from others.

### A. USAID/PCS

Within the USAID/PCS group, respondents included three managers from the USAID population office, as well as five program officers and one director from PCS. Many of the PCS informants worked with the Office of Population, just as the USAID Office of Population informants were involved in activities directed toward the U.S. Congressional staff. Each of the five program officers worked directly with recipient institutions. This group is predominantly from the United States (only two were not), and divided in gender (four men). PCS respondents had been working at their organization for only a few years typically, given the recent birth of this organization (estimated by informants as

sometime between 1981 and 1983). PCS is the smallest of the four organizations studied, with between 38-50 employees estimated by these members. Two-thirds of these respondents had experience in international development or health, and a third had experience in public relations or advertising.

These informants see their structure, as well as the topics they address, as being the most significant changes their organization has undergone. USAID respondents exude loyalty, and tend to point to positive aspects of their activity, rather than discussing the many changes this organization has withstood. As one member boasted, USAID is "one of the foremost leaders in population," contributing the highest level of funding to population activities. "Regardless of the Mexico city policy," she continued, "and the whole abortion issue, AID really [gives] hundreds of millions of dollars to the worldwide family planning effort." There is an expressed belief then that their activity is beneficial to the world despite public criticisms of the office's changes in policies.

Although the Population Office had constituted its own Bureau in the 1970s, this office now resides within the Bureau for Science and Technology. Within this Bureau, the Population Sector Council reviews policy and program issues. A separate division, known as the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, allocates population budgets among USAID bureaus, exercises policy, and oversees programs. Regional bureaus (defined in geographic terms) are separate from the Population Office, and maintain their own funds for population projects. In all, there are currently more than 1300 activities being funded in 90 countries; almost half of this funding is allocated for bilateral projects in 32 countries.

According to a USAID manager, the Office of Population has four areas of emphasis: first, policy development, in order to "help governments to articulate population policies;" second, biomedical and operations research, the latter pursuing "new

approaches . . . to try and resolve problems in reaching special target groups"; third, service delivery, "to provide couples with access to family planning services"; and last, information and training, including IEC and training of health care professionals and management. The information and training division has the explicit goal of improving "awareness of the availability and use of family planning methods" (USAID Users Guide, 1989: 4).

Annually, the Office of Population determines a budget for each of these four divisions.

As part of the information and training division, PCS represents USAID's involvement in IEC, according to USAID representatives. Population Communications Services (PCS) works with Population Information Programs (PIP) in the Center for Communication Programs at Johns Hopkins University. As one PCS member explains, "PIP used to be an umbrella organization . . . [but] the Center for Population Communication [CPC] was established a year ago as a larger umbrella over PCS." Another stated that the "Center was created so they could get other funds." So, CPC may extract funds from other sources, while PCS is restricted to USAID funding. Some PCS officials also serve on the Hopkins University faculty.

PCS operates under a USAID contract to "develop effective information and education programs in direct support of selected developing country population and family planning service delivery programs" (USAID User's Guide, 1989: 26). When USAID officials decided to consolidate IEC activities for family planning and child spacing, PCS won the bid to carry out this task: PCS operates solely to implement these programs.

Within PCS, programs are arranged in geographical regions, including the Near East, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Nigeria. PCS subsidizes only one resident adviser overseas, in Nigeria. The Nigerian project, a \$50 million endeavor, is funded separately from the cooperative agreement with USAID, through the USAID regional office in West Africa.

USAID also maintains separate missions in a select group of developing countries. These missions may contribute financially, or "buy-in," to USAID/PCS projects. One USAID representative believes that this system "makes us unique and more responsive to country needs."

According to USAID publications, the beneficiaries of the PCS project include developing country family planning service organizations with rural outreach programs, established service delivery facilities, and fertile-age couples. Projects are designed to reach current and potential family planning users with mass media, print, interpersonal means, traditional folk modes, film and social marketing. However, many PCS members were not familiar with the USAID Population Office's description of their activity, when asked.

The PCS mandate, as one PCS member asserts, is "to provide education, information and communication programmatic support to family planning programs worldwide." While some of these respondents believe that their activity encompasses broad population control issues, others describe their activities in terms of more narrow family planning issues. The "support" they provide may also take the form of "technical assistance" or supporting actual programs. As stated in the mandate expressed above, IEC is an important activity to these respondents: five of the nine interviewed members mentioned IEC explicitly when asked to describe the nature of their organization's activity (more than twice the number of any other organizational group in this sample). This finding confirms an understanding of PCS as functioning to implement the USAID Population Office's IEC activities.

The other 27 non-members interviewed held similar images of USAID which contrast with the self-description outlined above. Non-members tended to focus on the political and geographical restraints concomitant with receiving U.S. government funding. Non-members also believed this organization differed from their

own in terms of its large size, its priorities, and its focus on family planning rather than on broad population control issues. Another facet of USAID, according to non-members, is its emphasis on quantitative research and evaluation. As one non-member remarked: USAID "pushes for a high number of acceptors," because of their "emphasis on numbers."

## B. UNFPA

Among the nine UNFPA members interviewed, there were five project officers (including what they refer to as "technical" officers) who work with recipient institutions, two persons involved in donor activities, and two directors (of communication and evaluation activity). This sample was evenly divided between persons from the United States; Europeans and Canadians; and Indians and Asians. Five of these respondents were men. These members worked for this organization a relatively long time (on the average 13 years), compared to members of the other organizations in this sample. Most of them had overseas or international health experience, and two had a communication production background.

The UNFPA reports annually to the U.N. General Assembly and the U.N. Population Commission. Within the U.N., the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP) serves as a governing body for the UNFPA, while the UNFPA sustains its own policy guidelines and procedures for programming, monitoring, and evaluation. A maternal metaphor pervades discussions of the relationship between the UNFPA and UNDP. As a "mother organization," UNDP is "related" to the UNFPA because of the "way that UNFPA came about." Another respondent explains that the "UNFPA was once a small unit within the UNDP," or a "son or daughter . . . with the UNDP." Another concurs, adding that UNFPA has "grown up to be a separate organization." Although presently sharing "many of the



same support systems," such as personnel, financial, travel, and administrative services for which the UNFPA provides an annual fee, one informant complained that "there's still an umbilical cord which makes it a bit awkward." The two share a governing council, and the UNFPA often uses UNDP personnel and organizational structures in developing countries. UNFPA members also work "intimately" with other UN organizations, trying not to "step on toes" by exceeding the bounds of their mandate.

According to one respondent, the UNDP governing council has restricted the UNFPA population activities to the following order of priorities: maternal and child health and family planning; information, education and communication; basic data collection, policy formulation, and population research and training; program development; and special programs with the youth and elderly.

In 1984, UNFPA's executive director Nafis Sadik claimed that UNFPA was the "largest international source of assistance for population work" (1984: 117). [Although, according to recent official publications, the USAID Population Office is a larger source of funds than UNFPA]. Of the four organizations studied in this research, UNFPA appears to be the largest in terms of numbers of employees: most respondents estimated between 100 and 250 employees. This wide range may be attributable to hazy boundaries with the UNDP. One person remarked that people tend to confuse the two organizations in developing countries, since the UNFPA does not publicly promote itself as a separate organization (as some donors have told respondents they would prefer).

Within the UNFPA resides a Programme Review and Allocation Committee (PRAC) and a Technical Branch. The former group recommends allocations and policies to the executive director, while the latter monitors and assesses projects. The technical branch has been structurally realigned with the advent of Sadik as the new executive director in 1987. According to the

1987 annual report, she is attempting to decentralize resources and responsibilities to "increase the efficiency and effectiveness of limited staff resources." A UNFPA member agreed with this assessment, remarking that the UNFPA is "decentralizing more and more."

These structural changes have not, however, curbed a perceived abundance of internal meetings. Eight of these nine members report that they are in meetings most of each day. As one person complained: "it's impossible here not to spend more time than you'd like talking about work. There are meetings all the time."

According to a UNFPA informant, U.N. resolution 1763 established the UNFPA mandate as: to help establish awareness of population issues in developed and developing countries; to help developing countries with population assistance; to help build the capacity of the U.N. to deliver population assistance; and to help build the capacity of developing countries to deal with population issues. UNFPA members attempt to allow "each country to define problems given its own situation." One member explains that population should not be "considered a separate disease," but should be considered "part of the daily fabric."

These members see their organization as a multilateral organization involved in broad population control activities, including service delivery and training. They see their function as to provide general technical assistance (advice and information), rather than to support specific project activity. IEC is considered to be an important aspect of this assistance. [From 1969-1983, IEC typically absorbed about 11-12 % of the UNFPA program allocations (Salas, 1984: 77; Sadik, 1984: 121).]

Population education and communication are used to mobilize "support for population related activities such as the creation of demand for family planning services" (Sadik, 1984: 117). Education is used to develop awareness of population issues and implications, while communication is seen as the vehicle for

channelling messages to target audiences and eliciting feedback. Salas, UNFPA's former executive director, reported that "the importance of the communications media in awakening interest and satisfying the need for information in the population field cannot be overemphasized" (1984: 86).

In the 1970s, the UNFPA emphasized the need to create an awareness of the consequences of population growth, but in this last decade, the focus has become more narrow: to motivate individuals to use family planning methods and services (Sadik, 1984: 122). According to UNFPA's published accounts (though this is not evidenced in respondents' expressed perceptions), IEC goals have changed from creating awareness of population issues to encouraging individual behavioral change.

Non-members tend to confirm UNFPA's self-description as a multilateral organization involved in service delivery. From the USAID/PCS point of view, UNFPA supports population education in schools as its main IEC activity, in contrast to their own perceived emphasis on mass mediated projects. There does, however, appear to be some confusion among non-members (other respondents in this study) about UNFPA activity. Some non-members are under the impression that UNFPA does not support services at all, while others believe that UNFPA pursues narrow family planning topics, and not broader population control issues.

### C. IPPFWHR

At IPPFWHR, three project officers were interviewed, in addition to two persons working in the fund-raising division, a director, a project evaluator and two editors (of materials directed toward recipients and intended audiences). Two-thirds of these nine members were from the Caribbean or Latin America (the rest from the U.S.), and one third were men. This particular sample had a wide range of years worked at their organization (from 2 to

20 years), and of backgrounds: these varied from the field of international development, fund-raising, and advertising; and, one person had a communication social science background.

IPPF supports a New York and a London office: the former covers Canada, the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean Islands; the latter covers the rest of the world. The London office houses other overseas bureaus, although the African bureau is in the process of being moved directly to the African region. These offices serve as center points for a loose federation of autonomous family planning associations in 125 countries. The IPPF New York office appears to be much smaller than UNFPA; respondents' estimates of the number of employees ranged from 20 to 70 persons.

The western hemisphere region office in New York (IPPFWHR) is a "federation of nationally autonomous associations," and as one respondent proudly asserted: IPPF is "one of the most democratic institutions I know." Local family planning associations, or "members," constitute this federation. Descriptions of the IPPF structure fit a "club" metaphor: member associations both run and are served by the federation. As one informant remarked, IPPF is "like a little club, responding to the needs of its members." Unpaid volunteers "are legally . . . responsible for the work of the association." Each Family Planning Association (FPA) selects two delegates to regional councils, who in turn elect representatives to serve on a central international board of directors. This central board attempts to "bring all these views together . . . to arrive at some consensus on what the federation should be doing," but as this person also notes, this is "almost an impossible task." This central body determines policies, which are to be followed by the rest of the membership. One respondent claims that within the organizational structure, no distinction is made between donors and recipients: all are seen as equal members.

According to published statements, IPPF works to initiate and to support family planning services and to heighten awareness by providing information, education and services to couples. Family planning is seen as "the expression of the human right of couples to have only the children they want to have, when they want them" (Koek, 1989: 475).

IPPFWHR informants claim that all IPPF members are committed to the same basic principles of family planning rights, "that people should have the right to choose the number of children they want and should have access to [these] means"; as rules of the club, all members must respect these principles and policies. Policies are bound in a thick (more than 600 pages) "compendium," outlining medical policies, program standards, management standards, legal standards, and much more. Each member group is left to interpret these policies in their project work. For example, FPAs may choose to address AIDs within their project activity, according to one IPPFWHR respondent.

IPPFWHR respondents describe their organizational activity as providing institutional support to family planning associations worldwide. Most emphasized the point that their organization funds FPA institutions, rather than individual projects. One senior official explained that IPPF "supports institutions, as opposed to projects, as a general rule"; sometimes, however, they "support specific projects with UNFPA or USAID."

This group sees their niche as fulfilling needs that other donors ignore: "other donors like the sexy part of programs . . . but usually they do not contribute enough to supporting services." Part of the IPPF mandate, according to one informant, is to "provide free or subsidized service to the poor." The IPPF scope of work extends to family planning issues, and not broader population control issues. Their organizational activity appears to be flexible: for instance, one member was in the middle of diverting funds to aid hurricane victims when our interview was about to begin.

Non-members (other respondents) also described IPPF as pursuing a narrow scope of activity, focusing on family planning issues. Some also noted that IPPF is involved in services and training, which was not mentioned by IPPFWHR respondents. IPPF appears to be respected by non-members, earning such descriptors as "innovative," "flexible," and "pioneer." A few PCS informants, however, were quick to describe IPPF as not using IEC or mass media in its activities, although IPPFWHR respondents clearly saw themselves as participating in IEC efforts.

#### D. Oxfam America

At Oxfam America, respondents included three overseas project officers, three fund-raisers, and three persons working in the education and outreach division. All but one of these respondents were from the U.S., the other being from Latin America; two-thirds of this sample were men. Their length of employment at this organization ranged from less than one to as much as ten years, and their previous backgrounds were quite diverse, including public relations, international development, fund-raising, government advocacy, and communication production.

Oxfam America has grown considerably since its meager beginnings in 1970. Respondents discussed their accumulating resource base as an important change in their organization. Others noted changes in the issues they addressed, and a rapid turnover of personnel. At present, respondents believe that between 50 and 80 persons are employed by Oxfam America.

The birth and significant changes of this organization, according to informants, revolve around crises in the developing

world. This fits within the context of the official goal of Oxfam, which is, according to written statements (Koek, 1989), to "relieve poverty and suffering worldwide."

The Oxfam "family" consists of seven autonomous Oxfam organizations united through a development philosophy of grass roots approaches. These organizations share a name, information, and may collaborate occasionally on projects, but maintain independent governing boards and fund-raising departments. One representative from each group meets in an annual international symposium.

Separate from these "sister" organizations, Oxfam America retains a "parental" relationship with Oxfam in the U.K., "in the sense that we were founded at the instigation of Oxfam U.K., who wanted the name and values and approach to development somewhere in the U.S." One member labeled this bond an "umbilical cord." Although their policies are determined independently, each is held responsible in the public eye for the other's actions. For example, Oxfam America is being held accountable in the U.S. press, according to one member, for Oxfam U.K.'s publication of a pro-Palestinian statement.

These two organizations are just beginning to cooperate in fund-raising, which will allow Oxfam America "to apply to some foundations we could not ordinarily apply to." As a larger organization, there is a "much wider scope of projects" with which to attract donors.

Oxfam America is divided into a fund-raising unit and education unit housed in one building, and an overseas unit in a building next door. Their overseas work utilizes about two-thirds of the Oxfam America budget. This unit is divided into three geographical regions: Africa, Asia and Latin America. Adapting from an earlier system whereby most of the work was performed in the Boston headquarters office, Oxfam America has been establishing offices in each of the above-mentioned regions in the last five years. West Africa is the only region left without an

Oxfam America office. Each regional office, then, is responsible for several country projects.

These respondents see themselves as a small, private organization involved in broad international development activities. Their function is to support projects, not merely to provide information or advice. They believe that they differ from other organizations in this sample in their geographical scope and funding situation, in that

organizations that take money from USAID are constrained in who that assistance goes to — countries that don't have a political agreement with the U.S. won't receive money even though they have a tremendous need.

Non-members agreed with member descriptions of Oxfam America activity as general development. Many non-members professed to not being familiar with Oxfam America at all.

Oxfam America respondents tend to describe their activity in broad terms, leaving room for different interpretations. This flexibility apparently has led to some internal tension, as personal goals and ideals about organizational activity clash. One Oxfam America member would not even discuss recent changes, saying that they were "too painful." As a "diverse community," another explained, "internal issues at times have become paramount over the old norms and objectives of the organization." Further, "people have sharp differences in terms of their perceptions of the agency, and what they see as the priorities of the agency" and, thus, do not "unite and coalesce around a specific agenda."

One particular concern, raised by the Latin American respondent, involves the name of the organization itself. "Oxfam America" is reminiscent of cultural imperialism, he believes, and is not acceptable to other countries in this hemisphere. Actually, he believes, the organization should be called "Oxfam U.S.A."



Many of these respondents see advocacy work as an integral part of their organizational activity. They believe that it is important to educate the U.S. public about international events, and to attempt to influence U.S. foreign policy. Some view this activity as important to the organization itself, while others state that it is the recipients, or "project partners," who "are asking us to do that kind of advocacy work."

Written materials describe population projects typically as part of larger maternal and child health packages (UNFPA Inventory, 1986/87). Oxfam America informants do not see themselves as explicitly concerned with population control or family planning issues, but as an organization responding to local needs, within which these population and health concerns may or may not be included. As one overseas official explained, Oxfam America has an "overall concern with gender and meeting women's needs . . . but it's not a major priority of the agency." Another states that their organization has "a lot of projects that address the needs of women and children, but [they] look at children in the context of the whole community."

## VI. ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS

The organizational contexts of each of the four case studies will be discussed, in terms of participants' perceived reference groups, donor relationships and recipient relationships. These relationships will be examined on the basis of respondents' expressed descriptions, and in terms of the patterns of involvement and interaction with donors and recipients as perceived by the respondents.

### A. Organizational Reference Groups

Organizations operate within particular environments. Within this environment, an organization interacts with numerous other organizations. One set of organizations may be referred to as a reference group, or "role-set" (defined by Tompkins (1990) as "a group of complex organizations tied together by communication, dependence or interdependence"). It is important to include an organizational role-set in a discussion of an organizational system, according to systems approaches to organizational study (Evan, 1976: 149). This dimension of an environment, like the others under study, is considered to belong to the perceptive realm of the organizational members. Each respondent was asked three questions about the relationship between their own organization and other organizations: What other organizations do you have formal connections with?; With what other organizations do you have informal connections?; and, What other organizations do you consider to be similar to your own? From the responses to these questions, organizational role sets were delineated by combining the names of organizations mentioned in each of these three

questions. First, I will outline the connections described among the organizations in the sample of study. Then, I will characterize the other organizations comprising perceived reference groups.

Three of the organizations studied appear to be highly interconnected. As one UNFPA member distinguished them:

IPPF is the most prominent actor in the non-government side; we are the most prominent inter-governmental actor; and, USAID is the most prominent bilateral actor.

An IPPF member confirmed this, stating that "there's a sort of agreement that the U.N. works with governments and we work with the private sector."

UNFPA and IPPFWHR appear to be the most closely linked among the four organizations in this sample. Two-thirds of the IPPFWHR respondents mention a connection with UNFPA, while five UNFPA respondents reciprocate by mentioning this connection. UNFPA and USAID/PCS maintain a weak link (2-3 mentions from each side), while the least reciprocated perceptions fall between IPPFWHR and USAID/PCS. The latter group is mentioned seven times by IPPFWHR respondents (four of these being formal connections), but only three USAID/PCS members reciprocate an acknowledgement of this connection. This may be due to the fact that IPPFWHR does receive funding from USAID, but six of the nine respondents from this group actually work for PCS, which they may view as structurally distinct from USAID/PCS.

Apart from these connections, each set of organizational members constructs a perceived organizational role set. For example, USAID/PCS respondents tend to align themselves with social marketing groups, such as Porter and Novelli, as their reference group. Confirming this focus, each PCS respondent emphasizes IEC in their descriptions of their own organizational

activity. To a lesser extent, these members mention connections with both IPPFWHR and the UNFPA.

One PCS member believes that USAID "tries to foster cooperation among cooperating agencies" but that this is "a misnomer: infighting, you know, positioning" takes place. PCS, then, may see IPPFWHR as a competitor for USAID money, rather than as an ally.

In comparison to the USAID Population Office, working in "countries of interest to the United States," one UNFPA member described his own organization as "neutral." IPPFWHR, on the other hand, is seen by UNFPA respondents as being similar, since both receive government funding. As one IPPFWHR member depicted UNFPA: "We don't have any competition with them. We're all trying to help the world."

Apart from perceived similarities with IPPFWHR, and to a lesser degree with USAID, UNFPA informants' reference group is comprised of developed country governments and other large development organizations. UNFPA sees itself, then, as a member of a set of bilateral and multilateral development agencies.

IPPFWHR respondents see themselves as closely linked with both UNFPA and USAID, as well as with their own family planning associations and other population organizations. Thus, IPPFWHR appears to have two reference groups: one of organizations concerned with population control, and the other of international agencies funding these activities (these categories are not mutually exclusive).

Oxfam America respondents perceive no formal or informal connections, or even any perceived similarities with any of the other organizations in this sample. Instead, their reference group includes religious organizations involved in overseas works and other small development organizations.

Figure 1  
Perceived Reference Groups of Four Case Studies

USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	OXFAM AMERICA
Social Marketing Organizations	Development Organizations and Governments	Population Control and International Organizations	Religious and Development Organizations

Within these described reference groups are many organizations. These organizations represent a variety of roles, including donors, recipients, referents and others. This particular research focuses on formal relationships a focal organization maintains with donor and recipient organizations. Future research should attempt to capture a more complete characterization of an environmental context by broadening an examination to include relationships with other types of external actors and organizations.

#### B. Relationships with Donor Environments

Each focal organization maintains a link or set of links with organizations constituting a donor environment. In this study, donor organizations are defined formally, and somewhat narrowly, as funding sources. Other types of inputs, such as informational and personnel could also be examined. But according to the literature presented, it was assumed that relations with fiscal donors would constitute the most influential bond among the described power roles.

## 1. Descriptions

Each focal organization in this comparative analysis fosters distinctive connections with its donors. These relationships with donor environments will be briefly described, in terms of respondents' perceptions of these structures and the nature of these relations.

To begin, USAID population assistance is appropriated under the Foreign Assistance Act by Congress. Congress annually allocates a certain amount for population activities and for specific geographical areas, after reviewing budget requests submitted by USAID. This amount is then distributed among the office divisions by a separate Bureau within USAID, the Policy Program Coordination office (PPC). Finances are then further distributed through the hierarchical structure within the Population Office.

This annual process makes it difficult for USAID contractors, who

never know how much money they are going to get. The contract specifies how much they should get, but there is no guarantee. . . . In a lot of cases over the last few years, the contracts have been about two million dollars underfunded.

Congressional members not only allocate finances, but they also dictate policy. Following a bureaucratic metaphor, one USAID respondent explains that "our policies come down from Congress. . . . Within those basic policy guidelines, however, we have a lot of freedom and flexibility." These restricted guidelines create the "big bureaucracy," so called by one informant, in which USAID personnel work. These respondents complain that much of their

time is spent justifying expenditures and projects. As one member summarizes, "you have to be very careful because all of our work is accountable to Congress."

PCS has a "cooperative agreement" with USAID: a competitively selected, legally binding contract which is more "flexible" than most grants. They were awarded this perceived "high status" arrangement, because they "have been in existence for so long" (since 1981). A director of PCS portrays this agreement as "a little like a hunting license: we're allowed to accept up to a certain amount of funds" from the USAID Washington D.C. office, or from local USAID missions in countries where projects are in progress. Informants believe that, over all, USAID missions provide almost half of their funding.

PCS is well respected by USAID members, being called a "leader in the field of IEC." PCS's agreement was renewed before the project completed its first five years, because they "were doing better than expected." Several PCS officials question whether this grant will be competitively re-bid in the future.

PCS's perceived obligations include abiding by donor policies, being receptive to donor suggestions, and fulfilling periodic reporting obligations. While the USAID Population Office agrees to allow PCS to accept a ceiling amount from the Washington D.C. office and overseas mission funds, PCS agrees to certain deliverables (which one member claims "we have always exceeded"), such as a number of country projects and technical assistants, as well as to "provide technical assistance . . . anywhere in the world where USAID has a presence and provides funding."

PCS members are also obligated to visit the USAID mission at the beginning and end of each developing country visit, and to respond to mission suggestions: "they ask you to do something, suggest projects and things like that. This is not mandated, but that's how it works." Missions must also approve projects in their host countries, and often suggest projects to PCS representatives.

In contrast to USAID/PCS, UNFPA sustains a weaker bond with its own donor agencies, in part because donations are not restricted to specific project activity. Unrestricted funding comes from voluntary contributions made by governments at an annual United Nations pledging conference each November.

Representatives may opt not to pledge, to pledge a yearly amount, or to pledge for several years at a time. UNFPA budgets are then planned from these pledged amounts. There are about 100 donors each year, with 90 percent of the contributions coming from a dozen wealthy countries, and the rest from another 85-90 less wealthy donors. Japan, according to one member, is their primary donor. Many poor governments also contribute, reflecting their interest in population control issues. One informant concludes that this legitimates UNFPA endeavors in developing countries, and "makes it impossible to go in and say this is what [they] must do." Formal and informal contacts are kept with donor governments to encourage continued support. As one UNFPA member remarked, "as a political agency we want money," but "the population sector is tough," so it is difficult to acquire contributions.

The UNFPA does receive a small portion of its funding (less than 10 percent) through a 'multi-bilateral' program, as they call it, which allows donors to restrict their funds to particular projects. To fulfill the requirements for a multi-bilateral project, the donor must be agreeable to the recipient, as well as the recipient to the donor, and the program "has to fall within our mandate and within our rough program outline." For example, Canadian government representatives wanted to support a contraception project in Bangladesh, but thought it might be viewed as "interference," but they believed that "if the U.N. chose to do it, it would sound better." These Canadian actors receive reports, and hold the right to be present at meetings pertaining to the Bangladesh project. As another informant explains: "they



themselves do not have the capacity to deliver programs, so they come to us. We have the machinery."

As for the obligations between UNFPA and its donors, "they pay; we report." Reports tend to take the form of semi-annual progress reports and financial statements — "donors want reports with greater frequency than yearly." UNFPA "donors can't direct projects, but they can have an indirect effect": for example, this UNFPA project officer explains, the Carter administration attempted to restrict U.N. agencies' contributions to Vietnam, in order to protest human rights violations.

Multi-bilateral donors may fund only particular projects or parts of a project, although one financial officer said he "would rather see a donor finance an entire project." One UNFPA official reports that he attempted to solicit multi-bilateral funding by producing and mailing a book about projects needing additional funds to potential donors. He adds that the "U.S. would never be interested in this. They believe we should live within our means." In sum, UNFPA members see their obligations to donors as including abiding by certain principles and continually reporting, trying "to keep them informed of what's going on."

Like UNFPA, IPPFWHR acquires donations from many sources, including, but not restricted to, government agencies. IPPFWHR receives funds from its IPPF London headquarters office, USAID, UNFPA, foundations and individuals. Contributions from the London headquarters office "keep us alive," paying salaries and overhead costs. This source of unrestricted money is initially donated by governments. The UNFPA also funds special projects with the WHR office.

IPPFWHR is subject to budgeting and other constraints of their donors. Canada, for example, dropped its contribution by ten percent in an effort to balance its national budget. Also, the current strength of the U.S. dollar, I was told, costs the IPPF

millions; donors contribute in foreign currency which must be converted to dollars for redistribution to recipients.

In order to attempt to compensate for uncertainties in their donor environment (such as currency fluctuations and inconsistent donors), IPPFWHR started a new fund-raising venture in 1988, the North American Private Sector Initiative (NAPSI), to increase their private funding base. As one financial official explained, "after Mexico City . . . [we] started thinking seriously about private support." But, at the time of the interview, another member believed that this program was "still representing more expenses than income."

About 12-15 foundations, including MacArthur, Hewlett, and Mellon, provide specified funds for projects. These donors require annual reports, six month reports, and interim reports. Unlike USAID, foundation donors do not audit; "they trust us: . . . [we] build a track record so a donor gets to know that [we're] going to be honest with them." As a project changes, donors must be consulted: "they almost always say yes, but . . . it makes them nervous to just allocate this money."

There is some contribution from individuals as well. This source is supposed to be unrestricted, but "if the individual wants to give a grant of a large size to a particular country or whatever, we usually do that."

In general, IPPFWHR respondents feel that donors are no longer satisfied with receiving annual reports, and "want to be more involved with what is going on." IPPF must "account to the donors," not only in terms of money but also programmatically. Obligations to donors range from regular reporting, to abiding by policies and being receptive to advice.

Each donor has its own priorities and geographical area: Japan wants to know about Asia. Sweden used to be sex education and so on. We have done our best to accommodate the needs of this audience, but you can't please them all.

USAID funds about seven or eight IPPFWHR projects. Since 1984, this assistance carries several conditions that must be met by recipients. When the U.S. withdrew their contribution in 1984, other donors increased their contributions. Since that time, the WHR office has chosen to accept USAID money, but the London branch of IPPF has not. This donor arrangement is perceived as quite strict: "government grants come in and audit. They have got their own auditors and come and look at every single paper . . . [and they] require their own forms and their own accounting system." But since this source of funding is seen as badly needed, these conditions are tolerated. One member explained some of the complexities of this funding arrangement: "The U.S. government is smart. There's a lawsuit saying that the [Mexico City] clause is illegal. If they asked a U.S. organization to do what they require a foreign organization to do, then it would be illegal."

Like IPPFWHR, Oxfam America has more than one type of donor. Most contributions come from individuals, but some funding is accepted from corporations and foundations as well. About 9,000 individuals are "members" of the pledge program: their donations range from \$5 to 300 a month, averaging about \$20, and constituting \$2 million yearly, according to informants working with fund-raising activities. Direct mail is used to solicit monthly contributions, for an open-ended period of time. These donors now get membership cards, so that they believe they "are perceived of as participants — closely connected with the organization." Most of these donor members, informants believe, tend to be well educated and Caucasian, though one director remarked that he wanted to reach a "larger public."

Donors who have ever given between \$500 and \$24,999 are attended to by a "sustainer program." As one fund-raising official explained: "when we first attract a donor . . . we try to cultivate them towards giving more and more." These donors are given

personal attention, in that letters to these 2500 people are individually signed. This official wants "to keep an eye on them and make sure they are massaged so they can be transferred, if need be," to the major donor program. Major donors, who have given at least \$25,000, receive phone calls and personal visits by staff and the executive director, if they choose.

Oxfam America also receives grants from 100 to 125 foundations and corporations. Most grants (60 percent) are over \$20,000, with the range being from \$100 to \$200,000. Smaller grants are unrestricted, while larger grants are restricted to certain projects. Each arrangement has different reporting requirements, ranging from four reports a year, just an annual report, to no reports at all. To match large donors to projects, one fund-raising official explains that they "look at what the donor is interested in, and try to find an overseas project that matches with their interest."

Some donors like to meet with staff and, if desired, are given "opportunities to go overseas and see our work directly." Donors "want their dollars to have direct impact in meeting basic needs." While large donors appear to be able to restrict their contributions to specific projects, their involvement is limited, and carefully negotiated. One overseas director summarized this relationship:

We don't want to be donor driven. We want to be driven by the people in the field. . . . However, if the donor is saying: I'll give you \$100,000 to do this, you have something of an incentive to try and meet these personal needs. That becomes a delicate negotiating process to meet a mutually satisfying combination.

These brief descriptions point to a few differences among these organizations. In comparison to USAID/PCS and UNFPA, Oxfam America solicits a diverse set of donors, ranging from individuals to corporations. IPPFWHR uses even a greater variety

of donors, including governments as well as individuals and foundation grants. Both USAID/PCS and UNFPA receive funding from government institutions, the former operating within a bilateral arrangement with the U.S. government and the latter within a multilateral system encompassing numerous government donors channeling funds through the U.N. Each group perceives several levels of obligation, depending on the particular donor; some donors require certain numbers and types of written reports, while others impose their policies and principles onto the focal organization.

## 2. Objective and Subjective Measures of Donor Relationships

Resource dependency literature points to this particular relationship, between a focal organization and its donor(s), as having substantive consequences in organizational activity. Within the tradition of organizational communication, there is some debate concerning whether dependency can be objectively measured, or whether this construct should be considered as a subjective perception maintained by organizational members. In this section, first I will discuss the difference between previously defined 'objective' measures of dependency and perceived 'subjective' measures. In the following section, I will consider patterns of responses related to perceived dependence, in terms of donor involvement in decision making and interaction with focal organization members.

This sample of organizations was originally chosen on the basis of "objective," or pre-ordained, criteria: USAID/PCS and UNFPA were chosen to represent organizations with a concentrated source of funding, and IPPFWHR and Oxfam America were chosen to represent organizations with a less concentrated donor pool. An assumption underlying resource dependency models is that concentration on a single donor entity contributes toward a dependent relationship with that particular donor.

However, Tompkins (1990) asserts that "organizations are equally dependent on their donors, whether they are one or many."

Dependence may be defined as a perception maintained by organizational members, and this perception may or may not correspond to objectively defined levels of concentration. Tompkins suggests that this research project may make a "contribution to theory" by exploring a "crackling dialectic between the 'objective' facts of the case and the subjective understanding of the participants" (1990: 18).

To this end, how participants construct their donor environment, and their relationship with their donors, will first be discussed in terms of the original assumptions of this research — namely, that USAID/PCS and UNFPA members are expected to perceive more dependence in their relationship with donors than will members of IPPFWHR and Oxfam America. When describing perceptions of dependence, donor involvement and donor interaction, however, these two groups are not so clearly delineated.

To explore perceptions of dependence, respondents were asked if they believed there were alternative sources of funding for their organization, after discussing how their organizations were funded. It is assumed that one feels dependent when one perceives no alternatives [as in Blau's theories of dependence reviewed in Aldrich, 1979: 120]. Given an 'objective' measure of concentration, one might expect USAID/PCS and UNFPA respondents, as members of organizations that receive monetary inputs through singular agencies, to be less likely to perceive alternatives than their IPPFWHR and Oxfam America counterparts.

Subjectively, respondents perceive dependency in distinct ways along different dimensions. Some respond to this question regarding alternative sources by discussing their concerns over the nature of a donor or the numbers of donors, and others used this discussion as a way of defining their own organization.

Answers to this question represent underlying responses to feelings about fiscal dependence. These perceptions will be presented in terms of how they are shared or conflict within the organizations studied.

It should be noted that both PCS and USAID respondents were asked to comment upon the funding relationship between USAID as a funding institution and PCS as a recipient. PCS as well as USAID Office of Population activities are funded through this larger institutional body. Some of these respondents also described the relationship between USAID and Congress, which has been discussed in earlier descriptions of the macro-structural funding process. The role that USAID plays in this structure is similar to that of the role played by the United Nations, as an intermediary channel of government contributions. In future discussions, USAID will be considered to represent a government institution acting on the behalf of the U.S. Congress; thus, USAID represents the relevant "donor agency" upon which its Office of Population and PCS depend for fiscal contributions. It is recognized that the relationship between Congress and USAID itself is varied and complex, but a more elaborate description of this bond is beyond the scope of this research.

Respondents from PCS and the USAID Office of Population share the feeling that there are no alternative sources of funding to their current situation. Beyond seeing this finding as an obvious link to their objective relation to USAID, this perception is manifest in further dimensions: respondents tend to define their own organization in terms of their donor, yet express some concern about this dependence. Five of the six PCS members explicitly define themselves in terms of USAID in response to this question, saying that "PCS is an AID project," "it's an AID creation," and "PCS is created specifically to administer funds given by USAID." The three respondents working with the USAID Office of Population agreed that neither PCS, nor they as an office have alternative sources available to them. Each of these three,

however, consider other approaches as beneficial: one noted UNICEF as an interesting example of other ways to generate revenue in contrast to her organization being "a federal agency," which is "unfortunate;" another answered that "they are working on it," but that presently no alternatives exist; the last informant discussed PCS's ability to use donated time from the commercial sector of the communication industry as a way of saving USAID money. In sum, two-thirds of these nine do not see alternatives, while the other three believe that specialized activities (such as using the commercial sector) and structures (such as PCS's affiliate organization) might enable them to utilize alternative funding sources.

Perceptions about dependence are less closely shared within UNFPA than among the USAID Office of Population and PCS group. Three UNFPA members believe there are no alternatives, three replied that alternatives might exist, and the last three were not sure and referred me to other people to discuss these matters. This discrepancy points to several dimensions of interest: feelings of dependence may appeal toward the nature of a donor, the number of donors, or the types of activities funded. Those respondents who believe alternatives do exist point to their multi-bilateral arrangements, seeing this as a specialized type of contribution, distinct from funds channeled through the U.N. Also, one person sees the U.N. paying for the 1984 Mexico City conference as an alternative source, because these funds were not processed through customary channels. Another respondent finds the U.S. withdrawal of contributions as an example of soliciting alternative sources, because other donors became "more generous in their allocations," while the "Russians seized the opportunity to become a donor." While some members perceive different funding structures and changing government donors as alternatives, others feel constrained by the nature of the donors who channel money through the U.N.: "if it didn't come from governments, we wouldn't have much of a budget," and another



points out that governments may increase their contributions, but that the source of contributions does not change. While they do not perceive alternatives in the nature of their donors, there do appear to be several types of funding arrangements that some perceive as alternative sources.

The sense that alternative sources do exist for IPPFWHR pervades discussions with these respondents. Six of these members explain their efforts to maintain a diverse and particular group of donors; the remaining three referred me to other people to discuss this issue. One member ventures that this is a constant concern, and even just that year IPPFWHR had begun a new direct mail campaign to attract other foundations' monies. Another member believes that "there are more needs than resources" so they "are trying to explore every single source." In sum, there is a belief within IPPFWHR that further diversification of sources would be beneficial:

There's an understanding we need to diversify our base of supporters. Governments . . . give you these big grants, but if you lose one, [as] IPPF lost the US government in 1984, you lose 20 to 30 percent of your budget, which is disastrous. . . . If you have a lot of donors, then you have a certain security there.

Further illustrating this point, another informant states that IPPFWHR has "a policy: we don't want to receive more than one-third of our funds from anybody, because we don't want to depend on anybody."

Concomitant with this desire for a great number of donors lies a hope for a particular type of donor; as one said, "the goal is to establish a core of very loyal donors who trust in what we do"; also, "after we lost U.S. funds" in 1984, we "really started thinking seriously about private support." Thus, these respondents perceive alternative sources, and share a concern regarding the number as well as the nature of the donors they deal with.

Oxfam America members appear to share IPPFWHR respondents' concern with the nature and number of donors they appeal to. Individual donors are pursued as a main funding base, and most informants express a sense of security in their numbers of supporters; as one summed up their alternatives, "the struggle has been to build the base: the safety is not in another \$100,000 donor, but another 10,000 donors." Other respondents refrain, that "there are other people available."

Yet, the nature of a donor is also at issue. Several respondents emphasize that Oxfam America will not accept U.S. government funds to maintain "independence." In essence, members of Oxfam America tend to define themselves by this very distinction. According to one informant:

Oxfam is an independent, nonsectarian organization. Part of our mission is to reach out to people based on need, independent of their political affiliation. Unfortunately, organizations that take money from USAID are constrained in who that assistance goes to. Countries that don't have a political agreement with the U.S. won't receive money even though they have tremendous need. Secondly, countries that do receive money — they fall within state bureaucracies where there's a great deal of graft and corruption.

Only one Oxfam America member said that he saw no alternatives, in that they had "pretty much the same base of support over the years," but still felt that they were more "independent" than a government agency. Similar to the perceptions of those interviewed in IPPFWHR, five Oxfam America respondents perceived alternatives (three were not sure or asked me to discuss this with someone else, and one said no).

Across these groups lies a concern not only with the concentration of donors, but moreover, with the nature of

those donors. Respondents from Oxfam America and IPPFWHR perceive government donors as a particular type to be wary of, distinguished from private donors. UNFPA respondents point to different types of structures as alternative arrangements, while USAID/PCS members discuss options open for specialized activities and other structures that might be beneficial to them. In subjective experience, dependence may be felt in a concentrated relation, as well as manifest within a particular structure, contingent upon the perceived nature of the donor and of that relationship.

Summarizing these complex responses, USAID/PCS members are less likely to perceive alternative sources than IPPFWHR and Oxfam America members, but UNFPA members are divided in their answers to this question. In terms of marking the intensity of the focal organization—donor environment bond, USAID/PCS respondents are much more likely than those from the other organizations to report frequent interactions between focal and donor institutions. Of the five PCS persons directly involved with USAID Office of Population activities, four say they speak with a USAID Office of Population representative at least once a week. Confirming this pattern, two PCS members said they had spoken to someone from this office when asked what they had done the day before that interview. On the other hand, UNFPA respondents, rarely, if ever, speak with or meet with representatives of government donors at all; nor do they meet with U.N. officials often. IPPFWHR informants also report less frequent interaction with donors than PCS respondents; only people in the IPPFWHR fund-raising department interact with donors, with whom they speak or meet with less than once each month. Most Oxfam America respondents report that they speak or meet with their donors less than monthly, if at all; only one of the respondents speaks with donors daily as part of that job.

The patterns across organizational members' perceptions of donor interaction are repeated in their perceptions of donor involvement in decision making, emphasizing the difference between USAID/PCS members' constructions and those of the other organizational members. Eight of the USAID/PCS respondents mention donor involvement in selecting country sites, and all nine discuss such involvement in budget negotiations, ranging from setting budgetary ceilings to needing donor approval. Even hiring top personnel requires donor approval. However, most of these respondents believe that audiences are determined within their organization, and not by donors.

Further descriptions of this decision making process explicate the degree to which donors are involved in certain types of decision making. Along with finances, the USAID Population Office imposes a system of prioritizing countries onto its various contractors. The USAID Population Office "does strategic planning and analyses to determine what the priority countries are, and allocates resources" accordingly. As if watching a child growing up, one USAID Population Office member explains that countries are prioritized within a framework charting "pre-emerging programs in Africa to very mature, sustainable ones in parts of Asia and Latin America, and five different stages in between." Country sites are chosen for projects given defined priorities, the local USAID mission's interest, and a needs assessment performed by PCS.

PCS follows USAID priorities in their selection of country sites for projects; "we are slated to spend a certain percentage of our time with certain countries." USAID suggests particular countries given political priorities and health priorities. According to several PCS respondents, the USAID Population Office has "different priorities than ours." For example, to PCS "Bolivia is a priority, because you have high infant mortality and very high abortion and maternal deaths." Another expands this point, explaining that USAID "puts emphasis on Mexico and Brazil,

because they channel their money through us, because we can work there but the government can't make transactions." In addition, USAID wants "a heavy emphasis on Nigeria," so this project operates under a separate contract, in order "to strengthen the overall approach and strategy in Nigeria."

Needs assessments are performed by PCS members in order to negotiate budgets with local USAID missions and the Population Office in Washington D.C. External review committees, composed of "specialists outside PCS who have no vested interest in PCS" convene to review projects and "give comments." PCS may then revise their budgets and programs, before submitting them to the USAID Office of Population. USAID representatives ultimately determine their contribution to projects "on a case by case basis," depending on the amount funded by overseas missions. This is "a fluid process" requiring a great deal of "negotiation." The Population Office must approve all projects over \$300,000, as well as certain personnel and equipment purchases.

Audiences, on the other hand, are determined by

putting two patterns together: one is talks with grantee organizations and AID; [the other] is based on more scientific reasons. Audiences are chosen given priorities of the USAID Office of Population, and local governments.

For UNFPA, government donors are rarely involved in organizational activity. Only one UNFPA member describes donor involvement in country site and budget determination at the negotiation stages, and this involvement only takes place within multi-bilateral arrangements, which are but a small percentage (less than 10 percent) of the whole operating budget. Other than this, donors are not directly involved in UNFPA activity. Projects over \$1 million, though, must be approved by the governing council of UNDP. Often, budgets and program plans (including audience decisions) are developed with the advice of UNDP

representatives in the field, depending upon country ceiling levels and criteria established by the UNFPA governing council. While UNFPA members may be autonomous in relation to their donor environment, they blur their boundaries with the UNDP. Hiring and firing, as well as other administrative activities, are all functions shared with the UNDP.

Donors are not mentioned when IPPFWHR informants describe their process of selecting country sites, determining budgets, or designating audiences. IPPFWHR members, however, do intervene between donor institutions and their own recipients (local FPAs). A respondent associated with funding finds that "it can be fairly complicated in terms of keeping track of different reports to different donors, and I think FPAs have trouble with that . . . [so] we help walk it through" for them.

Neither Oxfam America donors nor members of their governing board attempt to steer resources within the overseas department, according to informants within that unit. Donors are not mentioned as being involved in selecting country sites or determining audiences. The only donor involvement of note involves a few restricted donations, when budget ceilings may be imposed for the projects towards which these funds are intended. One fund-raising official explained,

We keep track of what the donors are interested in and try to find an overseas project that matches their interest . . . [but] the overseas department has its own criteria about what is important to them.

Reflecting a difference between USAID/PCS perceptions of dependence and those of IPPFWHR and Oxfam America members, the former organization is much more likely to report frequent interaction with a particular level of USAID and involvement from that donor environment in decision making, than either of the latter two organizations.

The organization that varies from objective expectations is UNFPA. UNFPA members are closer in their perceptions of donor interaction and donor involvement to IPPFWHR and Oxfam America members than to those perceptions held by members of USAID/PCS, the other organization defined as having a concentrated donor environment. One key to understanding the difference between USAID/PCS and UNFPA donor relations is that USAID contributions tend to be restricted to particular PCS projects, whereas most UNFPA funding is unrestricted, both in relation to government donors and to the U.N. structure.

The patterns described above can be expressed in quantitative representations, as demonstrated in Table 1. Respondents who said that they either speak or meet with a donor each month or more often than that, or who reported that they had spoken with a donor when asked what they did the work-day before the interview, were coded as having frequent interaction with donors. Eight of the thirty-six respondents fit this category. Donor involvement in decision making was coded if mentioned in discussions of how budgets, sites and audiences were determined. Of all of the respondents, ten mentioned donor involvement in selecting sites, twelve in budgets, and only one in determining audiences. A total of ten respondents said they perceived no alternatives at all to their current funding situations and another five saw alternatives for specialized activities, but not for the organization as a whole. Distributions across organizational affiliations are presented in Table 1.

Table 1  
Organizations and their Donor Relationships

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	Oxfam America
Perceived Dependence	9	4	1	1
Frequent Interaction	6	0	1	1
Involvement in				
Sites	8	1	0	1
Budgets	9	1	0	2
Audiences	1	0	0	0

Quantitative analyses were conducted to assess associations (using Pearson's correlations) among organizational affiliations, background characteristics and perceived relations with organizations. In addition, cluster analyses of these organizational dimensions (perception of dependence, donor interaction, and donor involvement in selecting country sites, determining budgets and audiences) confirm patterns discovered in correlation analyses. Using Ward's method (this procedure follows the assumption that clusters may overlap) of clustering persons who express similar perceptions of relationships with a donor environment, it appears that one cluster of people includes predominantly USAID/PCS members, with half of the UNFPA members, and that the other cluster bounds members of the IPPFWHR and Oxfam America, in addition to the remaining half of the UNFPA members.

Considering donor relationships as constructed by organizational members has revealed some distinctive patterns of connections between focal organizations and donor environments. What one may objectively believe to be a concentrated funding



arrangement may or may not manifest itself in perceptions of dependence, or even donor involvement. Furthermore, dependence can be characterized by the nature of the donor and the relationship with that donor, as perceived by participants in that exchange.

It was suggested in earlier reviews of systems theories that perceptions of dependence may be grounded not only in particular organizational contexts, but also in the particular functional positions of respondents. Project managers and directors tend to be less likely to see alternative sources of funding ( $r=-.41$ ), and to be more likely to report donor involvement in selecting country sites ( $r=.28$ ) and budgets ( $r=.47$ ), than those working in other positions (fund-raising, editors and evaluators). This relationship may be artificially induced, though, in that project managers and directors were more likely to discuss project decision making processes than people in other positions, who were more likely to decline comment.

### 3. Patterns of Dependence

It was suggested in literature reviewed earlier that perceived dependence may contribute to a perceived lack of autonomy, or a higher level of involvement by non-members. Donors may be involved in allocative decision making, steering the general course of a recipient organization. In this study, some of the particular decisions of relevance in designing a developing country's communication project include selecting a country site for the project, determining the project's budget, and designating a particular audience for the project to address. Respondents were asked how each of these issues was decided in their organization. Each response was coded for any mention of donor involvement, while type of involvement was also noted.

Also, the intensity of a relationship between a focal organization and a particular donor is marked by the frequency of interaction between the two. In this study, the intensity of the relationship is judged between a focal organization and all of its donors by asking respondents how often they speak with or meet with donors, and by noting what they did the work-day before the interview. Perceptions of dependence may be related to the intensity of interaction between an organization and its donor environment, and this intensity is expected to be associated with perceived involvement by the donors in decision making. In this section, I ask whether perceived dependence is associated with donor involvement and frequency of interaction. The following table [2] of Pearson correlations summarizes the magnitude of these relationships among constructed dichotomous variables.

Table 2  
Characteristics of Donor Relationships  
(N=36)

	Frequent Interaction	Involvement in Sites	Budgets	Audiences
Perceived Dependence	.27	.31	.61	-.11
Interaction		.56	.47	.32
Involvement in Sites			.61	.27
Budgets				.24

The above table characterizes donor relations for the whole sample of respondents; however, further analyses demonstrate

that positive correlations among dependency, donor interaction and donor involvement appear to be characteristic of USAID Population Office and PCS organizations. The other three organizations have markedly little association among these dimensions of donor relations, given that they are less likely to perceive dependence, interaction or involvement from donors than USAID/PCS respondents.

Also, correlations including a donor's involvement with budgetary matters hold more strongly for managers and directors ( $r$ 's range from .36-.62) than persons in other functional positions, who were not as willing to discuss decision making procedures in the production of IEC projects.

For the USAID Population Office and PCS, the relationship between dependence and autonomy is a complex one. Autonomy, in this research, represents the degree to which organizational members perceive themselves as having the ability to make allocative decisions without non-member involvement. The types of decisions examined include selecting country sites, determining budgets, and designating audiences. These types of decisions appear to be handled differently.

Perceptions of dependence are more closely linked to negotiating budgets, and less so to the selection of project sites, while the link between perceived dependence and determining audiences is quite weak. This finding suggests either that decisions about budgetary matters and sites are matters of "allocative" decision making, and that determining audiences is a matter of operational concern; or, that dependence does not necessarily restrict all facets of allocative decision making. The selection of audiences is a particularly important decision in the production of IEC projects, in that many other decisions, about channels, style, and content are intertwined with expectations of audience characteristics. It appears that this level of decision is perceived by a group of respondents as less related to dependent

relations as those decisions dealing with budgetary matters and initial project area selection.

Intensity of the relationship between focal organizations and their donor environments is less closely associated with perceived dependence than it is with perceived involvement, among USAID/PCS respondents. Frequent contact with donor actors contributes to a recognition of their involvement in organizational decision making, but this contact is less be associated with feelings of dependence.

### C. Relationships with Recipient Environments

Typically, resource dependency literature focuses on the relationship between a focal organization and its donors; in this research, however, relationships with a recipient environment are also believed to play an integral role in decision making about IEC projects. The inclusion of recipient organizations in this framework may allow further insight into how non-members contribute to the construction of development communication.

#### 1. Descriptions

First, each focal organization's relationship with its recipient organizations will be described, in terms of perceived structural arrangements and obligations. Then, these differences will be compared across the four studied organizations.

PCS provides funding and technical assistance, as well as identifies consultants for each of its recipient organizations. In turn, recipients must submit quarterly financial reports, progress reports and other deliverables outlined in formal agreements. PCS members find technical assistance necessary, because, as one informant believes, "there's a lot of insecurity. To many of them,

communication is a totally new ball game." Another PCS informant does not like to "overburden weak infrastructures of recipients by spending too much on a project; it's no use saddling them with a project they cannot accomplish." What distinguishes technical assistance from other project support is that with the former arrangement there is not "quite as much control."

PCS works with various organizations as subcontractors. These recipients submit budget proposals, which are reviewed by PCS staff. PCS project officers submit these proposals to a PCS project committee of senior staff members. This committee may forward these documents to an external advisory committee, whose suggestions PCS staff has "the liberty to accept or not accept."

Governments in recipient environs must approve projects; a project "always has to be in accord with the government." PCS members also solicit their own recipients, in that "if we hear of opportunities . . . we would make known our interests."

Recipients are not as involved in PCS decision making as donors appear to be. Recipients are not mentioned by any USAID or PCS informant as being a part of audience selection, though one-third mention that proposals are received by recipients as part of the country selection process, and five members discuss recipients as being involved in budget negotiations. While recipients are involved in implementing projects, donor approval is still needed. In exchange for funding, recipients are expected to fulfill reporting obligations, to be receptive to advice, and to abide by organization policies.

In their course of interaction with recipient institutions, most PCS members spend at least two months a year abroad with their recipient counterparts. One-third of these respondents report speaking or meeting with recipients at least once a month.

More than with USAID/PCS, recipients are perceived to be quite involved in UNFPA activity. Within a recipient country, "the

first party we have to treat is the government.” Of the eight UNFPA members answering these questions about decision processes, half state that recipients are responsible for selecting audiences, initiating project proposals for country selection, and determining budgets. UNFPA members see their obligation to recipients as providing advice, while expecting recipients to abide by UNFPA principles. These principles are stated within legal project documents: “When we fund something, it’s based on a commitment. They go along with human rights; we give them money and they are committed to carrying out the activity.”

As explained by one official, UNFPA priorities, established by the U.N. General Assembly, state that 75 percent of UNFPA’s resources should go to country-level activities, and the rest to inter-country activities. Out of that 75 percent designated for countries, “another 75 percent is supposed to provide assistance to any country that requests it, in unrestricted funds.” Most of these funds are designated for fifty-six priority countries, defined as those with urgent population problems and requests for international assistance.

UNFPA members perform “needs assessments” in recipient areas to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses in national population programs, and to uncover which activities are not sponsored by other donors; still, the chosen activity must fit within the UNFPA mandate. This process is currently under revision. Country directors are being trained in New York to review and approve projects under a stipulated amount so that the UNFPA will no longer be responsible for reviewing each and every project. Especially since, as one informant complains, there are “tons of stupid meetings” when “a lot of time” is spent “worrying about agencies doing what they are supposed to be doing.” Those few members (two) who do travel report spending at least four months each year in recipient environs.

UNFPA staff meet with recipient government officials, if invited, to develop strategies to deal with population issues.

Technical staff, consultants, or UNDP (or other executing agency) representatives also are hired to offer advice to recipients. With recipients, UNFPA members "discuss the whole gambit, all the way down to the boring budget problems." Once problems and resources are outlined, recommendations are sent to the UNFPA. UNFPA members play an active role by assisting recipients with selecting audiences and channels.

Projects are reviewed by staff within the UNFPA, who allocate budgets within internally established funding ceilings. As one director remarks: "If a project falls outside our mandate, we have no obligation to fund it." But if the project fits within their mandate, UNFPA representatives fund "whatever the government wants" within a budgeted ceiling. Another informant explains: "We are not a bank. . . . We don't give away money for everything. There are procedures . . . a mandate . . . policies [and] an appraisal process."

IPPFWHR is restricted in its choice of recipients: only local family planning associations (FPAs) may serve as recipient organizations in the IPPF structure. One IPPFWHR member finds this structure limiting:

One of the tenets of IPPF, that I don't agree with, is that we have only one association in each country, and sometimes that association is not a good one.

However, there are exceptions to this rule in Haiti and Ecuador, where IPPFWHR established field offices in order to utilize USAID grants there.

IPPFWHR provides money, commodities, and technical assistance to many FPAs. Respondents vary in their estimations of the number of FPAs in IPPF, from 107 to 125, while they state they are working in 128 to 138 countries in the world. One respondent prefers to use the number of countries they work in

as a "barometer" of activity, since some associations (like the Caribbean FPA) cover several countries.

Recipient members are expected to follow the rules of the club, which involve respecting family planning rights. One respondent describes his interaction with local FPAs as a "dialogue." He further explains that he would only "exert strong influence" when

money was badly used, [or] there is some major crisis, where we sense that the association is no longer meeting the standards and following through with the policies the members of the association have agreed to.

In other words, members only are reprimanded when they are perceived as no longer following club rules.

FPAs are required to submit three-year plans, explaining local situations, strategies, other funding sources, and requests for IPPF contributions. While the local FPA is responsible for initiating this proposal, IPPFWHR representatives work with local FPAs, to "help them and ourselves think if this is the best strategy." Both WHR and the regional board need to approve these three-year work plans. WHR officials may recommend changes, but there "usually isn't enough detail in a project document to be critical." IPPFWHR members also review annual reports, half-year reports, project plans, work-plan budgets, and planning, program and budget reviews. IPPFWHR program advisers are responsible for verifying that requests fit within IPPF guidelines. IPPFWHR members may make suggestions, but plans and budgets may be changed only with local FPA agreement. In exchange for funding and assistance, recipients are expected to abide by IPPF policies and to fulfill reporting obligations.

FPAs plan their own IEC efforts, and one frustrated informant complains that she has no authority to change recipient



projects she deems inappropriate. Local FPAs may receive funds from other sources, but most local FPA funding comes from IPPFWHR, which makes the process of determining budgets "the hardest part," according to one IPPFWHR respondent, since there is never enough money to fulfill every request.

Recipients are quite involved in IPPFWHR activity. Seven IPPFWHR members stated that country sites are chosen in response to proposals sent by recipients, and that budgets are initiated by recipient institutions. Also, recipients are responsible for selecting audiences and communication channels, under the advisement of IPPFWHR.

Within its recipient environments, almost half of IPPFWHR respondents find that IPPFWHR must deal with religious, though not political, opposition to family planning. One editor is currently preparing "standardized responses to opposition to family planning" to be used in Latin America and the Caribbean, especially in Honduras and Guatemala, where members believe they have the most trouble with religious opposition to their activities.

This recipient involvement is reflected in frequent interaction between IPPFWHR and recipient actors. IPPFWHR members speak to recipient actors at least once a week, and generally project managers and the director travel to meet with recipients at least two months each year.

Unlike IPPFWHR, Oxfam America has a variety of types of recipients. Oxfam America's regional field officers identify local needs and local recipient organizations to work with. They seek organized groups, since they see their organization not as "a Mother Theresa kind of deal . . . . We would not sit at a shelter and hand out food because that's welfare — charity. That's not really empowering people in the long run." Once identified, Oxfam America works "directly" with these "project facilitators." This ideal "partnership" means that there is a "lot of trust in the

relationship; we don't stand over the organizations and tell them what to do." There is no "set rule" for evaluating projects: they may be visited once or twice a year, or not at all. Recipients are expected to work within the priorities established at the beginning of the project.

Oxfam America members believe they are "flexible enough to address what communities think they need." Budgets, for example, ideally "arise out of project reality from the field," in a negotiation. Projects under \$50,000 require only lower level staff approval, but projects exceeding this amount must be approved by regional subcommittees within Oxfam America, who meet three times every year. Each region gets "equal amounts of money," one member complains, and the regional staff establish priorities from there.

When asked how country sites were chosen, Oxfam America respondents' answers ranged from "we don't decide where to go — the people tell us where to go," to a list of Oxfam America priorities, such as addressing "poverty," and to go "where the U.S. policy is negative." Program officers develop program papers after visiting project sites. These analyses of the projected need and proposed assistance are reviewed by staff, then presented to regional subcommittees; "everything we fund fits within the context of a program design which has been approved by the subcommittee." These two types of constructions describe this organization on the one hand as purely responsive to recipient requests and to perceived failures of the U.S. government, yet, on the other, as an organization with formal structures and policies, within which projects are approved and initiated.

Neither donors nor recipients tend to be directly involved in Oxfam America's decision making processes. Only two respondents mention recipient involvement in choosing country sites, and three mention this involvement in budget negotiations. Despite recipients' lack of involvement in decision making, they

are expected to abide by Oxfam principles though, according to these informants.

Respondents from Oxfam America report speaking or meeting with recipients infrequently: less often than monthly. Also, informants working with overseas project activities travel to recipient areas relatively infrequently, about less than one month each year. Oxfam America minimizes its interaction, attempting to support "local community efforts," without "creating a dependency relationship." Their goal is to "respect the integrity of these communities to solve their own problems." It may be that the high cost of international travel contributes toward prohibiting frequent travel and meetings with recipients.

## 2. Quantitative Measures of Recipient Relationships

The descriptions outlined above are also reflected in quantitative representations of these dimensions. Just as relations with donors were recorded, recipient involvement is measured by a respondent's mentioning of that organization in descriptions of how budgets, sites, and audiences are determined. Recipient interaction is coded as frequent if a respondent says that he or she speaks or meets with a recipient at least each month, or mentions speaking with a recipient when recounting the previous work-day's activities. Of all thirty-six respondents: fourteen were coded as having frequent interaction with their recipient representatives, while twenty mentioned recipient involvement in selecting country sites, twenty-four in determining budgets, and eight in designating audiences. In table 3, these dichotomous constructs are shown to demonstrate the comparative strengths of the perceived relationships between focal organizations and their recipient organizations.

Table 3  
Organizations and their Recipient Relationships  
(N=36)

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	Oxfam America
Frequent Interaction	4	4	6	0
Involvement in				
Sites	5	6	7	2
Budgets	6	8	8	2
Audiences	0	4	4	0

Comparatively, Oxfam America has very little interaction with its recipients, whereas IPPFWHR members report more frequent interaction than do members of any of the other groups. This implies that IPPFWHR maintains an intense bond with its recipients, in contrast to a weak bond between Oxfam America and its own project affiliates.

Recipients appear to be quite involved in allocative decision making in both UNFPA and IPPFWHR. As described, recipients select audiences, as well as negotiate budgets, and, to some extent, determine project sites. As one UNFPA representative explained, country sites "are not chosen: they ask us for project funds"; and another confirmed that UNFPA "works in all countries," but they "do not go in unless [local governments] want us to." Country sites must also fit within a list of priorities established by UNFPA personnel. Recipients appear to be responsible for determining sites and audiences, although both are supposed to arise out of the "field." Budgets are submitted by recipients, and are funded within ceiling allocations designated within UNFPA. The audience is decided between UNFPA and local government representatives: on the one hand, UNFPA suggests certain audiences, like youth

("we look at the needs of the country . . . and identify target groups"); on the other hand, local governments "identify problems that are linked to certain audiences." At least one UNFPA recipient though felt that this was a "weakness," because "they don't always segment audiences and they need to."

Like UNFPA, most respondents from IPPFWHR discuss recipients' responsibilities in determining audiences, "wherever the local FPA has its priorities." Even if a IPPFWHR representative disagreed, that person would have "no authority to change it." IPPFWHR members would like recipients to consider addressing certain audiences, such as "teens," but "usually there isn't enough detail in a project document to be critical." This sense of negotiation carries over into budget negotiations: local FPAs submit their own budgets, which are then checked according to IPPF guidelines. The tension is exacerbated though, "because they are always asking for a lot of money and we don't have that much."

In contrast to UNFPA and IPPFWHR, PCS respondents tend to see themselves as responsible for designating audiences, rather than seeing these decision processes as shared with recipients. Recipients are consulted about "what they perceive problems to be," but the ultimate decision is based upon internal needs assessments. And again, country sites and budgets are not discussed as much as in terms of recipient relations as they are in terms of internal and donor relations.

Oxfam America members are even less likely to mention recipient involvement in allocative decision making than are members of the other organizations in this sample. Budgets may ideally "arise out of project reality from the field," but it is Oxfam staff who decide how much to allocate to recipient facilitators, attempting to "support community efforts" without "creating a dependency relationship." Each director "has to sit down and think through the priorities and what the allocation should be per country." Country sites are also chosen within the organization,

given a set of priorities, such as poverty level, and "interest and importance of the country to the U.S." Four of these respondents put this selection process in terms of going "where there is need." In other responses, informants discuss attempts to foster audience images of persons with "strength, dignity and integrity." Local groups organize themselves, but are first selected by Oxfam America personnel.

Cluster analyses, again using Ward's method, of these perceptions (including recipient interaction and involvement in choosing country sites, determining budgets, and selecting audiences) reveal similar patterns. One cluster of respondents bounds most of the IPPFWHR and UNFPA members, another cluster includes most of the USAID/PCS members, and a third cluster consists of most of the Oxfam America members. These three groups can be seen to hold distinct perceptions also in table 3.

### 3. Patterns of Recipient Relations

Dimensions of recipient relationships follow distinct patterns, according to informants' perceptions. It was found that donor interaction was associated with donor involvement in certain types of decisions among USAID/PCS members. As with perceptions of donor dependence and interaction, recipient interaction is relatively more closely associated with decisions concerning project sites and budgets than with those decisions about audiences [see table 4]. Also, recipient involvement in budgetary and project site decisions are more closely linked than either type of decision is with recipient involvement in audience considerations.

Table 4  
 Characteristics of Recipient Relations  
 (N=36)

	Involvement in Sites	Budgets	Audiences
Frequent Interaction	.37	.32	.26
Involvement in Sites		.79	.34
Budgets			.38

Controlling for organizational affiliation leads to some further explication of these relations. The relationship between recipient involvement in budgetary matters and the selection of country sites holds for each of the four organizations. Recipient interaction is also associated with their involvement in budgetary and site selection decisions for all except those members of Oxfam America. Any correlation between audience selection and these other characteristics, though, appears to be a product of UNFPA or IPPFWHR experiences. Unlike manifestations of donor relations, recipient contributions to the production of IEC projects appear to be shared across organizations in this sample. Also, there appears to be a hierarchy of influence: on the first level, recipients are rarely involved; on the second level, recipients delimit the boundaries for budgetary and site decisions; on the third level, recipients also direct audience decisions. Whereas Oxfam America and USAID/PCS respondents mention recipient involvement in budgetary and site decisions, UNFPA and IPPFWHR respondents believe that their recipients direct audience selection as well as financial and location matters.

While perceptions of recipient interaction and involvement appear to differ across organizational affiliation, these perceptions

also are grounded in respondents' functional positions within organizations. Project managers and directors, representing those persons who work with recipients directly, were more likely than members in other functional positions to report interaction with recipients ( $r=.28$ ) and recipient involvement in selecting country sites ( $r=.38$ ), budgets ( $r=.30$ ), and audiences ( $r=.36$ ). However, these relationships may be a result of their willingness to discuss decision making processes; fund-raising personnel and editors were more likely to defer answering some of these questions (saying that I should discuss that with another person) than project managers or directors.

#### D. Resource Dependency or System Dependency

Resource dependency is a limiting concept. Within the resource dependency framework, one would divide the four studied organizations into those maintaining weak bonds with a donor environment and those with relatively stronger ties. This categorization places USAID/PCS on one side, in that these members perceive relatively more dependency, donor interaction and involvement than other members; on the other side would lie IPPFWHR, Oxfam America, and UNFPA members, who perceive relatively less donor interaction and involvement. Fiscal dependency, manifest in involvement and interaction with donors, appears to be experienced quite differently among USAID/PCS members than the rest of the respondents.

Perceptions of recipient environments, however, follow a different pattern. Whereas few UNFPA and IPPFWHR respondents mention donor involvement, they do depict recipient involvement in decision-making processes. USAID/PCS informants are less likely to discuss recipient involvement than UNFPA and IPPFWHR respondents, but Oxfam America informants were the least likely to discuss recipient involvement. Unlike categories derived from



resource dependency models, turning our focus to recipients separates the observed organizations into those with strong bonds with recipient environments (IPPFWHR and UNFPA) and those with relatively weaker bonds (USAID/PCS and Oxfam America).

As expected at the outset of this research, USAID/PCS represents an organization with a high degree of perceived dependence and involvement from donors, while Oxfam America represents an organization with opposite characteristics. The other two cases are more complex: UNFPA respondents are more likely than those from IPPFWHR and Oxfam America to perceive their organization as dependent, but less likely to perceive donor involvement than those representatives of USAID/PCS. IPPFWHR informants perceive themselves as having a low level of fiscal dependence, but their decision making processes are restricted given their distinctive relationship with their recipients.

While fiscal dependence, apparently, has direct consequences for members of one of the organizations studied and less so for the others, recipient relations direct and constrain the production of IEC projects to varying degrees among each of the organizations studied. This finding confirms the supposition that not only donors, but also recipients, have some influence in the allocative decision making underlying the construction of development communications. Thus, by expanding upon a narrow focus on resource holders to include a recipient domain, a new set of distinctions with which to categorize and understand organizations is created.

The degree to which non-members are involved in allocative decision making certainly depends upon an organization's particular relations with both donors and recipients, and perhaps with other types of organizations not included as extensively in this study. Autonomy, or the degree to which decisions are made by members within an organization, is not merely restricted by intense bonds with a donor environment, but also by similar contributions and constraints from a recipient environment. A

focal organization does require a donor environment for financial input; but, moreover, an organization also requires a recipient environment (whether this constitutes formally defined grantees or informally defined groups of individuals) towards which to direct its own contributions (whether financial or in the form of energy or information). Within an environmental system, an organization both takes in resources and puts resources back into that system; an explanatory mechanism of organizational behavior needs to account for both of these functions.

These systemic dimensions are of particular interest when considering what might facilitate and constrain the production of an IEC project. In their efforts to produce communication projects, practitioners perceive fiscal dependency not only in terms of a concentrated number of donors, but also in terms of the nature of that donor relationship. Trust, loyalty and stability characterize ideal relations with fiscal donors. This dependence is manifest in perceived involvement by donors in setting priorities and ceiling levels for country sites and budgets. Recipients, however, may also constrain IEC production by their own contribution toward initiating and implementing projects.

The organizational production of a communication package may be constrained by fiscal donors, as well as by recipients, contingent upon the structure and nature of those particular relations within a system. Organizations may be seen not as resource dependent then, but as system dependent, as participants respond to perceived relationships with other organizations in an environment.

Subsumed in macro-structural networks, members of development organizations continually interact with persons outside organizational boundaries, and even walk in and out of those boundaries themselves. These interactions serve many types of functions, such as those directed towards increasing contributions, those directed towards producing communication

projects, those directed towards attaining normative and political legitimacy, and those directed towards professional advancement.

As part of a larger system, organizational members respond to many different types of environmental pressures. Development communication as a particular organizational activity is constructed by organizational participants who depend on particular systems for contributions as well as outlets. It is the systemic context, encompassing both resource controllers (donors) and receivers (recipients), which guides and constrains organizational behavior.

## VII. INTERPRETATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY

In this chapter, I explore development participants' understandings of their organizational activity. How these organizational members justify their actions, frame their ideological purposes and how particular projects address these constructed problems will be considered. Following this discussion of how members see their organizational activity, I will attempt to uncover conceptions of their audiences. Participants in development communication hold distinct images of their beneficiaries and target groups. These images are inextricably linked to the type of activity participants see themselves as pursuing, the types of problems they see themselves as addressing, and the types of projects they construct to reach particular audience environments. Then, I will discuss how these practitioners construct the communication process. As a component of broader project activity designed to reach audience environments, communication is one dimension of operational activity connecting a focal organization to its audience environment. Beliefs about the communication process are incorporated into development communication activity. I will explore how these interpretations may be associated with organizational affiliations and other characteristics of respondents.

Participants in development communication interpret the organizational activity in which they are engaged using ideological, as well as operational, frames. To elicit discussion about these frames of understanding, respondents were asked:

What are the problems your organization addresses; Why is your organization's activity important; and, to describe some IEC projects. The first two dimensions represent a broad ideological understanding of organizational activity in a perceived environment. Respondents also described particular IEC projects, to reveal their operationalized understandings of organizational activity. Both operational versions and ideological frames represent dimensions of participants' interpretations of organizational activity.

Development activity addresses particular problems perceived in an audience environment. The underlying assumption of a development organization, or indeed of any 'helping institution,' is that a situation is problematic and can be rectified to some degree. Helping institutions seek to remedy situations their members define as problematic. By asking members of development organizations what problems their organization addresses, and why that activity is important, I uncover their beliefs about their own organizational *raison d'être*. There is an assumption in critical literature of helping institutions, as discussed previously, that these organizations fund programs compatible with their overall world-views. While this assumption makes intuitive sense, the connection between ideological and operational visions can be explored in this study by comparing general understandings with descriptions of specific project activity.

#### A. Justifications for Organizational Activity

Development communication practitioners develop justifications for their organizational activities. Respondents were asked why their organizational activities were important to them in order to uncover their beliefs about their organizational *raison d'être*. Their answers to this question ranged from systemic

concerns, such as reducing global population levels, addressing global environmental issues, or facilitating national development; to individual concerns, such as addressing local needs and increasing knowledge and use of birth control; to justice concerns, including human and women's rights issues. Finally, some respondents also gave donor oriented justifications, answering that their activity was important because a donor had mandated that activity.

By focusing justifications within a global or national level, interpretations fit within a systemic orientation. Development communication may be seen as an activity to ultimately benefit all human beings, or members of a circumscribed community. National policies concerned with rapidly increasing fertility rates are seen as fulfilling principles established to benefit humankind.

These orientations emphasize aggregates rather than individuals. Justifying activity for the sake of human or women's rights appeals to a theoretical vision on behalf of individual members of a particular group, such as women or the poor. As one respondent explains, "as everyone says — for the empowerment of women." Activity serves to promote the rights and needs of a particular group of persons.

Justifications of development communication in terms of individual needs of an audience community are not discussed in terms of a group's rights, but in terms of individual members' needs. Justification is not a matter of broad principle, but a matter of individual necessity. Individuals need to be given "a sense of dignity, self sufficiency and pride" say some, while others point to inadequacies in individual knowledge about and use of modern methods of birth control. This orientation selects certain individual attributes of an audience that are defined as problematic, and activity is justified as necessary to alleviate individuals from this problematic condition.

Donor justifications constitute a different type of orientation altogether. Members who answer that their activity is important because another donor organization mandates this action are tied to this donor agent in their vision of themselves. Theoretically, one might visualize a category in which members justify their activities in terms of their recipients' wishes, to reflect recipient justifications, but members did not tend to do this. For the most part, these respondents tend to justify their activity in terms of a perceived need within an audience environment, whether at a systemic or individual level of concern.

Respondents' answers to this question concerning why they considered their organizational activity to be important referred to global, national, human rights, women's rights, individual audience members, and donor justifications. Before contrasting differences across organizations, each institution will be characterized in terms of their members' interpretations of their organizational activity.

USAID/PCS representatives held a diverse set of views on the importance of their activity. Four of these nine focused on the benefits accrued to individual audience members. "Women who want to have fewer children," one informant states, should be "given the chance to learn and change their behavior." People can be "motivated," another believes, "to use family planning" to "increase prevalence." Another finds that "you've got to tell them why they should use family planning and where they can get it."

To improve women's well-being and status, two members of this group value their activity as opening of "options for women." A third informant notes that while he is not a "crazed contraceptive . . . it's a good cause." While none of the USAID/PCS respondents touched upon a national level focus, two did mention environmental issues, appealing to a global emphasis. Population, one remarks, "strains the environment." The other believes that by "exceeding the capacity of the environment you are destroying,

mortgaging future generations." Finally, two USAID/PCS informants justify their activity by appealing to their donor: one saying that "it's our mandate to work with population concerns;" and the other, that "that is how PCS is structured, and the money is coming from the Office of Population at USAID."

UNFPA representatives' responses can be characterized quite differently from those of USAID/PCS respondents: most of the UNFPA group appealed to societal levels of responses when justifying their activities. Two-thirds of this group explicitly discuss national development issues related to population. One informant summarizes this position as follows: "Population is a factor in development. Without paying attention to what population means, many, if not most, development efforts will fail in the long-run." Rapid growth, migration and economic concerns are just some of the issues national governments need to address, according to this group. Global environmental issues are another focus addressed by two UNFPA respondents. "Overpopulation," one officer believes, "leads to deforestation, desertification, threatening global warming systems and floods."

One-third of this group focus on a justice orientation: one describes "the human rights" aspect of their activity ("the issue of the right to parent for both men and women;" the other two detail their concern for women's status (being "judged in terms of the number and gender of her children . . . curtails education and life choices").

IPPFWHR respondents tend to appeal to a sense of justice when describing why their organizational activity is important: four focus on the human rights aspect of their work, and another four on women's rights. In the broader frame, "people should have the right to have as many children as they want, and they should have access to the means to do so"; and, another informant explains that "human beings [have] the right to plan a family," or "to practice family planning if they desire," another adds.



Another group of IPPFWHR members see their activity as specifically promoting or "empowering" women, to improve their "possibilities," and to be "able to control their lives." Two people also emphasize their desire to assist "poor," or "low-income" groups. Only one IPPFWHR respondent finds their activity addressing "the problem of development . . . [in that] the population variable is present in every single plan in the country."

Most Oxfam America respondents tend to justify their activity as "empowering" a disadvantaged group of individuals. They "help people to empower over their environment, their lives, their health, whatever." Another informant explains that their activity attempts to "help those that are less fortunate" become "self-sufficient" — a refrain carried through eight of the answers from this group. In sum, Oxfam America respondents believe that they "address what communities think they need."

This justification is quite focused upon the individuals comprising disadvantaged communities. Individuals are provided with "access to clean water, food, . . . birth control or family planning information." Only one member appeals beyond this individual community level focus to a broad human rights issue, exclaiming Oxfam America's ability to "eliminate injustices" in their cultural contexts.

The following table demonstrates the number of persons from each organization offering global, national, individual, human rights, women's rights, and donor justifications for their organizational activity. Some responses focused on more than one orientation, and were coded as such.

Table 5 (a)  
 Justifications for Organizational Activity:  
 Responses across Organizational Affiliations

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	OXFAM AMERICA
Global Level	2	2		
National Level		6	1	
Individuals	4			8
Human Rights	1	1	4	1
Women's Rights	2	2	4	
Donor	2			

Both USAID/PCS and Oxfam America respondents tend to justify their activity in terms of individual needs of audiences and communities. The former group believes it is important to increase knowledge and behavior of individuals, while the latter believes its activity will enable local communities of individuals to become 'empowered.' Oxfam America informants predominantly see themselves as alleviating individual suffering by promoting activities to facilitate "self-sufficiency." USAID/PCS respondents also point to individual level justifications for their activity: characteristics of individuals are defined as problematic, such as not being aware of modern methods of birth control, which can then be corrected with communication campaigns.

IPPFWHR respondents see their activity in terms of human rights and women's rights much more than the other respondents. "The whole issue of the right to parent for both men and women," according to one informant, concerns decision making as "a human rights perspective." Also, some IPPFWHR informants justify their activities in terms of women's rights: or "individual choice and options for women and health." As one IPPFWHR member articulates this position: "A woman has the right to make decisions about her life." UNFPA informants distinctively emphasize national development issues, with some reference to global concerns. This aspect of population activity as a matter of human rights has been agreed upon by "most countries," explains one UNFPA member. Thus, this group sees systemic implications for their activity.

Only USAID/PCS members justify their activity in terms of fulfilling their donor's goals. These few informants allow their donor to enter into their own vision of themselves as organizational actors.

While there do appear to be some differences in types of justifications across organizations, another characteristic of respondents also helps explain these patterns. Justifications for organizational activity appear to be grounded in gendered experience. Members across three of these organizations contributed a pro-choice rationale in their answers to why their organizational activity is important. The characteristic that appears to explain this particular orientation is gender: only women offered feminist justifications ( $r=.54$ ). Most men gave systemic level reasons, and a few offered individual level justifications. This finding supports Gilligan's (1982) thesis that men and women construct morality (and justifications for their personal actions) differently, given dissimilar life experiences.

The following table explicates the role of gender in responses to organizational justifications. To further demonstrate this difference, feminist (or women's rights) orientations are compared to individual (audience and human rights), societal (global and national) and donor level justifications.

Table 5 (b)  
Justifications for Organizational Activity:  
The Role of Gender in Types of Responses

RESPONDENTS	INDIVIDUAL WELL-BEING	SOCIETY	FEMINIST PRINCIPLES	DONOR CONCERNS
<b>FEMALE</b>				
USAID/PCS	3	1	2	
UNFPA	1	2	2	
IPPFWHR	1		4	
OXFAM AM.	3			
Total	8	3	8	0
<b>MALE</b>				
USAID/PCS	2	1		2
UNFPA		6		
IPPFWHR	4	1		
OXFAM AM.	5			
Totals	11	8	0	2

In Gilligan's work, women discussed birth control in a very personal context, at a time when they were considering the option of abortion. Her sample of women was contemplating individual decisions, placing these discussions on an intimate level. In contrast, this study asks both men and women to explain why "population control projects" are important activities. As in

Gilligan's study, the male respondents tend to frame their generalized justifications in terms of their systemic implications. On a less personal level than Gilligan's study, the female respondents tend to focus on issues concerning women's control over their own lives, promoting what Gilligan labels as 'responsibility to one's self.'

### B. Problems Addressed by the Organization

International development issues can be seen in terms of individual deficits, or macro-structural conditions. Development problems can be thought of as belonging to individuals or to society. The former approach blames individual members for their community's lack of development, while the latter points to conditions within the community, nation, or global system as constraining the development process.

When asked about the problems their organization addressed, participants gave a variety of responses, including discussions of problems belonging to individual members of an audience environment, and problems belonging to a nation or the world. The latter category represents interpretations of organizational activity that refer to broad activities, such as improving health services at a national or community level, and conferring with government leaders and administrators about policy issues. These problems are believed to be a result of systemic inadequacies.

In contrast, another perspective holds individuals as responsible for the problems that are to be addressed: individuals who do not know about, or are not acting on their knowledge about family planning. Individual deficits are the concern of development activity for those operating within this orientation.

In another orientation to development activity, participants blame structural conditions for individual misery: inequities in national and international structures are blamed for poverty, hunger and other such problems seen at the local community level. Individuals within these impoverished communities are seen as needing to be empowered to improve their local situations. One may justify actions in a global realm, while acting to solve a problem at a local level. Informants operating within this last orientation tend to believe that problems originate in unjust systemic conditions, yet are manifest in individual lives within local communities.

Responses describing the intentions of organizational activity characterize either the system or individuals as being responsible for the problems to be addressed. Individuals are seen as having problems that are addressed with organizational activity; or systems are seen as responsible for problems addressed through organizational activity; or, systems can be seen as responsible for problems that are addressed through individuals at local levels. These three orientations are categorized as systemic, individualist, and empowerment, respectively. Individualist orientations view audience members as requiring persuasion to change individual characteristics; empowerment orientations view problems as systemic in origin, but perceive individual audience members as needing assistance to improve local situations; and systemic orientations view problems as purely structural in nature. Informants in the four different organizations maintain distinctive orientations in their responses to this question about the problems they address.

Almost all USAID/PCS respondents tend to view their activity in terms of addressing individual problems. When asked what problems they addressed, all but one member expressed an interest in informing audience members about family planning, or encouraging them to use contraceptive methods. Two of the

three respondents from the USAID Office of Population describe the problems they address as an audience's "lack of motivation to use family planning and lack of knowledge of where to obtain services." PCS members tend to focus on "a lack of knowledge or misconceptions," in order to "encourage people . . . to use family planning." One-third of this group of nine also discussed a need to improve health services in audience environs.

Oxfam America members perceive themselves as helping individual members of an audience community, but in a much different way than USAID/PCS members: instead of attempting to persuade these individuals in some particular direction, Oxfam America members prefer to see themselves as more generally facilitating a process whereby local groups of individuals can become self-sufficient and thereby empower themselves in a broader structure. One member explains that they promote "peoples' efforts for self-sufficiency." Another emphasizes their activity as an attempt to "empower women"; and another, as an attempt to "empower people." These members discuss systemic conditions as being the root of the problems they hope to address, such as the effect of U.S. foreign policy upon local agriculture in developing countries, and national inequities obstructing the distribution of health care. They see themselves as being able to address local community concerns, such as social equity, poverty, and empowerment.

In contrast to this concern for individual members of an audience environment, UNFPA informants are more likely than those of any of the other organizations to discuss addressing systemic problems, such as stabilizing recipient populations, improving the services available to an audience environment, and establishing government policy to improve the health of an audience environment. Responses from most of the members of this group can be characterized by one informant's acknowledgement that they want "to stabilize population in the

world," and another's expansion, that their mission is to "help countries become aware . . . and see the problems implicit in population growth." Also, almost half of these respondents suggest that it would be useful to facilitate awareness about population issues in audience environments. They framed their concern as wanting to improve awareness of issues, rather than as wanting to inform an audience about a particular product or behavior.

IPPFWHR respondents, on the other hand, see themselves both as addressing systemic problems, such as improving health services, and as addressing individual problems. Similar to USAID/PCS responses, IPPFWHR informants perceive themselves as addressing individual level problems, by encouraging individuals to learn about and to use family planning methods and facilities. On the one hand, these respondents address individual deficits, by "trying to get new acceptors" and "attract[ing] people to clinics"; on the other, they attempt to promote the "concept . . . and acceptability of family planning."

USAID/PCS informants are mostly concerned with attempting to help individual audience members to change in ways they believe would be beneficial, as a result of their individual deficiencies. In contrast, Oxfam America respondents view themselves as helping that "audience" to change themselves, to become more powerful in their indigenous environs, in response to macro-structural problems. Like USAID and PCS members, IPPFWHR informants see their activities in terms of helping individuals in an audience environment. Notably, UNFPA members are more likely than members of the other organizations studied to see their own organizational activity as addressing systemic concerns.



### C. Descriptions of Project Activities

As a specific form of organizational activity, projects may directly focus on measures designed to change either individual or systemic conditions: the former group encompasses those projects directed towards changing characteristics of individuals, while the latter focuses on altering attributes within a system. Projects that utilize individual measures may attempt to encourage audiences to visit health clinics, to teach individuals certain skills, or to teach them about the benefits of family planning. Projects that use systemic measures may attempt to improve a health care system by training health workers or by contributing to the supply of a health product, or these projects may attempt to alter the normative fabric of a society by promoting public education of human sexuality. The distinction between informing individuals to encourage behavior change, and promoting formal education to encourage attitude change is a fine one, but one that can be made by paying close attention to the textual response of each informant.

In this section, I inventory the different types of projects described by respondents from each of the four organizations. USAID/PCS informants describe many projects all over the world. Of the fourteen projects described (respondents could describe more than one project if they chose), twelve projects attempted to address individual level problems. Most of the PCS projects described by these informants encouraged audience members to visit family planning clinics and to use birth control methods, and some of these projects were designed to promote abstinence among teenagers.

The most often discussed project by PCS and USAID respondents was their recent program in the Philippines. A young, popular Filipino singer was teamed with a local musical group to sing particular songs about sexual practices. Videos were

made, and records released. "After the songs had become popular . . . we launched the second phase of the project, which linked [the songs] to specific actions . . . [such as] calling a hot-line [with] . . . trained counselors." Television, radio and printed stickers called upon youth to use this counseling service.

Along similar lines, a PCS project in Turkey "produced a five percent increase in prevalence, using radio, video [and] some print materials." Another informant described this same project as attempting to "move people from traditional to modern methods."

The projects described by this group promote abstinence, the use of birth control and visits to health facilities. Individuals not behaving in these suggested manners constitutes the problem to be resolved. The few PCS projects that addressed systemic conditions were designed to train health workers. In sum, PCS respondents predominantly describe addressing individual members of audiences through their specific project activity.

IPPFWHR respondents described projects concentrated in Latin America and the Caribbean, also focusing on individual level problems. These informants describe nine projects attempting to encourage the use of birth control by youth and other groups, and the use of family planning services. For example, one informant talked about a mass media campaign in Guatemala designed to promote family planning services, because "people didn't know where our services are." Other respondents discussed other projects, such as those in Antigua and Montserrat, designed to "get people to visit clinics" and "to encourage teenagers to go to the family planning centers . . . [so they] have access to contraceptives." They tended to discuss "the dangers of teenage pregnancies." Another two projects were designed to influence systemic conditions by funding sexual education programs in public schools, and by contributing contraceptive supplies for teenagers. In the Dominican Republic, for instance, one project

"helped the government to establish sexual education in the schools."

IPPFWHR informants tend to define sexual responsibility for youth as an adult behavior, thereby promoting the use of contraceptives, whereas PCS respondents tend to define this responsibility as an absence of sexual interaction. Members of both organizations profess having similar goals of promoting sexual responsibility, but define that concept differently given different sets of assumptions and expectations.

Oxfam America respondents also tend to focus on individual means, but in an attempt to solve systemic problems. In their justifications for this activity, these informants point to structural inadequacies. However, their project descriptions point to individual community members' problems that can be addressed. For example, women are taught to be self sufficient through local programs that are teaching them to raise poultry, to read and write, and to adopt habits to sanitize water supplies. Each of these projects are designed to improve women's health conditions, by changing their individual skills and behaviors. Seven such projects were described by Oxfam America informants. Some projects train women through radio lessons as well as instructors "to get by." For example, in Sudan women were taught "skills" so that they could "contribute to the household income;" and in Ethiopia, refugees were given "health training." Another three projects addressed systemic problems, like building maternity health centers and training local health workers. A maternity building was built in Mali to house a "local midwife who will deliver some babies [and] some prenatal care," because "it's important for them to have [that]." Oxfam America respondents tend to report projects that address problems held by individuals, although there is an evident concern regarding systemic inequitable conditions manifest in local communities.

In contrast to members of these other organizations, UNFPA members predominantly discuss projects using systemic measures to rectify described problems. UNFPA IEC projects in Asia and Africa attempt to alter social norms about population issues and sexuality by promoting education programs in schools and in outreach efforts to particular groups, such as factory workers. One project in Thailand, for example, held a contest for participants to discover as many uses for condoms as they could (their uses ranged from tying one's hair to balloons). The goal of this particular project was to remove a taboo status from condom usage, and to foster receptive attitudes towards the subject of population control.

UNFPA projects also attempt to improve the status of women by helping recipient governments to articulate national policies, and to improve health systems by training health workers. "What we are doing is sensitizing people," one informant explained. An education project in Tunisia, she remarked, needed the top ministry "to understand that [population] . . . is an issue" for the "mother, child, or family." Only one of the seven described projects was explicitly designed to discourage high birth rates of individual women.

Generally, UNFPA and Oxfam America respondents tend to describe projects that inform or educate, whereas USAID/PCS and IPPFWHR respondents tend to describe programs that also attempt to mobilize a particular audience action. The former groups perceive changing knowledge structures as an end, whereas the latter groups aim to change behavior, not just knowledge, about particular issues. To make a further distinction, Oxfam America projects focus on informing individuals at a local level, in contrast to UNFPA projects' concerted efforts to change norms within a social fabric. The underlying models of communication expressed by respondents will be more fully explored in a subsequent chapter.

Idealized constructions of the problems an organization is addressing are not necessarily aligned with the types of actual projects respondents describe their organization as engaged in. IPPFWHR IEC projects, portrayed by respondents, tend to address individual level concerns, yet some of these members see themselves as theoretically addressing systemic issues. Oxfam America respondents see themselves as empowering individuals through activity geared toward local communities, to address consequences of systemic inadequacies. Ideal and actual activity, as perceived by USAID/PCS and UNFPA informants, do appear to be closely linked in focus: both in general and in specific discussions of organizational activity USAID/PCS respondents discuss individual level concerns, and most UNFPA members believe they address systemic problems with systemic means.

#### D. Constructions of Organizational Activity

In the preceding sections, how respondents justify their organizational activity, perceive the problems they address, and describe project activity, were explored. Responses to these inquiries can be combined into discussions of the root of perceived problems, whether stemming from individuals or systems; and, how those problems are addressed, whether through individuals, or through a system level dimension.

Whether development issues are seen as concerning individual deficits or macro-structural conditions is embedded within broader visions of the development process. One vision of development holds that individuals may facilitate the development of their own societies by adopting more modern, or

Western behaviors. These behaviors are believed to follow from individuals' learning about Western ways, and becoming receptive to Western concepts. Another vision of development assumes that societies cannot progress or improve their local situations because they are constrained by structural factors, such as a lack of access to certain technologies or a presence of weak health infrastructures.

Each organization can be described in terms of whether its respondents believe that the problems they address as a helping institution belong to individuals or to a system. Each respondent's answer to this dimension was coded as to whether or not he or she mentioned systemic problems, empowerment issues, or individuals' needs. Some informants answered this question with more than one category of response, so each of these dimensions was coded and analyzed separately.

UNFPA members tend to point to systemic problems, such as global population concerns and national fertility levels ( $r=.27$ ). Oxfam America members also believe that they address systemic concerns of empowerment ( $r=.85$ ). In contrast, USAID/PCS members point to problems held by individuals as their main focus of organizational activity ( $r=.55$ ). IPPFWHR informants, though, appear to be more diverse in their views of the organizational problems they address: some members discuss improving health systems, while others point to individuals not using birth control as the problem to be addressed.

Using Ward's technique of cluster analysis, respondents were grouped in terms of the similarity of their answers to the questions concerning the problems their organization addresses and their justification for that activity. Three groups of respondents cluster together in their interpretive understandings of organizational activity: the first group contains most of the Oxfam America respondents; the second group includes more than half of the USAID/PCS representatives and about half of the

IPPFWHR respondents; and the third group bounds most of the UNFPA, half of the IPPFWHR and the remaining USAID/PCS respondents. Uniting the second cluster of USAID/PCS and IPPFWHR informants is another characteristic: gender. All but one of the eleven members of the second cluster are women.

Whether problems are perceived as belonging to individuals or to a system, project activity may address these problems in any number of ways. How project activity addresses these broad concerns tells us how such concerns are operationalized in specific actions, as perceived by development participants. USAID/PCS members describe projects which attempt to change individuals, as do Oxfam America and IPPFWHR respondents. Only UNFPA informants tend to describe projects as addressing concerns with systemic measures.

Responses to this set of questions are divided into two dimensions: whether problems are perceived as belonging to a system or to individuals, and whether projects address these problems through individual or systemic means. The dimension of problems "belonging to" systems or individuals refers to the broad conceptualizations of organizational activities offered by informants when they described the problems they addressed and justifications for their activity. When describing actual project activity, respondents expressed how their organization addressed these problems, whether by focusing on programs to address systems or individuals. How responses fit into systemic and individual categorizations has been considered in preceding sections of this chapter. The following figure places each organization along these dimensions given the patterns revealed in respondents' explanations.

Figure 2  
Interpretive Understandings of Organizational Activity:  
Problems Addressed Belonging to Individuals or System and  
Being Addressed through Individuals or System

PROBLEMS BELONGING TO	ADDRESSED THROUGH	
	System	Individuals
System	UNFPA	OXFAM AMERICA
	IPPFWHR	
Individuals		USAID/PCS

UNFPA and USAID/PCS's placement above represents opposite ends of this conceptual space. UNFPA members see themselves as addressing systemic problems in their frames of their organizational activity, and tend to do so with projects addressing systemic conditions. In direct opposition, USAID/PCS informants see themselves as addressing individual deficits in their broad understandings of their activity, and do so with projects addressing these individual level characteristics.

Oxfam America informants present an alternative to the patterns presented by UNFPA and USAID/PCS. These members see themselves as addressing systemic concerns, but tend to do so with projects directed towards individuals. Findings from cluster analyses suggest that these organizational members perceive their activity in patterns that are quite distinct from the other respondents.



IPPFWHR respondents fall in between the dichotomous categorizations of these dimensions. In cluster analyses, these informants appear to be similar to both USAID/PCS and UNFPA respondents in these conceptualizations. Their project activity tends to address audiences as individuals, yet informants appear to maintain diverse perspectives on the types of concerns their organizational activity is addressing.

Participants who view organizational activity as addressing systemic concerns through systemic measures are able to pursue projects that affect structural level conditions for the sake of certain principles. For example, population might be framed as a concern that the whole world must face; as a 'bomb' that might explode, each community's population growth may contribute to an explosion whose consequences will devastate the world. For the sake of global harmony, an organization may attempt to encourage national policies to acknowledge population as a "problem" of development. As the recognition of population as a development problem gains legitimacy across national boundaries, its relevance and implications are understood as global in nature. UNFPA has done a great deal in order to advance this interpretation of population as a systemic problem to be considered as important to overall national development, not only through promoting IEC projects, but also by sponsoring World Population Conferences to draw attention to consequences of population growth.

In contrast, other participants attempt to market family planning products, concepts and services. Individuals do not use birth control methods or visit family planning centers, and they ought to do so in order to alleviate their actual or potential problems. Marketing projects address individuals as consumers who may be persuaded to act in particular ways. As a development project, these actions are deemed beneficial to an

audience by organizational participants in the development communication process. This focus may place the blame for the population problem with the individual, yet participants operating in this frame also restrict the responsibility for action to the individual rather than holding a system responsible. In other words, population is, in this orientation, not a global concern, but an individual decision to be respected and protected. Benefits and consequences of a decision to contracept are seen in terms of an individual's life, rather than as a matter requiring global observation or intervention.

USAID/PCS interpretations of organizational activity fit consistently within this marketing orientation. This frame visualizes population projects as development activity to be pursued for and directed towards individual members of an audience. Almost all of the USAID/PCS informants placed their activities within a health framework, pointing to maternal and child health benefits, for example, of family planning. A UNFPA member explained that "maternal-child health is a kind of vehicle for encouraging the use of family planning and is a platform for these things to be promoted." Population programs "need to be couched in terms of health, like child spacing." By focusing on health benefits, projects are more likely to gain acceptance with a cautious public or administration than if they are framed in terms of other types of justifications. Health, as part of a framework for presenting organizational activity, is much less controversial than an economic frame for example, which would address a lack of resources as a problem local communities are facing.

IPPFWHR members perceive themselves as social marketers addressing individual members of an audience, yet justify their activity as important because it promotes women's rights. To focus on feminist principles as a *raison d'être* may conflict with interests of some donors, as well as with some recipient and audience groups. For this reason, an IPPFWHR

editor is currently preparing position papers outlining the health benefits of family planning. Family planning associations will refer to these materials when faced with local opposition. As a health concern, population activities may be seen as less threatening than when considered as a concern for gendered justice.

To focus on inequitable conditions, like women's rights, may also conflict with other agencies' interests. To focus on "empowering" individuals to deflect system inequities may alienate potential donors, who may not want to contribute towards a group aiming to alter an existing economic order. Within this research it is only Oxfam America and IPPFWHR respondents who suggest that their activities fit within an economic framework. Members of both these organizations say they are attempting to help the resource poor, by providing free or subsidized services, or by financing programs to teach skills to those who are without resources.

Oxfam America participants do not view individuals as consumers who must behave differently, but as members of an inequitable system who need help in order to empower themselves as individuals. The focus on individuals as members of local communities requiring organizational attention is balanced by a concern with the systemic conditions at the root of individual misery.

Organizational members develop rationale for their activities that do not conflict with the interests of other actors and agencies who have power with respect to their organization. Activity is framed in ways that will work within the goals determined by powerful agents within the organization's system. For example, when respondents blame individuals for development problems, they project a view that does not question the role of the current government administration in power. Some types of concerns may be too controversial to be addressed, if an organization needs

to be supported by government institutions either as donors or recipients. Some issues could upset the equilibrium in a society by suggesting structural changes to an economic or political system. This research shows that none of the studied organizational groups perceive their activity in a manner that is antithetical to their larger system of interests. While respondents may acknowledge structural problems in a system, they must work within an organization that needs to function and survive itself within particular systems of its own.

UNFPA participants, who are the most system-oriented of the respondents interviewed, only addresses these structural issues at the invitation of recipient governments; thus, they work within the administrative system of their recipient. While problems may not be seen as belonging to individuals, the only systemic problems to be corrected may be those acknowledged by recipient actors established in power. Problems to be addressed with development activity are defined mutually by the focal organization and recipient.

USAID and PCS, like UNFPA, must also work within governmental constraints. Donor governments in bilateral (or multi-bilateral) arrangements must be acceptable to the recipient governments for the project to be permitted entry, while recipient environments must be acceptable to the donor governments for the project to be initiated at all. Problems are defined between the focal organization and a government donor in this case, with the expressed approval of governments in recipient environments.

While IPPFWHR and Oxfam America must also be permitted into recipient domains by political powers, they do not have to respond directly to recipient governments as the other two organizations do. However, even Oxfam America cannot pursue a broad systemic vision of organizational activity, although informants display this concern when describing the roots of problems they see themselves as addressing. Pursuing these ends

at an individual level, members of this organization do not believe that they interfere in other communities' power struggles. Thus, these informants promote individual empowerment as a basic goal but do not acknowledge responsibility for, or see themselves as interfering in, radical structural changes which may result.

Some IPPFWHR informants define their goals in terms of gendered justice, allowing a set of principles to guide their organizational vision. Their projects, however, encounter opposition in audience environs, opposition that recipients must face.

In this chapter, I have presented responses concerning organizational activity across the four groups of development practitioners. These descriptions demonstrate that particular patterns of emphases can be located within organizational boundaries. At this point, I suggest that interpretations of organizational activity tend to be shared by groups within organizations, and that a complementary set of interpretations is shared among women in this particular field. How trends within organizations may fit their systemic contexts will be gradually introduced throughout subsequent chapters, and addressed further in chapter eleven.

Interpretations of organizational activity are intertwined with assumptions about the development process, and with perceptions of the problems the organizational participants see themselves as addressing. Participants' beliefs about organizational activity underlie the types of projects constructed to address audience environments. Audience image and assumptions about the communication process are also believed to contribute to the production of development communication, and will be considered next.

## VIII. INTERPRETATIONS OF AUDIENCE

### A. Relevance of Audience Image

Audience imagery is an integral consideration in the production of development communication. IEC projects attempt to address particular groups of persons with development messages. Who participants believe they want to address influences project decisions, such as the type of medium to use, content and style of message to project, and how often to project that message. A decision concerning how to construct a particular project is tied to who that project is attempting to reach. Participants' images of their audience environment are an important domain to explore in order to understand development communication as a set of organizational processes.

The audience environment needs to be distinguished from a recipient environment, the latter representing the institutions and persons directly receiving financial and informational input to implement projects. The audience is conceptually removed from a recipient organization, comprising the group of persons organizational activity aims to address. The "audience" refers to the group of persons a helping institution wants to help and believes it is helping, while the "recipient" refers to the organization responsible for facilitating focal organization energies (financial, informational and personnel) to that end.

According to mass media industry studies, audiences are negotiated within and between organizational power structures. The production process, within which audiences are created and produced, is embedded within the social and political-economic structure of an organization. This structure delineates formal

decision making mechanisms through which the organizational participants interact with others in the production of development communication. Interactions within rule-bound structures designate the degree to which audiences are constructed by actors within an organization, or produced by internal actors in consultation with others outside the organizations. External factors may constrain and direct organizational expectations of audiences, while internal expectations may influence images produced by individual project officers in their production of communication packages.

Critical interpretive work informs us that not all images carry equal weight in an organization. Each participant may have distinctive ideas about which audience his or her organization ought to be addressing, and those ideas may contrast with the audiences the organization actually is seen as addressing in project activity. These differences between ideal and operational audiences (both established within the perceptive realm of participants) may point to some of the external factors and expectations that affect the production of audience images in communication projects. Whether audience image is considered to be negotiated between a focal organization and its recipient, or its donors, or not related to external conditions at all, will be explored.

Helping institutions construct particular audiences they believe they ought to address and are addressing with their resources. Resources must be directed toward some external environment in order for a focal organization to be able to classify itself as a helping institution. An international development institution must be channeling resources toward a developing country to qualify as a development organization among its peers and to a donor environment. Part of extending resources involves targeting a particular group of persons to receive the benefits of these resources. An image of the ultimate beneficiaries, or the persons to be helped by the development organization, is

constructed by organizational members as they visualize the types of problems they see themselves as addressing.

International development organizations address problems of human rights, adhering to broad principles, and problems of local community needs, concerning themselves with individuals' problems that can be addressed through communicative interventions. The particular distinctions that are made to categorize audiences, whether as the poor or as married women for instance, are the types of decisions that characterize participants' constructions of their audience image.

The production of development communication depends upon practitioners' audience image; how that audience is characterized is reflected in the type of project visualized. From the perspective of the audience, whom that project reaches depends more on the channel used and on social networks than on who a development participant may intend to reach. For example, televised messages reach a viewing public, not just "youth" or "men." However, expectations of audiences become integrated into the shaping of an IEC project.

Audience image, once formulated, can be thought of as reinforcing stereotypes through campaign messages, or as abolishing stereotypes by offering alternative role models to audience members. Some development participants fear that reinforcing traditional stereotypes of men and women may have detrimental effects in the long run. An internal controversy in IPPFWHR juxtaposes those who encourage the use of "sexual stereotypes to market condom ads," against those who would like images of women to be more "participative," and "empowering," and not just as "uteruses that can get pregnant." There appears to be a gender division in this controversy, with women arguing for careful consideration of the images projected to audiences.

UNFPA also talks "about the promotion of the position of women," and sees "the role UNFPA might play" as "promoting primary school" education. Whether one wants to maintain an



existing social order while changing one behavior within that order, like increasing the use of condoms, or one wants to facilitate broad change, such as "empowering" women, depends on one's ideological vision of organizational activity.

Organizational activity, it may be recalled, may be designed to alter particular individual characteristics of an audience or to alter the normative and structural fabric of an audience environment. Projects of the former type tend to attempt to achieve short term goals, such as increasing the number of women using IUDs in a given area. A project working towards a long-term goal, instead of encouraging a particular behavior change, may attempt to institutionalize an educational subject such as family planning in order to make birth control more acceptable in an audience domain.

The achievement of short-term goals may come at the price of a reliance on existing stereotypes to convince people that they must change one condition in their lives. Altering existing normative belief patterns is a much slower process, and not considered a particularly effective way of quickly changing behavior patterns. However, if an organization wants to change systemic level concerns, such as status bestowed to women as a result of their childbearing and not their professional accomplishments, an attempt needs to be made to reverse traditional stereotypes.

The construction of audience image is an important consideration in the production of IEC projects. Project activity is tailored to fit the image held by participants of an audience domain. Participants interpret an audience on many levels, including an encoded, or theoretical level and an analytic, or operational level. Encoded audiences serve as an explanatory resource for organizational participants. For this study, respondents were asked to describe their "beneficiaries," in order to reveal this encoded dimension of audience image. Analytic audiences refer to those groups produced by members of an

organization in descriptions of projects and in the collection of project data. Respondents were asked to describe audiences in their project activity to determine what distinctions are made when constructing empirical audiences.

Images of encoded audiences will be explored, in addition to images of analytic audiences. Following these discussions of interpretive understandings of audiences, I will explore considerations entering into the formation of audience image within the organizations studied.

## B. Encoded Audience Constructions

Images of encoded audiences or beneficiaries entail beliefs about which group of persons needs to be helped. The constructed beneficiary of an organization's efforts is tied to the type of problem participants believe they are addressing. Most of the respondents in this study were able to describe a "typical beneficiary" (N=29). Others listed several types of beneficiaries they saw themselves as addressing.

Responses ranged from those who perceived their ultimate beneficiary as all of humanity, to those describing developing nations, direct recipient institutions, or stratified communities distinguished by particular individual characteristics.

When activity is described as a global concern that would "benefit everybody," beneficiaries are seen as humans all over the world. Family planning, in this orientation, is perceived as a human right of all persons, and it is the job of these development organizations to promote this right and to provide access to services. To see a beneficiary as the world entails seeing an organization's activities as a global concern. At this level, an encoded audience refers to a broad category of human beings.

Beneficiaries seen as developing countries entail using national distinctions. One UNFPA member, for example, said that her organization was "trying to have not just one gender, but every group and all economic strata" be addressed, to benefit "developing countries." This notion of encoded audience ties into a broad vision of organizational activity: as a development organization, the concern is to distribute resources to those countries which are not as developed as others. Since these types of discussions typically refer to nations as either developing or developed, rather than as local communities for instance, using national distinctions to construct an encoded audience fits within a traditional notion of development as a national process to be encouraged by actors in the international community.

Recipient organizations are perceived by other informants as their ultimate beneficiary. Instead of focusing on broad humanitarian consequences of their work or on national development goals, these respondents visualize themselves as helping those groups in direct contact with their own organization: "the people themselves who design the projects." The encoded audience is thus restricted to those formal groups with whom their organizations are directly involved; this implies a more localized vision of a beneficiary than the conceptions outlined above.

Finally, many respondents point to characteristics of local communities when describing the beneficiary they hope to address through project activity. Respondents distinguish these communities describing shared characteristics, such as people who are "low-income" who "need family planning," or are "women of reproductive age." This level of interpretation refers to the individual characteristics of community members that some participants use when distinguishing an encoded audience.

Table 6 illustrates how respondents of each organization perceive their beneficiary. Each informant was coded as to whether or not he or she explicitly referred to their beneficiaries

as all of humanity, as developing countries, as recipients, or as stratified audience communities. They could refer to more than one category of beneficiary in their answers.

Table 6  
Perceived Beneficiaries

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	OXFAM AMERICA
Humanity	0	4	0	0
Developing Country	2	6	1	0
Recipient	4	0	0	5
Audience Community	7	3	7	4

UNFPA respondents tend to perceive their beneficiaries either as all of humanity or as developing countries. The beneficiary "ends up being practically everybody" when "society as a whole is benefitting." These beneficiaries are often seen as closely aligned in UNFPA discussions. For example, one respondent believes that "everybody benefits. Even you and I benefit . . . [but] the first beneficiary should be the Third World." Two-thirds of these informants adhere to a vision of developing countries as their ultimate beneficiary, thus subscribing to a model of development that characterizes problems as belonging to nations with comparatively less resources than other nations. This explanatory model assumes that

when rapid development takes place, it increases fertility and reduces mortality. The concept of nation-state is stronger now than two hundred and fifty years ago, and the scale of the problem of population never before as now.

The country as a whole benefits from attention to population concerns, "not just one gender, but every group, and all economic strata." Members of this organization are much more likely to construct an encoded audience as a developing nation than are members of the other organizations studied.

One-third of the UNFPA respondents believe that particular targeted audiences are their ultimate beneficiary. Two focus on "women"; in that while "target groups are getting more varied and larger, there is a lot of emphasis and money in focusing just on the women at risk"; and another states that the "immediate beneficiary . . . is the mother and child, . . . then that is good for societal production, productivity, and for society." Another informant believes that within countries, UNFPA activities benefit "the poorest of the poor, the neediest of the needy, whether in rural areas or urban areas."

Two of the three members of the USAID Office of Population expect to benefit "women of reproductive age, between fifteen and forty-nine." As one says, "that's our target audience . . . [and] in addition, we are targeting youth." The other replies that recipients, or "the various people we work with: . . . universities, women's groups, church groups, market research organizations, [and] various ministries" constitute their beneficiary.

Of the six PCS members, five believe their beneficiaries to be the audiences their activity addresses. Noted are "teenagers and then married couples"; "mothers and children"; "women who care about family planning"; and "potential users." Half of this group also describe recipients, such as health workers trained directly through their efforts, and other "institutions we work with . . .

[such as] ministries, research groups and media groups." Two of the six PCS members also mention that members of countries ("citizens of such-and-such countries") benefit from their activities.

Oxfam America respondents follow a similar pattern of response to that of USAID and PCS respondents. Five of these informants refer to recipients and four to local communities when discussing beneficiaries of their efforts. In terms of their local community beneficiaries, one project officer believes that in his organization they "resist the notion of stereotyping at all in the Third World, because basically it can't be done." These local communities tend to be described as poor areas, but with no further descriptors that may be deemed as falling into detrimental stereotypes. "The poorest of the poor" are their beneficiaries, in that "Oxfam's niche is neglected areas." One director explains in detail that while Oxfam America "is better than most at reaching really poor places," they are not benefitting "the equivalent of the homeless . . . [who are] totally unorganized, and in that sense, unreachable." Instead, their beneficiaries are community members who "are ready to do something for themselves on their own and have the basic ability to do that."

Apart from helping "peasants," some Oxfam America respondents believe their beneficiary to be their direct recipient.

We often have a partnership with another NGO [Non-governmental organization] in a country, and it's through them that the benefits trickle down. So the beneficiaries are the people connected with these NGOs.

The beneficiaries, another confirms, are "the people themselves who design the projects"; the "local cooperatives," or "people that are actually working on the projects" others reply. The beneficiaries are those working with "a small project," another

director adds, that "makes a big difference." Encoded audiences within USAID/PCS and Oxfam America refer to particular audience communities, as well as to recipient organizations.

Seven IPPFWHR informants describe particular communities of individuals when asked to name their beneficiaries. They see themselves as helping people "from having unwanted pregnancies," and people "with limited resources" who do not "have access to private doctors." Poverty is a predominant theme in their discussions of their beneficiaries: one informant claims that "IPPF's mandate is to provide free or subsidized service to the poor"; also, the "typical beneficiary is a person who doesn't have access to a private doctor, usually always low-income." Others discuss familial characteristics of their audience, emphasizing the maternal roles some women play. Teenagers are also mentioned in descriptions of the target group benefitting from IPPFWHR activity. Only one respondent in this group mentioned developing countries as a whole benefitting, when governments improved upon their own services as a result of IPPFWHR encouragement and training. In sum, these informants tend not to consider national distinctions and recipient organizations, but to focus on audience characteristics within their constructions of encoded audiences.

When constructing an audience as a particular community of individuals, respondents stratify this group in a number of different ways. Communities are distinguished in terms of gender, familial status, marital status, age, economic status or geographical location.

Oxfam America and IPPFWHR informants tend to distinguish their beneficiaries in economic — "the poorest of the poor" — and geographic — rural and urban — categories. Both groups describe their beneficiary as poor and from rural areas. IPPFWHR and Oxfam America members see themselves as helping communities that are resource poor. Neither of these distinctions tend to be used by USAID, PCS or UNFPA members.

USAID and PCS respondents, on the other hand, perceive their encoded audience in demographic terms, such as through gender, familial and marital status, and age categorizations. Encoded audiences are distinguished as either men or women; as families, mothers and children, and married couples; or as young persons. For example, beneficiaries are categorized as "women of reproductive age and their children," and as men who become "more responsible [family planning] acceptors." Audience communities are stratified in categories marking individual demographic characteristics. This pattern corresponds with this group's tendency to focus on health issues, and demographically defined needy groups.

UNFPA and IPPFWHR respondents also tend to use familial and gender distinctions to characterize their beneficiaries. For example, one IPPFWHR member describes their typical beneficiary as "every single mother and every single son," and another, as "any woman who needs family planning." One UNFPA informant believes that "women should be one of the main beneficiaries." These respondents share the assumption that problems needing to be addressed are held by women and families.

A marketing orientation involves targeting communities of individuals distinguished by particular characteristics. The types of distinctions used are a consequence of assumptions made about the nature of the problem and of the people believed to hold that problem. To distinguish an encoded audience through marital or familial status is to assume that these persons constitute the community deserving family planning resources, as opposed to unmarried, yet potentially sexually active, persons. Targeting gender groups assumes that particular aspects of birth control ought to be within the domain of men or women, or that one or the other of these genders ought to be involved in decisions relating to population issues. Youth as a particular focus also



characterizes a demographic delineation of a group of persons with a problem.

These types of categories allow a practitioner to target a campaign for a particular defined audience. USAID/PCS members tend to discuss audiences as "target" groups, much as commercial advertisers do. As one PCS project officer expressed: "one of our challenges is to get more specific target audiences." Commercial surveys tend to chart media use patterns, attitudes, and other such characteristics across persons with different age, gender, familial status, income and educational levels, to name just a few distinctions. USAID/PCS and UNFPA tend to use these demographic categories when describing their encoded audience. As Frank and Greenberg (1980) note, other distinctions could be made of media audiences, such as their leisure activities. Using demographic categories to describe encoded audiences, though, lends credibility to the idea that these groups have health problems, by reflecting the same demographic categorizations used by public health officials and the medical community. USAID/PCS informants subscribe to this health model: for example, one member advocates "tap[ping] successful family planning programs, [to] save the lives of mothers [and to] save the lives of children." Demographic distinctions lend themselves to serving health marketing orientations.

Constructing an encoded audience as the 'poor' makes it difficult to target an audience with traditional means. Although income is a category often used to describe Western media audiences, those who are relatively less fortunate are not often paid much attention to by Western commercial sponsors. To consider a resource poor group, or even a rural group, as an audience to address makes certain project decisions more difficult. Poor persons in developing countries tend not to have access to television, or to health services. Media campaigns are then restricted to less politically attractive media (like radio). Also, success may not be observed empirically if problems are a result

of systemic conditions, and not of particular individual characteristics. For example, if women are not contracepting because they have no access to products to do so, a communication campaign attempting to change their behavior will not be able to achieve its desired effect. Projects attempting to change individual characteristics tend not to do well with poor audiences, in that poverty related problems may be a consequence of structural rather than individual conditions.

Oxfam America and IPPFWHR respondents focus on the economically disadvantaged in their descriptions of encoded audiences. Although they concentrate on helping resource poor individuals, they acknowledge that poverty may be a function of systemic conditions and distribution:

People of limited resources — not only financial, [but also] services — [are our beneficiaries.] . . . It is hard in the developing world because of the external debt problem. Budgets are cut all over the place, and in family planning . . . that's the first one that's out.

More general visions of an encoded audience fit within justice orientations to development. Participants who perceive beneficiaries as all developing countries, or as all of humanity, advocate activity for the sake of defined principles. UNFPA is the only organization in this study to subscribe to this model. As one informant describes the beneficiary of UNFPA efforts:

It benefits everybody, but in different ways. If you are a family planning acceptor, there's control over your reproduction, instead of leaving it to fate or somebody else to decide. It's a kind of freedom.

Freedom to control one's own body is seen as a humanitarian principle needing protection and promotion in developing countries. This orientation tends not to categorize individuals, in

contrast to marketing endeavors that distinguish communities of individuals as target audiences.

While there do appear to be notable differences across the organizations studied, these constructions do not appear to vary with functional position or gender of the respondents. When comparing responses across functional positions, there appears to be negligible variation in their descriptions of beneficiaries (no significant difference at  $p < .05$ , using Pearson's correlations). Nor does gender as a respondent characteristic correlate strongly with these particular constructions. Images of encoded audiences appear to be less a function of the gender or of the functional position of a respondent than of an organizational affiliation.

### C. Analytic Audience Constructions

Encoded audiences are constructed in organizational discussions explaining who constitutes an ultimate beneficiary of activity. These explanations justify an organizational *raison d'être*. In more concrete terms, analytic audiences are constructed in conversations about specific project activity. An analytic audience is produced in project activity, as information is gathered and projects are designed to reach particular groups of people. Respondents were asked to describe their organization's current IEC projects. Once they had given these accounts, they were asked to describe the audiences each project was attempting to address. Analytic audiences are considered to be more intermediary in nature, whereas encoded audiences represent long-range, ultimate beneficiaries of development efforts. Some respondents were not able to describe their analytic audiences (two persons from UNFPA and four persons from Oxfam America), while others listed more than one group for each project.

In table 7, I characterize the different audiences mentioned in those project descriptions:

**Table 7**  
**Inventory of Audiences Mentioned In Project Descriptions**

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	OXFAM AMERICA
Potential Family Planning Users			2	
Men Only	2	1		
Women Only				2
Men and Women	3	2	1	
Married Couples	3	2		
Youth	6	4	4	
Poor Women			1	3
Opinion Leaders	1			
Health Workers	1	1		1
Rural Population			1	

Like encoded audiences, analytic audiences may be distinguished in demographic terms, such as gender, age, marital or economic categories. Other types of distinctions are also used: audiences may be described as potential family planning users, as opinion leaders, or as being from rural areas. Health workers constitute another type of audience, referring to project activity aimed at changing individuals within a health structure.

#### Gender Distinctions

Many respondents distinguish their analytic audience in gender specific terms. A few USAID/PCS members and one UNFPA member describe projects targeting just men, while only one Oxfam America informant describes a project for just women, with no further descriptors. Advocating a focus on men in the field of family planning is a relatively new concept in population

control projects. Emphasizing that projects explicitly address both men and women implies that men are not usually considered as an audience but that they warrant some attention. One UNFPA informant finds that

Men are never taught that women have a right to their own bodies. AIDS is . . . beginning to teach men that there is a consequence to what they do with their penises.

Including men as a target group has become more popular, though usually in campaigns also aimed at women. One woman from UNFPA summarizes this trend: "The issue of population twenty years ago was targeting women. . . . In the last ten years, with female leadership [of UNFPA], we look at both, particularly men."

#### Marital Distinctions

Another conceptualization of audiences involves addressing "married" heterosexual couples, as described by USAID/PCS members and UNFPA members. As one UNFPA man remarks: "we encourage governments to give attention to couples that have just gotten married." In his experience with domestic public education, he believes that newlyweds are a group in need of family planning information.

This analytic audience comprises a less controversial group than unmarried couples, who may also be sexually active and thus "potential family planning users," but not deemed to be in a legitimate union in certain communities. Only IPPFWHR informants use such a broad, inclusive categorization of their analytic audience. The tendency to describe married individuals as an appropriate target audience may enable a group to appease donor institutions, or an attitudinal climate of recipient environs.

### Age Distinctions

Many informants describe youth as their analytic audience. This focus on "young people," according to one IPPFWHR member, is "an obvious target . . . [because they are] a sexually active population." "Youth," however, is a controversial audience to address. One member of the USAID Population Office carefully defines this group as "young adults." He believes that their organization "would get in trouble with Congress if [they] worked with kids or adolescents. . . . [This has] been a problem ever since Reagan."

Another IPPFWHR informant reveals that "over the last two years we had to refocus, because USAID no longer allows us to use funds for teenagers and that's where we got those funds from." IPPFWHR respondents, though, perceive themselves as focusing on this group alone, in that "other donors usually don't want to work with adolescents." Many respondents did feel that this was a group that needed attention, and often mentioned this group in project descriptions. Despite the controversial status of this group, it is described as an audience by USAID, PCS, UNFPA and IPPFWHR members.

Although these groups share in their attention to youth as an audience, they differ in their messages projected to this group: IPPFWHR projects typically encourage 'responsible' behavior, such as visiting clinics and using birth control; PCS projects tend to sponsor musical messages encouraging young adults to "wait" and not rush into sexual activity; while UNFPA programs generally contribute to formal sexual education for young adults. A 1988 USAID evaluation of PCS activity finds that sexual responsibility is "rightly perceived" by "young adults" as "a need to reflect on whether to engage in sexual activity," and "to postpone sex until they are more mature." It is not just that youth is a category of audience considered by many development organizations, but what aspect of this group needs attention that separates these organizational perceptions.

### Economic Distinctions

In keeping with Oxfam America's focus on the economically disadvantaged, its members tend to describe their audiences as "poor women," rather than as "uneducated women" or "youth," for example. This may be in part due to the nature of the projects they implement, which are not all directly "family planning" oriented.

Some IPPFWHR respondents also emphasize economic distinctions. One IPPFWHR member believes that poor women are an important audience to address, in that "women with resources don't have to worry . . . [because they] have control of their lives . . . [but] low income women don't have control over that." Another finds, though, that they ought not "distribute for free. . . . We think it's better to charge them a little bit to get them to think they are getting a better service. It's psychological." By focusing on the resource poor, both IPPFWHR and Oxfam America representatives see themselves as attempting to empower individuals to be able to control aspects of their lives that are constrained by structural conditions. If women do not have access to health facilities because they are poor, programs providing this access would allow the economically disadvantaged to have the same opportunities as those who are more fortunate.

### Other Distinctions

Other distinctions also underlie the particular assumptions made about audiences addressed through project activity. To frame an audience as a set of 'opinion leaders' for example subscribes to a particular model of behavior flow. This theory suggests that opinion leaders are the first set of persons to adopt a particular behavior, and that they then convince the majority of the group to follow suit. The "laggards" are the last to accept the suggested adaptation. Only one PCS member explicitly uses this framework when discussing audiences.

By visualizing health workers as an audience, informants acknowledge their commitment to changing elements of a health care system. Members of USAID/PCS, UNFPA and Oxfam America each mentioned health workers as audiences they addressed in project activity.

Constructions of analytic audiences emphasize different characteristics. Oxfam America respondents designate the resource poor as their audience, whereas IPPFWHR respondents describe potential family planning users. The former group stratifies their audience in relation to economic distinctions; the latter, in relation to marketed products and ideas. Both USAID/PCS and UNFPA groups of respondents construct gendered categories emphasizing marital distinctions, thus focusing on legitimate sexual unions. USAID/PCS, UNFPA and IPPFWHR's focus on youth provides an example of a constructed audience whose categorization is shared, yet described in distinctive ways. Members of USAID/PCS and UNFPA construct analytic audiences that tend to perpetuate noncontroversial stereotypes, of married couples seeking birth control information and youth needing to be educated to abstain. Some IPPFWHR respondents, on the other hand, describe youth and other potential users in ways that imply that they risk inducing opposition to their efforts; one informant is even producing publications for their recipients to use when facing such opposition. In contrast, Oxfam America informants see themselves as addressing an analytic audience (the poor) that other agencies neglect.

#### D. Audience Image Formation

Audiences are not entirely a product of an individual practitioner's visions, nor are they completely conceptualized within organizations as a matter of course. Images of an audience



are negotiated within power structures both within organizations, and between focal organizations and other organizations. Separate from each informant's own vision of an encoded audience is an analytic audience; the latter group is discussed by participants as they operationalize constructs in their descriptions of their project implementation plans.

Respondents were asked how audiences were determined in the production of IEC projects. Some mentioned donor involvement in these matters, and others mentioned recipient involvement. The following figure characterizes whether decisions about audiences were perceived as belonging to focal organizations alone, or as being a product of a negotiation between the focal organization and its recipient environment, or between the focal organization and its donor environment.

Figure 3  
Audiences Defined Among Focal Organization,  
Donor Environment and Recipient Environment

AUDIENCES NEGOTIATED WITH		
	DONOR ENVIRONMENT	
RECIPIENT ENVIRONMENT	No	Yes
No	OXFAM AMERICA	USAID/PCS
Yes	UNFPA IPPFWHR	

None of the organizations studied constructs its analytic audience in consultation with both donors and recipients. However, Oxfam America is placed in the opposite cell, in that these respondents perceive audience decisions as a product of

internal discussion. To some extent, these informants rhetorically express the idea that audiences, or those in need, choose themselves, but others within Oxfam America point to a number of channels projects must go through in order to be approved and to receive consideration. When conceptualizing an intermediate level of audience for project activity, donors are not consulted; nor do recipients have any formal channels for negotiating audiences.

In contrast to Oxfam America, USAID representatives are quite involved in discussions about analytic audiences with PCS members. Target audiences must be approved within project review documents by members of the USAID Office of Population. Since funds are channeled to grantees on a case by case basis, operationalizations of audiences are reviewed in each project. PCS informants, however, see themselves as responsible for designing the actual project, even if donor agents are involved in approving and discussing the audience. Recipients, though, are not involved in this negotiation.

In comparison with PCS, both UNFPA and IPPFWHR construct their analytic audiences with recipients but not with donors. IPPFWHR has many donors, only a small percentage of whom are involved in such discussions, when they restrict their funds to particular programs. For the most part, UNFPA donors do not restrict their funds, leaving these organizational members free to determine their own project characteristics. But while these two organizations do not appear to consult their donors, they are tied to their recipients in determining these images. UNFPA only addresses problems and designs projects with the consent of recipient governments and institutions. IPPFWHR respondents feel even more restricted by their recipients, in that they have no authority to reject operational visions of audiences they deem inappropriate.

### 1. Consequences of Negotiation on Audience Image

Negotiations within power structures may have particular consequences on the audience images constructed. Contrasting the images held among participants in the four organizations studied reveals some connections between organizational types, each with their own particular set of negotiations, and audience constructions.

By not acknowledging any negotiation outside of its boundaries, Oxfam America informants believe they alone determine their audiences. This presumed autonomy leaves project managers free to address the resource poor as an analytic audience. Participants, therefore, can see themselves as addressing systemic concerns, such as poverty, even if they do so by helping individual members of a community. These respondents see themselves as helping poor individuals in local communities, without seeing themselves as interfering in, or being responsible for, systemic conditions.

As a product of negotiation between PCS and its donors, audience image is restricted to those constructions deemed acceptable to the two agencies. Projects target specific audiences so that participants can observe and measure 'progress' as a result of their intervention. There is an implicit pressure within PCS and USAID to demonstrate that their programs are 'successful,' meaning that a certain group of individuals has changed some particular characteristic in a predicted direction. Audiences are constructed in categories that can be measured in quantitative surveys so that success can be estimated and reported. This type of imagery contrasts with the construction of ultimate beneficiaries as all of humanity, which would be difficult to measure over time. USAID and PCS informants tend to use health considerations when describing their audience. Child spacing, for example, is introduced conceptually to audiences and other publics as beneficial to the health of mothers and children. Constructions presenting population issues as a matter of health

and audiences as needing help to improve their general health conditions may attract less attention from pro-life advocates than family planning activities would.

Both IPPFWHR and UNFPA groups believe that their analytic audiences are determined between themselves and their recipients. UNFPA respondents also describe their encoded audiences as developing countries, whose government representatives are in direct contact with UNFPA officials. For example, these government recipients take part in determining and approving the chosen analytic audiences, who are often described by UNFPA participants along classical demographic distinctions that are also popular among USAID/PCS informants.

Without donor involvement, IPPFWHR members are the only respondents in this sample who describe their analytic audience as 'potential family planning users.' However, these informants also tend to follow marketing distinctions when describing their encoded and analytic audiences. An IPPFWHR project officer with a background in advertising explains that she "tells" recipient organizations to "use the marketing people, because they *know* the population." Although analytic audiences tend to be classified in marketing terms, these audiences are not framed as individuals with particular health problems. Instead, economic frames are more likely to be used by IPPFWHR informants as they describe their audience as the resource poor.

Conceptualizing audiences with health problems allows organizational members to pursue potentially less controversial orientations. USAID/PCS and IPPFWHR respondents use health related distinctions in the face of donor and recipient sensitivity to population control issues. Both USAID/PCS and UNFPA informants also use demographic distinctions understood as 'scientific,' and therefore acceptable to donor and recipient governments. Being less tied to governmental institutions as donors or as recipients, IPPFWHR and Oxfam America members can see themselves as addressing resource poor audiences, a

potentially more controversial group than people with health deficiencies.

## 2. Audience Images for Non-audience Environments

Audience images are constructed within particular projects and as a part of an organization's expression of its self image to other publics. Development practitioners construct audiences not only to facilitate the implementation of project activity, but also to inform external constituencies that include existing resource holders and potential donors. These groups are addressed through "public relations" activities whereby audiences and projects are described in disseminated annual reports, brochures, news releases and other formal statements. Publications designed for non-audience environments are distinct from those produced communication packages directed toward analytic audiences in their form, distribution and intent. At the end of the interviews, respondents were asked to produce or explain written publications about their organization in order to explore their individual conceptions of encoded audiences in relation to formal organizational presentations.

In Oxfam America there is a great deal of conscious attention paid to constructing a particular image of audiences. These images are projected to the U.S. public, its pool of actual and potential donors. To this end, the education and outreach department publishes literature and organizes events that carefully orchestrate an audience image. "There's a real desire on our part not to use starving baby imagery." Instead, informants say that they try to promote "images of strength and dignity. We also show people working, [and] show images that people are not just helpless, hapless victims of disaster."

Many Oxfam America respondents verify this pattern of constructing audience "images of strength, dignity and integrity." These informants view other organizations that use "children crying and bloating bellies" as "exploitive." This organization

consciously tailors an image of its audience, given a set of ideals to educate and to appeal to its donor environment, the U.S. public. In its own public relations efforts, UNFPA has also begun to project particular images of its own activities and audiences to the U.S. public, in an attempt to counter perceived anti-United Nations press coverage in the 1980s. As one person explained: "the stuff that crops up in the Times doesn't just happen accidentally. We've got an ex-Times person working here, using network contacts." That the U.S. public may perceive the UNFPA negatively is a concern, given that this nation is a potential donor source.

The audience image that is expressed in the UNFPA 1988 annual report concentrates its attention on women as the "agents of change" in the development process. Executive Director Nafis Sadik writes that

Women are at the heart of development. They control most of the non-money economy (subsistence agriculture, bearing and raising children, domestic labour) and take an important part in the money economy (trading, the 'informal sector', wage employment). . . . Much of this work is unrecognized and those who do it can expect no support. Their health suffers, their work suffers, their children suffer. Development itself is held back as a result (1988: 7).

Population control is an important activity, according to this testimony, to invest in if other development pursuits are to be advanced. Sadik believes that family planning "is one of the most important investments, because it represents the freedom from which other freedoms flow" (1988: 7). As a publication largely intended for the donor community of government institutions, this annual report points to gender as a distinction to articulate audience concerns and needs. Without getting into more finely delineated classifications, such as poor rural women or young women with children, population concerns are addressed in a

broad sense. With this general orientation, population concerns are seen in this presentation as a global responsibility, yet government administrations are left room within this broad framework to interpret policies given their differing conditions and cultural expectations.

In its public relations exercises, the IPPFWHR produces an annual report describing their activities and intentions each year. A 1988 report characterizes an encoded audience as already desiring family planning services, but as constrained by a lack of services or of access to products and services. The IPPFWHR office expresses a need to continue efforts "to reach out to those who traditionally have had little access to family planning" (1988: 28) because, in part, the "fact remains that millions of women who do not want to become pregnant do not use effective family planning methods" (1988: 46). In this publication directed toward potential and actual donors, the audience is constructed as having a self-perceived need that should be filled, not as a group needing to be persuaded to use contraceptive methods. Family planning is then less a matter of advocacy, and more a matter of fulfilling pre-existing needs.

USAID/PCS informants appear to be less concerned with projecting an image of an audience with a self-defined need than those from IPPFWHR. In the 1988 Population Communication Services annual report, the overview states that

Everywhere more sophisticated communication strategies are now being used to recruit new users, encourage continued use, and to combat rumors and misinformation (1988: 3).

New users are being 'recruited' through communication campaigns, "reaching specific audiences with specific messages and materials designed to be effective with each group" (1988: 3). In this publication, which is not widely circulated beyond the

formally defined domains of USAID, PCS and recipient institutions, consumer marketing orientations are used to frame audiences as individuals in need of persuasion.

In their formal presentations, each of these organizations constructs particular images of activities and their intended audiences to non-audience publics. Encoded audiences described in annual reports may differ from respondents' perceptions of audiences described throughout the interviews. IPPFWHR's annual report presents an image of an audience needing and desiring family planning services, yet these respondents see themselves as convincing people to adopt new behaviors. In her contribution to the UNFPA annual report, Sadik emphasizes the importance of women as a primary audience to address, while informants from her organization held more broad and varied constructions of their audience. USAID/PCS informants share similar visions of their audience in their descriptions with those presented in their annual report. This compatibility may be due to the narrow circulation of their report; IPPFWHR and UNFPA respondents, in contrast, believe their annual reports are read by numerous and varied actual and potential donors. Oxfam America respondents believe they consciously portray audiences with strength and dignity in both their written publications for a donor community and in their projects implemented in audience environments. How this image is perpetuated in project activity is not as clearly articulated, however, as it is in the many documents circulated to potential and actual donors.



## IX. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS

The organizations in this study incorporate communication activity into their development projects. Development organizations offer help to audience environments through 'communication.' Participants in these organizations maintain varied interpretations of the communication process. These interpretations are framed by assumptions made about how communication operates in audience environments. Communication projects are designed to address constructed problems in audience environments through the transfer of information towards a particular end. Assumptions about how to affect a change in an audience environment through communication are linked to conceptualizations of who that audience is and what the problem is to be addressed. IEC, as it is known by practitioners of development communication, is one aspect of development activity designed to alleviate problematic conditions.

Development practitioners label these activities as IEC, or "Information, Education and Communication," in their publications and discussions of development communication. The boundaries defining these three categories, though, are not commonly understood, nor are they shared across the organizations studied. UNFPA materials define IEC activities as: public information, designed to inform audiences of population trends; population education, to stimulate study and discussion about population issues; and population communication, or the mobilization of support for population related activities (Sadik, 1984: 117). Population Communication Services discusses its own "IEC interventions" in documents, yet focuses on the communicative

aspects of their activity when explaining their mandate. Their annual report emphasizes that communication is the "vital part of family planning programs" (Population Communication Services Annual Report, 1988: 3). Neither Oxfam America nor IPPFWHR explicitly discuss IEC in their annual reports, although the former describes the transfer of information as a step toward empowering local communities, and the latter discusses public awareness about family planning as an aspect of their activity. Apart from publications, IPPFWHR respondents explicitly see themselves as using IEC in project activity. There is a general understanding among participants that IEC represents a code for development communication activity. However, how these activities are constructed varies in distinct patterns across the organizations studied.

Given the overall ideological intentions expressed by the participants, communication campaigns can be distinguished into three different types of project activity: development communication projects designed to inform an audience to change knowledge or skills, those designed to educate an audience to change attitudes, and those designed to persuade an audience to change behavior. Each of these categories carries with it a notion of the degree of influence a respondent believes a communicative intervention can have in an audience. This categorization of information, education and persuasion communication campaigns has been constructed from the patterns of narrative explanations offered in response to questions about project activity.

Some respondents describe communication as a transfer of information toward a group of individuals constituting an audience environment. As a result of the communicative intervention, these individual audience members become informed and, thereby, better able to deal with their own problematic situation. One example of this type of development communication would be a project designed to teach literacy skills: the implicit assumption being that this skill will enable

persons to improve their own standards of living. An organization operating in this orientation would train staff, supply information, and "set up links," leaving the audience to do "their own work." One practitioner explains that "people shouldn't be pushing certain methods . . . [they should] just present information and side effects and let them choose." Problems are addressed by informing individual audience members, who are then left to form their own opinions and decisions to act.

Other informants describe communication as an educative activity intended to address broad structural and normative problems. These projects are designed to alter the normative fabric or values of a community, by changing attitudes and policies within an audience environment. For example, installing human sexuality classes in a public education curriculum may create a more receptive environment for family planning. As one informant remarks, "we are talking about the position of women . . . by promoting primary school," and another specifies this act as "putting a chapter in a curriculum." The "whole thing," as another explains their project activity, is "education, exposure and education."

Others describe communicative interventions designed to motivate an audience to change behavior. A good project, one practitioner believes, can "move a person from knowledge to action." Projects are created to inspire individuals to change individual behavior to improve their personal conditions, such as encouraging persons to visit health clinics to acquire contraceptive devices. Communication should have "some impact on whatever behavior you are trying to change, . . . [and it] can change not only awareness."

Assumptions about what makes communication work are integrated into the construction of projects. These beliefs include how successful participants predict the communication process can be in affecting a change in an audience, what constitutes that success, and what types of change can be expected.

Interpretations of the communication process are explored in relation to the type of development communication activity participated in by the respondents.

Following a discussion of these beliefs about the communication process, I discuss assumptions made about communicative modes used in project activity. Projects may use a variety of channels to address their audiences. Respondents' assumptions about and uses of particular modes of communication are related to their beliefs about the communication process in general, as well as to their images of the type of audience and problem they are addressing.

#### A. Assumptions about the Communication Process

Development communication participants differ in their assumptions about the communication process. There are those who believe in the 'power of communication' to change an audience, and those who believe that audiences change themselves, given appropriate information. Also, some respondents differ in their beliefs about the degree to which audiences are malleable in response to communicative efforts. These general assumptions about communication as a process differ across the organizational contexts studied.

Respondents were asked how successful they believed IEC projects could be in affecting audiences. Almost all respondents had an answer to this question (n=32). Their answers ranged from an emphatic, unqualified "very"; to a qualified "very" (with an "it depends on . . ." continuation); to "mixed"; and to those who said "success" is difficult to measure. Combining the first two types of responses, most respondents did believe that communication could be successful in changing audiences. Table 8 displays the differences in this perception across the four organizations studied.

Table 8  
Belief in the Power of Communication to Change Audiences  
(N=32)

	USAID/PCS	IPPFWHR	UNFPA	Oxfam America
Belief that Communication Can Change Audiences	9	6	5	4
Totals	9	8	8	7

All of the USAID and PCS respondents expressed an enthusiastic belief that communication has the capacity to effect audiences: two-thirds gave an unqualified, enthusiastic response, while the other three who qualified their answers said that communication could be very successful if projects were well designed and researched. This finding is reflected in these respondents' answers to questions concerning what would make a good communication project. Two-thirds of the USAID and PCS informants believe that communication ought to address audience concerns, and can do so if projects are grounded in solid methodological research strategies.

USAID and PCS informants not only appear to be more likely to believe in the success of communication than other respondents, they also appear to be concerned with measuring that success. This was the only group, for example, to present me with an evaluation report of their activities. From the view of an Oxfam America participant: "Americans like tangible, concrete, according-to-a-time-line results, but that's not the way it works."

IPPFWHR informants share USAID and PCS's faith in the communication process. Of the eight answering this question

about communication's potential success, three members gave unqualified responses, another three qualified their nonetheless apparent enthusiasm, and the remaining two members expressed the belief that success rates are mixed. In order for an IEC project to succeed, these members believe that projects must be well designed and that previous demand must exist. As one informant asserts: "I don't think we can change peoples' minds at all. I think we end up attracting people who have always wanted to use our services."

When asked what would make a good communication project, IPPFWHR informants vary in their responses from stating concerns with local audience needs to a concern with services in local communities. Communication can work, according to these respondents, if projects address local audience concerns and provide services compatible with the communication message expressed to the audience.

Only one UNFPA member expresses no doubt at all that IEC could effect a target audience. Another four members think these projects could be successful given certain conditions. They believe that projects need to be well researched and planned, and they share IPPFWHR's hope for pre-existing demand among audience members. When asked what would make a good communication project, two-thirds of these respondents discuss the need to address audience concerns. Communication materials had been determined in a central office, where people tried "to convey the information they thought people needed to have . . . [but they] came away dissatisfied." Now, another informant explains, UNFPA tries "to avoid" choosing the wrong audience or medium by hiring consultants to provide "technical assistance" to recipient institutions.

Another UNFPA informant finds their real success to be in long-term "awareness creation." Attitudes in Asia had been opposed to population control, in that they thought "they would have less soldiers, and that certain ethnic groups were being

discriminated against"; but now, "you don't hear this argument any more in Asia." The remaining three respondents answering this question believe that success is not guaranteed and often difficult to measure.

Oxfam America informants are the least convinced that communication can be "successful" in effecting target audiences. Three respondents believe that results are mixed, and another finds that success is difficult to measure. Two members give qualified responses, stating that communication could be successful if projects were well designed, and audience members held a pre-existing demand. They also point to structural constraints, such as political and economic conditions, standing in the way of communication's affect on audiences. Only one member offers unqualified enthusiasm about communication, but his response is limited to projects attempting to change attitudes in the United States.

This belief in the power of communication to change an audience incorporates an assumption about the types of changes organizational activity can facilitate. As described previously, development communication can be seen as informing or educating audiences, implying that audiences are able to learn from communicative activity. Furthermore, others believe audiences can be persuaded not only to learn from communicated messages, but also to act in some suggested manner.

Although this question was not explicitly asked, seven respondents stated that communication is able to change audience behavior. Of this group, five were affiliated with USAID or PCS, one with UNFPA, and another with IPPFWHR.

For example, one PCS informant asserts that his organization is

not interested in knowledge change. . . . We fund projects so that behavior change is achieved. If a

project does not achieve behavior change, that is a non-project.

Later, he added that PCS has "a lot of projects to *prove* that mass media alone . . . can have a tremendous impact on behavior change. And we're proving that over and over again." A USAID Population Office representative recalls his experience as a graduate student, when people only talked about knowledge impact and were "cautious regarding behavior change"; now, he expands,

we routinely talk about behavior change. Everybody on Madison Avenue knows it affects behavior change, or they wouldn't spend so much on advertising.

This reasoning connecting large expenditures to audience effects is reiterated by another PCS member: "Why would all these multinational companies spend fifty to one hundred million dollars in advertising if it doesn't work?"

This faith in the power of communication takes on a "religious" quality in PCS. These respondents describe a publication with a large "P" on the cover that outlines their operating model of communication as a "process." Several members refer to this particular pamphlet as their "bible," perpetuating this religious metaphor. They see themselves in a "missionary" role, believing their job to be "to advocate for the profession of communication: that communication works."

These findings suggest that PCS informants are more likely than members of the other organizations studied to believe in the power of communication to change behavior in individual audience members. USAID and PCS interpretations of the communication process incorporate an assumption that their activity has the potential to influence and change audiences' behavior patterns.



In addition to responding to whether communication could be successful, informants were asked what makes a good communication project, in order to explore their beliefs as to what constitutes success. Success might be seen as achieved in relation to audiences, donors, or recipients, depending on one's frame of reference.

USAID and PCS representatives emphasize success in relation to an audience domain. One PCS member characterizes this concern that the "target audience, the channels, the messages: one has to be appropriate for the other." Projects should be "research based," another adds, so that you "know your audiences and what kinds of messages are going to reach your audience." Five of the six PCS respondents contribute this type of response; the remaining representative of this group points to recipients and referents, saying that "a good advisory board and people getting happy from [working on] the project" constitute a successful program. The three USAID Office of Population members concur with PCS's concern for the audience, pointing to "culturally sensitive" campaigns as the most successful; one adds that a project is also successful if other donors and recipients "want to be associated with it."

More than half of the UNFPA respondents agree with the former groups' concern with an audience. As one informant states: "obviously it has to address the concerns of the audience. . . . It not only has to respond to some interest, it has to be understood." Another member agrees, that qualitative audience research "is the most important thing." Reaching an audience constitutes success for most members of this group, but internal considerations bear weight for another third. "It's a question of providing the right people" one says; another values "good planning [and] a strategy to achieve objectives." In this organization, there is an expressed concern for internal management as well as audience considerations.

The theme of concern for audience beneficiaries is repeated by a majority of the IPPFWHR respondents. A good communication project "is persuasive of large numbers of the population," and should supply "a message that people can relate to" another adds. Two informants from this organization also point to the necessity of concomitant services in an audience environment: a successful project "has to be very well done, delivered, and go hand in hand with services." Finally, two also note internal management issues, such as pursuing projects that "will have the result you are expecting . . . depending on what the objective of the project is."

Similar to the other groups, Oxfam America respondents believe a good project responds to "people" or "villagers," who function both as audiences and as recipients in many cases. Some draw this group as direct recipients, when discussing the training of health workers; others describe this group as broad beneficiaries, considering "peoples' participation" to constitute success. Achieving program success, however, is not an overarching objective within Oxfam America, since "it's hard to overcome a system with one project."

It appears that throughout these organizations participants emphasize audience characteristics when discussing what constitutes the success of a communication project. Each of these organizations can be characterized as functioning to benefit an audience, although the audiences and activities addressing them vary distinctly across the studied organizations.

Assumptions about the communication process may be grounded in individual characteristics of the respondents, such as position and educational experience, as well as within particular organizational contexts.

The functional position of a respondent may contribute to his or her belief in the power of communication. Three-quarters of the project managers interviewed (n=16) believe communication can be successful, while all of the directors agree.

Only about half of the editors, public relations personnel and fund-raisers concur with this optimism. Project officers were also more likely to discuss the need to research audiences and to be concerned with audience needs than were informants working in other capacities. Four of the seven persons expressing the belief that communication can change behavior were project officers, and another a director of project activity.

Other characteristics also appear to predict assumptions about communication. In part, participants with educational experience in communication are more likely than other participants to believe in its power to affect audiences. Five of the eight respondents with a communication background (four in social science and four in production) believe that communication can change behavior, compared to two of the remaining twenty-eight respondents with other educational backgrounds who also expressed this belief. This particular assumption may be a function of position and educational experience, but is perpetuated mostly within the USAID and PCS environs.

## B. Assumptions About Communicative Modes

Development communication projects use a variety of means to address their audiences. Participants maintain assumptions about the communicative modes used in their project activity. These beliefs stem from their constructions of the communication process as a whole.

Although questions concerning mode preference were not explicitly asked, almost a third of the respondents point to a particular medium of communication they prefer to use in their IEC projects.

Two PCS informants describe their partiality to radio and television. As one of them explains: "The cost-effectiveness of tv

is incredible. . . . I just want to tell you this to impress you with the power of mass media alone."

Only one UNFPA member discusses the benefits of radio, while three others stress the importance of the interpersonal channel. One respondent understands that in the past the "U.N. went media happy," producing high-priced videos and films. However, she believes that "face to face is the most meaningful," and that interpersonal means are currently "very much funded by us." Another UNFPA member explains that while many other "donors have focused on mass media . . . we don't go for any of that. Those things are expensive and . . . don't always produce long-term results." Although one does not see immediate results, another respondent from this group prefers "population education" as a communicative activity: by working to change "attitudes about women . . . the next generation of leaders will be able to deal more effectively with population."

On the other hand, one UNFPA informant appears to be quite impressed with the mass media. In Angola, this person notes that radio is the "most accepted and effective means of communication." And, in stark contrast to most other UNFPA members, he believes that what "demonstrates the real power of the mass media" is the example of "Americans, being ready to elect one President and then a few months later turning around to vilify that man and vote for another."

IPPFWHR respondents point to benefits in both interpersonal and mass-mediated modes. Two members describe the importance of interpersonal modes, while another two point to the benefits of radio and television. One reason to use interpersonal channels, according to a representative, is that when "dealing with people's fears," which is "why people don't use family planning," fears are "not something you can deal with via radio or tv."

Only one Oxfam America member who has a communication production background expresses a preference for television. In

this discussion, he refers to an attempt to reach the U.S. public. Through television, which was "more successful than radio," a "national day of concern" was launched, which they "felt had an impact on the [U.S.] administration taking a harder stand on Khartoum." Print is also believed to be an important medium to address the U.S. public in addition to audiences in developing countries. One respondent believes that using print to teach literacy can "improve the nutritional situation" by "empowering" women with skills. Not all of the Oxfam America respondents share this fondness for mass-mediated channels though. A new member from Latin America expresses his opinion that radio would not be effective in local communities because it is "controlled by powerful economic interests."

In sum, USAID and PCS respondents tend to prefer mass media, while UNFPA respondents tend to prefer interpersonal channels. Informants from IPPFWHR and Oxfam America are more varied in their attitudes towards particular channels.

Respondents were asked to describe current IEC projects. Within these descriptions, channels used in project activity were recorded. Many respondents mentioned more than one mode in each activity, so each mode is listed. Lists of all of the channels mentioned by respondents in their project descriptions are presented below in table 9.

Table 9

Inventory of Channels Mentioned In Project Descriptions  
by Organization

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	OXFAM AMERICA
<b>MASS MEDIA</b>				
Television	5	1	5	
Radio	7	1	6	2
Records/Tapes	4			
Film	1			
Print	5		2	2
<b>INTERPERSONAL</b>				
Health Workers	1		1	1
Teachers-Schools	1	6		5
Local Theater	1			
Public Contests		1		
Counseling Center	1		1	
<b>COMBINATION</b>				
Videos-moderator				1
Telephone-counselor	3		1	
Totals	29	9	16	11

A majority of the channels listed in PCS projects fall within the category of mass media. These media encompass a variety of channels, including television, radio, records and tapes, film, and print. What little is done through interpersonal channels includes training of health workers, outreach education, traditional theaters, and a counseling center. The use of telephones provides a feedback mechanism, incorporating interpersonal responses to mass-mediated messages.

Along the lines of their expressed preference for interpersonal channels, most UNFPA channels involve interpersonal means, such as public and outreach education. This use of interpersonal channels is compatible with an internal avoidance of "technologically advanced systems"; the U.N., according to one UNFPA respondent, "is always a little behind in information systems. . . . [We are] the scribes instead of the computer nuts."

Like PCS, most IPPFWHR projects (81 percent) use mass media channels, including radio, television, and print. The three interpersonal channels mentioned in project descriptions include health workers and counselors. Oxfam America channels are more evenly split between mass and interpersonal modes, unlike the other organizations. Their use of radio and print channels is intended to work on a local community level, while television, on the other hand, they believe would only benefit the elite. Like UNFPA, many Oxfam America projects use "teachers" to educate local groups.

Preferences for particular channels underlie a broad set of assumptions about how communication affects audiences. Some practitioners of development communication share an assumption that interpersonal means are the best way to educate an audience. UNFPA respondents tend to prefer and to use both interpersonal modes, and to see themselves as wanting to educate audiences in order to change systemic conditions.

Oxfam America projects also tend to incorporate interpersonal modes of communication, in an attempt to inform individual audience members and thereby to "empower" them in the face of systemic inequities. To inform women about family planning services, for example, assumes that a demand already exists, such that women do not need to be persuaded, but to be given the information they desire. When Oxfam America respondents describe the use of mass-mediated channels in their projects, these means are implemented at a local community level.

Projects viewed as focusing on enduring change tend to use interpersonal modes of communication, attempting to inform or to educate an audience. This perspective follows a libertarian premise that people have the right to determine their own lives. People are seen as needing information that can be provided through communicative activity, but not as consumers who must change. The locus of control rests with audiences, not with the development organization.

Development communication projects intending to motivate behavior change tend to channel messages through the mass media. USAID, PCS and IPPFWHR respondents who want to change audience behavior describe mass-mediated efforts designed to effect quick, measurable changes in a target population. These participants point to the cost-effectiveness of mass media, in that organizations can reach more individuals with fewer organizational resources by using mass media than by using interpersonal channels.

Preference for mass media coincides with the types of advertising campaigns used by commercial sponsors in the United States' consumer marketing approaches. Beliefs in the power of communication and preferences for mass media may be a consequence of following interpretations framed by marketing concerns. Marketing as a framework for understanding the communication process assumes that communicative activity can change individual behavior if researched well. Underpinning this marketing construction is a set of assumptions concomitant with social behaviorism: that people are malleable in response to their environmental circumstances.

USAID/PCS constructions can be seen as fitting within this marketing perspective. There is an expressed enthusiasm for the power of mass media and predisposition that development organizations have the capacity to persuade audiences to change their behavior. This assumption is more hopeful than some of the academic literature on social marketing, which assumes that



audiences may learn from the mass media, but that behavior change requires continuous social reinforcement. This difference in assumptions marks one of the disparities between communication scholars and development practitioners concerning their beliefs in the power of communication.

An interpretation of development communication incorporates an understanding of the communicative process in relation to an audience domain. Respondents differ in their beliefs regarding the extent to which audiences may be susceptible to communicative efforts, and in their assumptions about how the communicative process works. Perspectives of communication activity not only presuppose assumptions about the communication process, but also beliefs concerning audiences and development activity. In the next chapter, these beliefs are integrated into the overarching interpretations of development communication that are described by the respondents.

## **X. INTERPRETATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION**

This chapter begins with respondents' descriptions of development communication constructions. These dimensions will then be discussed in reference to their associations with particular organizational affiliations of the respondents.

### **A. Descriptions of Development Communication Constructions**

An understanding of development communication incorporates interpretations of organizational activity, the communication process, and the audience to be addressed. Throughout the interviews, participants expressed perceptions of the particular development problems their organizational activity was seen as addressing, the audiences they wanted to help, and the role they believed communicative interventions played in this process. These dimensions represent respondents' 'verstehen' (Tompkins, 1990), or understanding of development communication as a process. As members of a helping institution, participants in international development organizations construct beliefs concerning the nature of the problem that they are addressing (activity), which groups deserve to be helped (audience), and the possible outcomes and processes that are facilitated (communication).

Development communication involves a particular organizational activity attempting to change a developing country audience through communicative interventions. This understanding of development communication offers three

theoretical dimensions along which to structure these constructions. First, conceptions of organizational activity are based upon understandings of development problems resulting from macro-structural conditions or individual deficits. Second, the audience to be addressed in a development communication campaign may be conceived of as a defined group of individuals, or on a broader level as all of humanity or society. Third, an understanding of development communication presupposes potential outcomes that practitioners attempt to achieve through implementing IEC projects: communication campaigns may be designed to transfer knowledge (information and skills), to change attitudes (values), or to alter behavior (motivation). These dimensions are interwoven into broad understandings of development communication. Each of these dimensions will be explored following informants' patterns of responses. It is recognized that other interpretations understood by participants in development communication who were not interviewed for this study may not be represented in these categories.

### 1. Activity

Practitioners may see themselves as acting to resolve development problems that originate in macro-structural or in individual deficiencies. On the one side, a lack of development may be seen as resulting from macro-structural conditions within communities, nations, or the global system. In this category of response, problems are not perceived as the fault of individuals, but as originating within the realm of society. Humans are not thought of as isolated individuals, but as social creatures inextricably woven into their social environment: individuals do not exist outside their social connections. It is not individuals who need help, it is society that needs to be transformed. The "population of the world" is of concern. For example, participants may want to change negative attitudes about working mothers.

Policies, making it difficult for mothers to take maternity leave and to keep their jobs, as well as normative constraints, labeling working women as bad mothers, are considered problematic.

In response to macro-structural conditions, development activity may address either humans on a broad level or individuals who suffer as a consequence of these structural inequalities. The oppressed groups are victims of political, economic and social domination, but may be addressed as individuals in order to be transformed or liberated from their problematic conditions. For example, "campaigns can be empowering and supportive of women needing to fight their husbands' resistance [to family planning] and build themselves up." In the context of this study, women and the resource poor are identified as the oppressed groups whose rights are most often exclaimed by respondents. Some informants view their activity as furthering the cause of women's rights ("women should be one of the main beneficiaries"), or the freedom of reproductive choice. Others believe they are addressing economic inequity to benefit the resource poor ("low-income" or "marginalized populations").

Other participants see their activity as addressing problems originating in individuals. For example, mothers may risk their health when they bear their children with narrow intervals of time between each child. Individuals may not use contraception because they fear health consequences if they do. These participants aim to address these types of problems, such as a "lack of knowledge or misconceptions" that inhibit "potential users." Problems are believed to be alleviated when individuals act in the manner suggested by the organization producing the communication project. Development may be seen either as a macro-structural phenomena, or as a process perpetuated by individuals.

## 2. Audience

Encoded audiences, or ultimate beneficiaries, are conceived in a number of ways, ranging from broad societal to individual levels. Development itself can be seen as a process to be perpetuated, ideally, for the sake of all humanity, so that "everybody benefits." Some participants believe that international development efforts ought to steer communities in beneficial directions (as development organizations define them) for the sake of the global good (to promote "global goals"). These participants construct their audience as a societal whole, not as a set of separate individual parts. Women's status in society can be improved, it is believed, by educating youth in their school systems. "It's a question of women's education," according to one informant. For the sake of humanity, society must change along particular paths suggested by members of international development organizations. In this category, participants see human beings as belonging to particular economic, political and social structures. Human nature is not individually determined, but instead it is nurtured within an environment.

On the other hand, some participants focus on individualistic properties of their audience, emphasizing marketing strategies that target individual audience members to motivate changes in their behavior. The metaphorical understanding underlying this orientation can be related to earlier writings comparing communication effects to a hypodermic needle. This needle is filled with a communicative message, then directed at an individual. As a result of that "shot," the individual is changed. This understanding of human nature perceives individuals as isolated units, rather than accounting for connections among individuals and their social, economic or political structures.

The audience with the problem to be addressed may be the individual members of the oppressed communities, who may not have some particular knowledge or skill, like literacy, possessed by members of other communities. Some participants see

themselves as operating on behalf of oppressed individuals, working to right the wrongs inflicted by dominant groups. Organizations then "address what communities think they need." The focus here is less on development as a process to be engaged in by nation-states, but more on local groups of individuals who are hurt by inequitable distributions of resources and opportunities. Thus, there is "a philosophy of working at the grass roots level" in order to benefit groups of individuals. Thus, there are many approaches to development work designed to address audiences as individuals, in addition to those intended to address broad societal groups.

### 3. Communication

Communicative interventions are designed to change knowledge, attitudes and behavior. These intended outcomes are not mutually exclusive, and some communication projects attempt to change more than one of the above attributes in an audience. Respondents did, however, tend to select one of the above categories in their descriptions of the communicative process and projects. For instance, some participants describe their efforts to transfer information or to teach skills. Communication can be seen as a process whereby oppressed individuals are informed, and then may choose to act on this information. The responsibility of the organization is seen as supplying information, but no more, given that "the demand exists previously." Communications is used to inform women, for example, about services and products, assuming existing need and desire among women, so that they do not need to be persuaded. Individuals learn to acquire new skills, and then may act to improve their own impoverished conditions.

The implicit assumption among those expressing this view is that if the correct information is transferred, individuals will become liberated, and thus able to conquer their oppressive

conditions, or at least be in a position to fight against them. In other words, communication is used to 'teach people how to fish,' rather than tell people they ought to fish, or improve people's attitudes about the usefulness of fishing. "We don't change people's minds at all: we end up attracting people who have always wanted to use our services." Given that "people have a right to choose which [contraceptive] method" to use, individuals are responsible for transforming supplied information into knowledge, and thereby changing themselves.

Communication projects may also be designed to educate audiences, with the intention of changing attitudes and values (development communication "creates awareness and changes attitudes).". Some participants believe that interpersonal modes are the best means to effect long term changes in attitudes. Communication has the power to facilitate this change, but this process will be gradually perpetuated through interpersonal interactions and social groups. Social transformation may be inspired through communicative activity, but the power to change still lies within humans.

Finally, some respondents describe communication as a social marketing activity, able to motivate behavior change in individuals in order to eliminate problematic conditions. Communication, it is believed, can inspire people to act in new ways. "Mass media alone can have a tremendous impact on behavior change," demonstrates one example of this perspective. This interpretation carries with it the marketing notion of targeting to affect behavioral changes in individual audience members. Underpinning this perspective is a set of assumptions grounded in social behaviorism: that people are malleable and adapt in response to their environmental conditions. These participants expect to see behavior changed in a relatively short period of time, if the campaign is well researched and designed. The organization's responsibility is to foster individual change, not merely to inform individuals.

In order to encourage audiences to change their behavior, some participants acknowledge that access to the suggested product or service must be present. There is a concern not only with providing information, but also with making sure that information can be acted upon. One respondent states that their organizational "objective is to bring people into the clinic." In contrast, others assume that individuals may demand their own supply or service, once they are liberated with information.

#### 4. Development Communication

Development communication, as an activity directed toward an audience, carries with it notions of who needs help and what that help may achieve. In some projects, for example, audiences may be taught how to read contraceptive packaging. This approach focuses on providing skills and information, leaving individuals to act on their own solutions. Audiences may also be taught to believe in the importance of population control and family planning. Moreover, an audience may be convinced to use contraceptives. To change problematic conditions, 'help' may need to address all of these considerations. The normative and political-economic structures reinforce encouragements and constraints to the use of contraception, yet individuals also learn how to administer these products and decide whether, when and how to act.

Any given situation can be constructed as problematic in various ways, each implying several possible responses for help. Helping institutions, such as development organizations, attempt to alleviate constructed problems given their interpretations of the audience they are addressing, their own activity, and their ability to solve that problem through communicative interventions.



## B. Constructions within Studied Organizations

The themes outlined in this chapter represent dimensions constructed to reflect patterns of responses observed throughout participants' discussions of development communication. These are not mutually exclusive categories within dimensions, but representative of patterns of interpretations. Each interview does not fall neatly into one of these constructions; some respondents offer explanations fitting a few of the noted patterns. Neither do all members of each organization fit into just one of these constructed categories. Certain patterns, however, can be identified in this study's findings.

The figure below displays where respondents from each of the studied organizations tend to fit within the described dimensions of development activity (whether seen as a problem of macro-structural or individual deficiencies), audience (whether seen as individuals or as society) and communication (whether seen as a tool to change knowledge, attitudes or behavior of audiences). Organizational members construct different pictures of development communication. Each of these will be described following Figure 4.

Figure 4  
Perspectives of Development Communication  
Across Organizational Affiliations

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	OXFAM AMERICA
<b>ACTIVITY:</b>				
Addresses Structural (S)		S	S	S
or Individual (I) Problems	I		I	
<b>AUDIENCE:</b>				
Society (S) or		S		
Individuals (I)	I		I	I
<b>COMMUNICATION:</b>				
Knowledge (K)			K	K
Attitudes (A)		A		
or Behavior (B)	B		B	

USAID and PCS respondents place the responsibility upon individuals to adopt institutionally suggested behaviors if they are to improve their individual situations. Their organizational activities target audiences to improve individuals' health conditions. USAID/PCS informants refer to other social marketing firms as their reference group, seeing themselves as operating within a social marketing community of organizations, all targeting individuals to persuade them to adopt family planning behaviors. Audiences are segmented in demographic terms, such as age, gender and marital status, much as commercial sponsors do. These categories reflect those used by public health officials,

thereby legitimating these problems as health concerns. "Successful family planning programs . . . save the lives of mothers, save the lives of children [and] . . . reduce infant mortality." Thus, beneficiaries are described as persons with actual or potential health problems, but not as persons with fewer resources.

By following assumptions underlying a social behaviorist philosophy, these members believe that communications has the power to influence people, thereby allowing them to effect a change they believe will be beneficial to that audience. They express enthusiasm about the ability of mass media to persuade audiences to change their behavior. In order to facilitate their campaigns' success, services and products need to be accessible to audiences. As one USAID representative explains: "There is no point to having a campaign where there are no services. There's no point. We're just going to blame ourselves." Structural inadequacies in health service distribution do not tend to be examined. Instead, these respondents focus on promoting change where they think they can observe some effect.

IPPFWHR respondents share a similar concern with targeting audiences. Some of these members express a fondness for marketing strategies that are used to convince individual members of local communities to visit family planning facilities. These informants describe their project activity as predominantly using mass media and marketing techniques. Confirming this pattern, the 1988 IPPFWHR annual report asserts that family planning associations are moving "into the realm of consumer marketing" (1988: 23).

UNFPA respondents are more likely than members of the other organizations studied to describe development communication as an educative process. They see population issues as a global concern, to be pursued for humanitarian principles. Communications is meant to facilitate education and awareness of issues, rather than to encourage individuals to

change specific behaviors. These informants see themselves as operating within a community of bilateral, multilateral and private large-scale development organizations, representing a large-scale operation with worldwide benefits and consequences, and contributing to an international effort of a group of similarly minded organizations.

These respondents perceive their intent as facilitating normative and structural change in broad groups of persons. Some projects in this orientation attempt to influence the attitudes and policies of government administrators, who are assumed to be the opinion leaders for the rest of society. As one UNFPA respondent explains, "we try to encourage participation from different groups to determine what the [population] policy is." The goal, nevertheless, is to affect a broad change in the normative fabric of the society.

UNFPA respondents' vision of development communication transcends national boundaries; the United Nations, however, was founded to further global objectives through a political structure of nation-states. Population, from the UNFPA perspective, should be considered as an issue for national policy, in order to benefit all of humanity. The 1987 UNFPA annual report states that:

Increasing human demands are damaging the natural resource base — land, water and air — upon which all life depends. High fertility and rapid population growth are contributing to the process. In developing countries, slower growth and more even distribution of population would help to take pressure off agricultural land, energy sources, vital watersheds, and forest areas, giving time for governments, the private sector and the international community to evolve strategies for sustainable development (1987: 7).

UNFPA respondents believe that development communication will foster the development process within

nations, whereas USAID/PCS informants believe that development communication will improve conditions of individuals. In contrast, respondents from both IPPFWHR and Oxfam America interpret development communication as an activity designed to "empower" oppressed individuals. The former set of informants tends to point to women as the group to consider, while the latter tends to focus on the resource poor.

Female IPPFWHR respondents share a vision of activity justified for the sake of women's rights with other women in this sample. To review an earlier finding, only women justified their activity as promoting reproductive choices. Women from IPPFWHR, USAID, PCS and UNFPA express this explanation for their own organization's *raison d'être*. Women from IPPFWHR, though, were more likely to carry this orientation over into other discussions of their activity and of their audience.

IPPFWHR informants, both male and female, see their reference group as other population organizations working to support family planning in domestic and international spheres. Whereas UNFPA and OXFAM AMERICA members perceive population as part of broader activities directed towards the development of communities or nations, IPPFWHR members concentrate on family planning as their main activity, to be pursued in order to protect women's rights.

Furthermore, some IPPFWHR respondents see communications as a means towards informing individuals rather than persuading them. Their 1988 annual report, for instance, states that the "primary activity of the family planning associations (FPAs) is making family planning information and supplies available through clinics and community-based service sites" (1988: 23).

Other organizational members may be concerned with women's issues. While not dominating most respondents' discussions, this attention to gender is raised in UNFPA publications. The 1988 UNFPA annual report introduces a new

section not represented in the previous annual report about "investing in women: the focus of the nineties." This concern is expressed as follows:

Investing in women means widening their choice of strategies and reducing their dependence on children for status and support. Family planning is one of the most important investments, because it represents the freedom from which other freedoms flow. . . . But investing in women must go beyond such services, and remove the barriers preventing them from exploring their full potential. That means granting them equal access to land, to credit, to reward employment — as well as establishing their effective personal and political rights (1988: 7).

According to this statement, it is not enough for projects to provide access to health facilities. Development activities must pursue broad objectives in the realms of policy and education. Society as a whole must be changed if women's status is to be advanced. Women's rights are promoted not only by "empowering" individuals, but also by changing structural and normative conditions.

Oxfam America members are more concerned with economic inequity than with gendered justice. Their projects operate in resource poor communities. Following the language of revolution, these participants describe their audiences as needing to be "liberated" from their "oppressive" situations. Their cause is just, but this audience lacks capability to proceed in their struggle ("low-income women and low-income families don't have control"). Development institutions supply knowledge as a weapon to enable individuals to fight against their oppressors, as opposed to other "programs designed to maintain the status quo." In their 1988 annual report, Oxfam America's executive director writes that Oxfam is "reaching the poorest people in society

directly, listening to the poor, not imposing our solutions, but providing the poor with basic resources to implement their own solutions" (1988: 5). "Empowerment" is the expressed organizational goal, assumed to be the "key to development because, at root, poverty and oppression are structural problems" (1988: 8).

Oxfam America informants perceive their reference group as other small development organizations and religious organizations working in disadvantaged communities. Like other small development organizations, they see themselves as fulfilling a mission through small scale projects addressing local community needs. Attempting to "empower" local groups to improve their nutritional and economic conditions, Oxfam America members seek to "right" the "wrongs" they perceive are inflicted by the U.S. government. Like those in religious organizations, members express a particular zeal for their activities, and often interpret their justifications in moralistic frames of right and wrong.

In its published documents, if not in their respondents' expressed constructions, UNFPA recognizes inequitable economic distribution as an obstacle to be addressed. Poverty and increasing population are "slicing away at their ability to sustain human life." According to the 1987 annual report, "international policies and events" serve to 'institutionalize' poverty, thus undermining population control strategies (1987: 7-9). Some IPPFWHR members also express concern for the resource poor, and want to help this group by targeting projects to address economically disadvantaged audiences.

The most diverse set of interpretations was expressed by IPPFWHR respondents. These informants vary in their understandings of development communication as an informative and as a persuasive tool. On the positive side, this diversity may allow flexibility and adaptability to changing environmental conditions. On the negative side, diversity seen as a lack of cohesion may translate into internal conflict. The presence of

internal conflict about the types of communicative messages promoted to developing country audiences (whether they should reinforce or attempt to alter existing stereotypes) was described by one IPPFWHR representative.

This research demonstrates that patterns of interpretations of development communication follow the organizational affiliations of the respondents. Next, how the organizational contexts these participants operate within may contribute to these interpretations will be explored.



## **XI. THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION**

A question guiding this research asks whether practitioners' interpretations of development communication are constrained by environmental conditions within organizational contexts. At this point, the patterns of interpretations of activity, audience and communication have been explored in relation to the organizational affiliations and other characteristics of respondents; and, the organizational contexts of each of the studied organizations have been described, with particular reference to donor and recipient relationships. In this chapter, the degree to which the organizational contexts described can be seen as contributing to the construction of development communication will be explored.

First, I will briefly review some of the environmental conditions within the organizational contexts of the four studied organizations. These dimensions include fiscal dependency and donor relations, recipient relations, and a consideration of the system as a whole. Then, I will attempt to demonstrate how particular contexts may be contributing to the constructions of development communication within international development organizations.

### **A. The Systemic Nature of Organizational Contexts**

Organizational contexts in this research were considered to include both donor and recipient dimensions within an environment. Other attributes of an environment could also be

included in a more comprehensive examination of an organizational context. The findings from this study indicate that donors are not the sole guiding force within organizations; recipients, too, contribute to the internal dynamics of development organizations. Before turning to the role of recipients, I will explore the extent to which fiscal dependence on donors is manifest in the organizations studied.

Of the four organizations, one group perceives itself as fiscally dependent; another group holds mixed perceptions; and the last two do not tend to perceive themselves as dependent on one donor or one group of donors. This operationalization of dependency is rooted in Blau's (1974) and others' notion that it is the concentration of donors that demarcates a dependent relation. This study limits its operationalization of dependence to fiscal relations with donors in order to address issues raised in resource dependency and structuralist schools of political economy. Donors' involvement in decision making was examined to assess their allocative control in an organization, representing the degree to which structural power was realized. That influential relations with external actors may be rooted in political and economic bases of power stems from a particular understanding of industries and organizations.

In this research, external actors and organizations are considered to have power insofar as they are perceived by organizational members as controlling particular decisions in the production of development projects. Thus, those who wield power influence the meanings that are projected to developing country audiences. The interpretations guiding the production of development communication are believed to be constrained by structural factors as well as the nature of the relationships with actors and agencies in that structure. In that relationships and structures interactively constitute the nature of an environmental system an organization operates within, one might observe the

"hidden faces of power affect[ing] institutional environments" (in Putnam and Poole, 1987: 581) by examining these structures and relationships.

Given a structuralist political-economic model of resource dependency, it was hypothesized that perceived dependency would limit perceived autonomy within organizations. Yet, this research supports a more complicated version of the way dependency might be manifest in decision making structures in organizations. It appears that those respondents who perceive their organization as fiscally dependent are also likely to explicitly discuss donor involvement in budget negotiations (and to some degree in country selection) for project activities; however, perceptions of dependency are less likely to be associated with donor involvement in audience determination, which is a critical decision made in the production of development communication projects. Murdock (1982) explains that dependency constrains allocative rather than operational decision making. Given this specification, it may be either that budgetary decisions are matters of allocative control, and that country selection (which is less strongly associated with perceived dependence than budgetary decisions) and audience determination are matters of operational control; or, that fiscal dependency is manifest in fiscal spheres of decision making, and less so in non-fiscal considerations. The latter explanation may be supported if one believes that audience considerations and geographic selections constitute significant, strategic decisions within development organizations. The selection and interpretation of an audience or beneficiary, particularly, may be seen as an integral component in the production of a development communication project.

Fiscal dependence, in sum, is more closely connected with donor involvement in fiscal decisions than in other types of decisions. In contrast, how might dependence on a recipient manifest itself in decision making? Unfortunately, no specific

question regarding "alternatives to current recipients" was asked of respondents in order to assess perceived dependence on a recipient group. I would speculate, however, that IPPFWHR and UNFPA respondents would perceive themselves to have fewer recipient alternatives than the other respondents: IPPFWHR is limited in structure to allocating resources to Family Planning Associations, and UNFPA respondents see themselves as working mainly with national governments. These two sets of respondents are also more likely to report recipient involvement and interaction than those from USAID, PCS or Oxfam America. Tentatively conceived as more "recipient dependent" than the others, members of IPPFWHR and UNFPA perceive recipients as more involved in audience decisions than in budget negotiations or site selections. While more conclusive evidence would be necessary to fully support this contention, it may be said that autonomy in organizations is constrained by donors as well as other groups in an environment, and that each contributes to different types of influence on organizational decisions.

As system dependent entities, organizations respond to a variety of pressures within an environment. Development communication is constructed by participants in international development organizations who operate within particular systems requiring outlets as well as contributions. Along the lines of systems theories, development organizations both absorb and expend resources to function within an environment.

Furthermore, it is not merely the components of a system that need to be understood, but also the relations between these components. The inclusion of relationships in an explanatory model follows a basic premise of systems theories: that a whole system is greater than the sum of its parts with the addition of interactive relationships among these components. In an attempt to follow this model, respondents were asked to describe various aspects of their relations with donors and recipients, and these

descriptions were considered carefully in assessing the nature of these systems. It is not merely the structural components of a system, such as concentration on a single fiscal donor, that guides and constrains organizational behavior; rather, it is the nature of these relationships interacting with this structure that constitute the system in which an organization is embedded. And, it is the perceptions of this system that are seen as guiding and constraining the production of development communication.

Distinct systems were described by respondents from the four organizations. The figure below summarizes findings reported previously in discussions of the perceived environmental dimensions of the organizations studied. 'High,' 'medium,' and 'low' represent ordinal summaries of the relationships presented in an earlier chapter discussing perceptions of environmental characteristics. These are relative indicators, rather than absolute measures.

Figure 5

Environmental Dimensions of Organizational Contexts

	USAID/PCS	UNFPA	IPPFWHR	Oxfam America
Perceived Dependence	High	Medium	Low	Low
Donor Involvement and Interaction	High	Low	Low	Low
Recipient Involvement and Interaction	Low Medium	High Medium	High High	Low Low

To briefly summarize the environmental dimensions of the organizations studied in this research: USAID/PCS respondents see themselves as closely connected to and constrained by their donor environment; some UNFPA informants may perceive themselves as dependent on the United Nations for channeling resources, but they maintain closer ties with recipients than with their government donors; IPPFWHR members, in contrast to those from USAID or PCS, believe they are closely connected to and constrained by their recipient environment; and, Oxfam America participants see themselves as neither dependent nor constrained by donor or recipient agents.

USAID and PCS respondents are more likely to perceive themselves as dependent on donors than are the members of the other organizations studied. A great deal of donor involvement in USAID/PCS activity is also reflected in a relatively high degree of interaction, compared to the interactions and involvement reported among other organizations and their donor environments. In contrast, recipients of PCS appear not to have as much allocative control as do donors, though these respondents do spend a few months each year visiting recipients.

UNFPA informants are divided in their perceptions of themselves as a dependent or as an independent organization. These respondents perceive themselves as operating with little interference from government donors. UNFPA members rarely if ever interact with their donors, and do not see their donors as involved in their activity, with the exception of multi-bilateral arrangements discussed in a previous chapter. Recipients are believed to be relatively more involved in UNFPA's decision making than are donors; UNFPA members spend a few months each year traveling to recipient environs.

IPPFWHR and Oxfam America's respondents are less likely to perceive themselves as dependent on donors than USAID/PCS or UNFPA respondents. Most IPPFWHR respondents neither

interact with their diverse set of donors very often, nor do they see donors as being involved in their decision making. IPPFWHR informants do, however, meet often with recipients, and believe them to be quite involved in their activity. Although IPPFWHR members perceive themselves as independent and pursue multiple sources in order to maintain this independence, they depend on a larger structure of family planning association recipients to implement their project activity. Despite its own relatively low level of dependence on a donor group, IPPFWHR activities are seen to be constrained by a structure that enables association recipients limited allocative control over project resources. Recipients are expected to operate within defined social and economic ideals as "members" of the IPPF club.

Oxfam America respondents do not see themselves as being closely connected to other organizations. Donors do not involve themselves in, nor do they interact often with, members of Oxfam America, outside of this organization's own fund-raising efforts. Interaction with recipients is also infrequent, given the high cost of travel, and that Oxfam America's policy is to "respect the integrity" of local communities by allowing them to direct their own activities. Involvement from recipients in Oxfam America's own decision making processes though is relatively low, when compared to the degree of recipient involvement described by UNFPA and IPPFWHR respondents.

#### B. The Contribution of Organizational Contexts to Interpretations

Now that these organizational contexts have been described, I will discuss how each system might contribute to interpretations of development communication maintained by practitioners. First,

how donor and recipient dimensions might be associated with particular sets of interpretations will be explored.

It was suggested that resource dependence might contribute to particular orientations of development communication. Consequently, interpretations should be distinct across groups with varying degrees of donor alignment. This would imply that USAID/PCS perspectives of development communication would be different than the others, and that Oxfam America and IPPFWHR respondents would share similar understandings of development communication.

In reference to organizational activity, USAID/PCS respondents do perceive different justifications and perceptions than most of the other three groups of respondents: this group focuses its attention on the actual and potential health problems of individual audience members. UNFPA informants, in contrast, perceive themselves as addressing systemic problems through structural and normative measures. IPPFWHR and Oxfam America respondents share similar orientations to their organizational activity, with the exception of a group within IPPFWHR who tend to perceive their projects as helping individuals rather than addressing problems originating in systemic injustices.

USAID/PCS and UNFPA respondents also differ in their perceptions of their audience. UNFPA informants perceive humanity and nations as benefitting from their activity, in contrast to USAID/PCS's emphases on recipients and communities of individuals as ultimate beneficiaries. Both of these groups do tend to use traditional demographic distinctions though when describing analytic audiences, whereas IPPFWHR and Oxfam America respondents point to disadvantaged groups in their summaries of analytic audiences. This last set of informants also share a focus on communities of individuals when describing their beneficiaries.



In reference to beliefs about the communication process, USAID/PCS respondents maintain a distinct set of understandings from the other respondents. USAID/PCS members tend to perceive communicative activity as having the capacity to persuade individuals to change their behavior. UNFPA informants, in contrast, interpret communication as an educational activity, whereas the other two groups emphasize communication's function as transferring information to groups of individuals.

The patterns of interpretations of activity, audience and communication in some respects follow the set of distinctions proscribed by the donor dimension of organizational contexts. USAID/PCS respondents do tend to maintain interpretations that are distinct from the others; and, in many respects, members of Oxfam America and IPPFWHR share interpretive understandings. However, there is enough diversity of opinion within IPPFWHR to preclude a conclusive argument that the two relatively less dependent organizations share a substantial number of interpretations. Indeed, some IPPFWHR members share Oxfam America's notion of communication as an informing tool, whereas other IPPFWHR members share USAID/PCS's notion of communication as a tool for persuading audiences. Given these complex patterns, the hypothesis that fiscal relations with donors would predict similarity and difference of interpretive understandings cannot be fully supported.

Neither, however, can the hypothesis that similarity and difference in interpretations of activity, audience and communication would correspond with recipient dimensions of organizational contexts be supported. If interpretations were to vary according to recipient relations, then IPPFWHR and Oxfam America respondents would maintain distinctly different understandings, IPPFWHR and UNFPA interpretations would be

similar, and USAID/PCS and Oxfam America interpretations would be similar.

In their professed interpretations of organizational activity and audience, IPPFWHR and Oxfam America members appear to maintain similar views: both groups see themselves as addressing individual audience members from disadvantaged groups. Some of the former group also share the latter group's emphasis on using communication to provide information to audiences. Oxfam America respondents are similar to USAID/PCS respondents in their perceptions of audiences as individuals, and their attempt to rectify problems of individuals; these groups differ significantly, however, in their understandings of the root causes of these problems, and of the role communication might play in the development process. UNFPA and IPPFWHR respondents differ substantially in their perceptions of activity, audience and communication. The patterns of demonstrated interpretations do not correspond to the patterns of perceived recipient relations evidenced in this research.

To explore more extensively the degree to which organizational contexts as systems might contribute to or constrain interpretations of development communication, each organization's set of interpretations will be considered in turn, in reference to its own particular system and set of interpretive understandings.

PCS operates as an extension of USAID, to implement its development communication projects in the area of family planning and population concerns. USAID, in turn, acquires its fiscal contributions solely from the U.S. government. Respondents from PCS and USAID characterized the tie between USAID (as a distributor of U.S. government funds) and PCS when describing this donor relationship.

It has been shown that the USAID/PCS system embodies a close connection between the funding institution and the focal

organization, and a looser connection with recipients. Within this system, USAID/PCS practitioners tend to perceive development communication as a tool to persuade individual audience members to change their behavior; their organizational activity addresses individual level problems by attempting to alleviate problematic conditions of individuals. By framing development communication as a tool to persuade individuals to adopt behaviors to improve their health, these organizational members construct a problem for an audience that does not conflict with the goals or interests of the donor group they must depend upon. Participants aim to improve the health of individuals, without proposing systemic changes that would shift existing social, political and economic relationships. The status quo is not questioned, but perhaps even reinforced. In juxtaposition, participants wanting to "empower" beneficiaries who suffer due to systemic inadequacies, and those who intend to educate groups to alter systemic conditions, imply that the status quo arrangements are problematic. Such criticism may be threatening to powerful groups within those systems or to government administrators mandated to protect those interests.

As a bilateral agency, USAID and PCS's development activity reflects U.S. political and economic agendas, by implementing projects in those areas coinciding with the political and economic interests of the U.S. government; country sites and budgets are determined with the approval of U.S. government administrators. In PCS's latest family planning venture described by its members, commercial recording industries work hand in hand with development project managers to promote abstinence and sexual responsibility (for a public review of this activity, see *The Futurist*, July-August, 1990: 6). These development messages are packaged in similar ways as advertisements that use recording stars to promote soft drinks.

Dependent as it is on a single government institution for all of its funding, the USAID Office of Population, and by extension PCS, does not promote development communication perspectives that question characteristics of the larger structure of that donor environment. Because USAID is closely connected to a donor government administration, its participants and project implementers from PCS interpret their helping process in ways that are compatible with the current economic and political interests (such as promoting political and geographic interests in country selection processes and economic interests by encouraging private ventures in programs) of this single donor.

UNFPA members also rely upon a restricted group of government donors, whose contributions are channeled through the single entity of the United Nations; however, only some of these respondents perceive this relationship as a dependent one. The UNFPA system is marked by some degree of dependence on a donor structure, and a relatively closer connection with recipient institutions. The UNFPA model of development communication fits the underlying philosophy of its parent, the United Nations. Their focus on educating persons nation-wide and on changing policies in national political structures does not attribute problems to individuals, but to developing countries that must change. In this construction, systemic alterations take precedence over individual change. Individuals are seen as components of a larger system of rules, rather than perceived as isolated units at a local community level. UNFPA's tendency to construct categories along national boundaries, in pursuit of humanitarian principles, coincides with some of the goals of the United Nations, which are to promote human rights while respecting national sovereignty.

UNFPA is dependent (given the "objective" classification previously articulated) on the U.N. as a channel for government contributions and, as a U.N. institution, operates within the mandate of this superstructure. As a federation of nation-states,

the United Nations promotes its assistance and agenda through national structures. Recipients, who are nation-states themselves, are involved in decision making about communication projects, thereby perpetuating this multi-national structure. UNFPA informants see themselves as operating in a large scale development organization closely aligned with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); as such, their constructions appear not to overstep the boundaries of a global mandate that may be subsumed in many of the United Nations organizations. It is this identity as a U.N. organization, combined with a dependence on the U.N. structure to facilitate its financial inputs and an involvement from national government recipient agents, that appears to direct and constrain UNFPA constructions.

IPPFWHR operates within a system dominated by its recipients, or member associations, rather than the numerous and varied donors it maintains. IPPFWHR members see themselves as a federation of equal members, where recipient and donor associations all have the same degree of power within the structure of the organization. The international body is meant to facilitate these ideals that are agreed upon by the members of the "club."

IPPFWHR respondents project varied visions of development communication. Some informants express an organizational objective as attempting to inform individuals, so that they might gain control of their lives by making choices about family planning. The problem to be addressed and its solution are perceived as operating at an individual level, but the activity is justified in broader orientations of "rights" and "freedom of choice" for women. Also, project activity is at times interpreted as using marketing techniques to address health problems of individual audience members. Individuals should be convinced to visit existing family planning facilities so they might avoid potential health problems. Promoting women's rights appears to

be an underlying ideal maintained by some of these informants, but other respondents suggest potentially less controversial orientations. Less controversial perspectives are developed to enable recipients to counter perceived opposition to family planning efforts. According to IPPFWHR informants, overcoming this opposition is a substantive concern for recipients; and, because recipients' interests are perceived as powerful forces within IPPFWHR, constructing strategic plans to overcome this controversy has become part of the IPPFWHR responsibilities and tasks.

Both IPPFWHR and USAID/PCS respondents see themselves as closely connected to organizations in their environments, upon which their survival and functioning depend. Framing their work in ways that might conflict with these powerful agents, such as promoting population control to further the cause of women's reproductive rights, might risk their relationships with these donors and recipients. For example, pro-life factions that are influential in these donor and recipient environs may interpret population control activities as threatening to their beliefs, and act to oppose those efforts. Family planning activities framed in terms of health benefits for mothers and children may be able to circumvent this type of opposition. One interpretation might be that because USAID/PCS and IPPFWHR informants see themselves as more closely connected than other agencies that may be vulnerable to opposing factions, they are more likely to attempt to frame and produce their activities in a less controversial manner.

Oxfam America, as an organization with a low level of dependence or involvement with both donor and recipient non-members, is able to pursue its relatively more controversial perspective toward audiences. This organization operates within a system of loose connections with its environment, relative to the other organizations studied.

Oxfam America members are ostensibly concerned with economic inequities and how the unequal distribution of resources impoverishes particular groups of individuals. Members of this organization see themselves as helping the poor by "empowering" certain individuals in local communities. This view of development communication may challenge persons and groups that hold power in political and economic systems, because this framework implies that systemic structural relations are at fault. And with revolutionary language, participants challenge a competing assumption: that individuals need to change, but society as a whole ought not to be tampered with.

Oxfam America members interpret their activity within a potentially controversial frame, perhaps because they perceive themselves as being not directly responsible to government agencies, or other powerful actors. IPPFWHR members, however, may not be able to express views similar to those of Oxfam America representatives, because they feel constrained by a close relationship with their recipients.

In sum, constructions that are presumed to be less threatening to donor and recipient actors are employed when development organizations are closely connected to these external institutions. Conversely, organizations not closely aligned with other organizations have more liberty in pursuing orientations that may be controversial to external actors.

Restating an earlier finding, organizational members may be influenced not only by their relationships with donor organizations, but also by their relationships with recipient organizations. Organizations are constrained by conditions inherent in particular systems; as members of these development organizations, participants interpret development communication within these organizational contexts.

A system, as a set of structures and relationships maintained over time, influences participants in an organization

by demarcating the boundaries and directions within which activity, expressed intentions and understandings must flow. Consequences of influential relations can be observed in the boundaries that determine what is considered legitimate within an organization and what is not. In this study, the underlying interpretations of development communication perpetuated within studied organizations fit within a set of boundaries. Comparing the observed case studies, there are alternative approaches to development communication not considered to be legitimate in all organizations. PCS participants do not express an intent to educate nations to promote enduring change for example, but instead to encourage the pursuit of activities with immediate measurable impact. UNFPA and Oxfam America respondents on the other hand are not as interested in generating immediate impacts on the lives of individuals.

The notion of boundaries is integral to an understanding of how external agents and organizations might maintain control in an organization; although allocative controllers may not necessarily intervene, their "ideological interests are guaranteed by the implicit understandings governing production" (Murdock, 1982: 140). Even relatively autonomous managers operate within guidelines, which are developed and reinforced through interactions within power structures. These implicit guidelines marking the boundaries of legitimate interpretations reflect and reinforce the dominant interests within the organization's environmental system (Putnam and Poole, 1987: 554). Thus, the system of an organization contributes to the barriers within which social reality is constructed, by guiding interpretations and activities that reinforce powerful interests.

The boundaries of legitimate interpretation and activity also delineate where one might see conflict. Conflict may arise when interpretations and activities move outside acceptable boundaries drawn by organizations or actors with power in that system. A



controversy within IPPFWHR, for instance, involves a dominant view (that communication projects ought to reinforce existing stereotypes to encourage behavior change) that does not challenge what is considered legitimate within recipient environs, whereas a submerged yet competing view (that projects ought to alter rather than reinforce stereotypes) may threaten recipients and audiences. The more closely linked an organization is to external agents, whether donors or recipients, the more likely it is that that organization will pursue orientations that do not challenge or oppose those agents. To the degree that this link is perceived as strong and is realized through the nature of interaction, "prevailing social and political hierarchies" within that external agency are reinforced (Murdock, 1982: 161). Thus, development practitioners do not tend to pursue interpretations or activities that conflict with existing political, economic and social structures, when actors within these structures are powerful within those development organizations.

Systems and political-economic theories of organizations point to environmental conditions that are able to contribute to particular conditions within an organization. The characteristics of the systems that organizations operate within delimit boundaries of possible interpretations. Expressed perceptions of activity, audience and communication tend not to conflict with the perceived interests of those non-members who are closely tied with the organization. According to a school of interpretive theory, these perceptions and behaviors are not arbitrary, but are embedded within social expectations. This research has attempted to bridge the works of environmental determinists from systems and political-economic schools with interpretivist scholarship that acknowledges the interdependence of individual perception and superstructural conditions, in order to demonstrate that interpretations of development communication are embedded within organizational contexts.

The interpretations discovered in this research appear to follow nonrandom patterns across organizational affiliations and other characteristics of the respondents. Respondents' expressed perceptions reflect constraints in their organizations' systems, perpetuated by interactions with powerful agencies in those environments. Moreover, patterns of interpretations follow gender distinctions as well as organizational affiliations; it was demonstrated that men and women in this sample view development activity differently. Participants bring past experiences (such as previous employment and education) and current social identification (such as gender) to their work in development organizations; as members of these organizations, participants become socialized over time to incorporate the organization's views into their own understandings.

Conflict may emerge in this intra-organizational socialization process, when expressed interpretations among members clash. For example, in IPPFWHR a feminist vision of activity to promote women's rights challenges a vision that encourages behavior change at the expense of perpetuating existing (and some feel detrimental) stereotypes. In that both gender and organizational affiliation can be seen as contributing to perceptions of development communication, interpretations are informed both through organizational socialization processes and through other roles individuals play.

Development communication plays an important role in activities designed to help persons throughout the world, who suffer from deficits in resources and information. Development communication supplies information to change knowledge, attitudes, norms and practices of audiences, given constructed problems in these domains. Projects using development communication are implemented by a relatively small group of international development organizations. Those organizations, as exemplified in this research, operate within their own

environmental systems, grounded in particular relationships with donors, recipients and audiences. The process by which meanings underlying development communication are produced shapes and is shaped by practitioners' interpretations of development communication. These interpretations, in turn, are bounded by the dynamics perpetuated within organizational contexts. The ideology of development communication is not constructed by persons in isolation, but is produced and promoted within organizational systems.

### C. The Success and Failure of Development Communication

At the outset of this research, it was noted that many discussions of development communication's failure tend not to recognize the organizational contexts within which projects are conceived and produced. Communication projects are seen by some scholars as failing, in that evaluators have difficulty producing empirical verification of individuals changing their behavior in short periods of time, and producing evidence attributing changes to the communicative intervention. Instead of pursuing a study of audience characteristics that might facilitate or impede media effects, this study shifts its attention to the international development industry, in order to investigate the organizational contexts embodying the production of development communication.

In this study, it is assumed that the subsequent success or failure of development communication is in part a function of organizational processes. By examining organizational contexts, it was hoped to gather some insight into the production and outcomes of development communication. This study has demonstrated that there are a variety of understandings of development communication, and therefore a variety of desired

effects and expectations regarding the outcomes of IEC projects. Each interpretation of development communication presupposes a set of purposes, hopes and expectations. Thus, whether or not a communication campaign fails depends upon what one is hoping to achieve, and is largely contingent upon the particular perceptions maintained and activities pursued.

The practitioners interviewed in this study perceive various types of success, including producing an effect in an audience domain, altering national policies and norms, and acting to benefit a disadvantaged group. Whether a communication project is successful also depends upon the question and method used to gauge improvement. When attempting to evaluate communicative interventions, practitioners may define their expectations carefully to fit within the confines their interpretations and activities allow, acknowledging systemic constraints to their efforts. For example, individual audience members may not change their behavior if structural conditions prohibit certain distribution systems; conversely, norms may not change if individual audience perceptions and needs are not taken into account by persons who implement projects.

These constructions of development communication and attempts to measure its success are subject to organizational expectations. Certain dimensions of organizational contexts may contribute to the likelihood that an organization will engage in empirical research to measure project "success." Participants perform evaluations of their work to demonstrate success (or failure) to external agents and to elicit feedback for their own internal purposes. Deshpande (1981) predicts from his research that private organizations are more likely to evaluate their activities than are public organizations, because internal demands necessitate feedback from audience environments to support a private industry's survival in a marketplace. This research points to a different conclusion than Deshpande's: the respondents most

closely aligned with a government donor are more apt to discuss project evaluations than were members of the other three organizations studied. USAID/PCS participants appear to be more concerned with collecting empirical data about their audiences than are the other respondents. Some USAID/PCS members express the feeling that measured progress enables them to justify their expenditures to congressional committees. Beyond the internal demands discussed by Deshpande, organizations must also respond to other external organizations that may require such evaluative activity.

USAID/PCS participants are obliged to incorporate research into their program design and to evaluate their organizational activity, because the governmental donor they depend upon requests it. As a dependent agency with close connections to its donor environment, USAID/PCS is accountable to their government donor; accountability, in this case, translates into a need to demonstrate empirical success. Whether an organization that participants perceive themselves as being accountable to actually requests evaluative research depends upon the nature of the relationship between the external and the focal organization, as well as the dynamics within that external organization.

Focal organizations may engage in research to appease other organizations they are accountable to. Conversely, focal organizations that are not accountable to outside actors will not need to evaluate their activities for others, apart from their own purposes. As part of an independent organization not accountable to any particular external organization, Oxfam America participants can choose not to evaluate their activities, and they are able to respond to my enquiries by suggesting that communication's success is varied or difficult to measure. Working to empower local groups at a grass roots level, Oxfam America members may not want to extend the resources necessary to measure the success of their programs. In fact, these

participants see themselves as successful because they are acting in a beneficial manner, and do not see a need to measure changes in audience characteristics. Their 'success,' as they see it, is located in the process of acting, rather than in an eventual product, or result of that action.

Evaluative activity to measure success appears to be a function of accountability to particular environmental agents, in addition to internal demands. Accountability to donor or recipient actors may influence an organization's need to be able to demonstrate empirical verification of an effect in an audience domain. Thus, the whole notion of success, as an attempt to demonstrate the achievements of a communicative intervention, is interwoven with the particular environmental demands and internal expectations constituting each organizational context.

## **XII. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD OF COMMUNICATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

In this last chapter, I discuss some contributions to fields of communication research, and some recommendations for future studies.

### **A. Theoretical Contributions to Communication Research**

In an attempt to bridge structuralist schools of political economy and organizational theory with interpretive scholarship in organizational communication, this research offers some contributions to the fields of organizational communication, media organizations, and development communication.

This research draws from both structuralist and interpretive approaches to the study of organizational behavior. Some political economists (such as Murdock, 1988 and Herman, 1981) emphasize the structural relations of organizations as an explanatory mechanism of organizational behavior. This approach supports the assumption that resource dependence, among other structural conditions, contributes to the internal dynamics of an organization. Building upon a history of explanatory models proposed in systems theories, this study attempts to observe multiple characteristics, including but not limited to political-economic dimensions, of organizations and their environments. Luhmann (1982) suggests that structures and processes of an organization need to be understood in relation to an environment; thus, the organizational context considered in this study is intended to represent the multidimensional character of an organization within its environment. Moreover, organizational context in this

study is observed in relation to how organizational participants perceive its dimensions. Following the tenets of an interpretive approach to organizational study, organizational members' perceptions of environmental conditions are believed to guide and constrain organizational activity and understandings. This study attempts to recognize the importance of an environment in an organization, while building on an interpretive approach to organizational communication.

Findings from this research demonstrate the utility of a model that attempts to incorporate subjective interpretations of structural dimensions in an examination of environmental conditions. The nature of structural relationships was revealed in distinct patterns across the organizational affiliations of the respondents. For example, consequences of fiscal dependence were characterized quite differently by the different groups of development practitioners. Furthermore, expected consequences of these differences given an "objective" characterization of their structural links were not fully realized: the consequences of a concentrated donor structure in perceptions of donor involvement in internal processes, for instance, varies across what initially had been projected to be similar structures in USAID/PCS and UNFPA. It is hoped that this attempt to approach a dialectic between an objective, structural model of organizational communication and perceptive accounts of these manifestations would contribute theoretically to an interpretive approach to organizational communication.

This study also aims to offer an expanded focus to the study of organizational communication. Interpretive studies in the field of organizational communication tend to explore perceptions and dynamics within organizations, without accounting for environmental constraints or perceptions of external conditions. By drawing attention to respondents' perceptions of their own activity in an environment and of that environment itself, this research presents an example of how interpretive approaches



might be used to study perceptions of communication projects produced for actors in an environment, and not merely to study the processes within organizations.

The approach incorporated in this study not only addresses the field of organizational communication, but also media organization scholarship. The latter group of scholars that are drawn upon in this research tend to be rooted in political-economic theories of industrial behavior. In particular, the resource dependency model has dominated mass media organization study, laying the groundwork for substantial scholarship in this field.

According to the resource dependency model, the nature of economic ownership plays an integral role in the decision making processes within mass media organizations. Structural functionalists and systems theorists working in the field of organizational behavior elaborate on the relationship just described, including several other dimensions, such as autonomy, in this structural model.

It was found that resource dependency by itself was limited in its ability to explain organizational dynamics; dependency seen within a system of donors and recipients, however, provides more depth to an understanding of organizational behavior. Dependence on a fiscal donor does not automatically correspond with a lack of perceived autonomy, according to the findings demonstrated in this study. Instead, certain types of decisions are more constrained than others, given the nature of these relationships as perceived by participants. Also, recipients, donors and others constitute external agents who may guide and constrain the production of media packages. This research moves beyond the resource dependency model to include these recipients. A more comprehensive examination of an organizational system might further include other types of organizations, such as referents, perceived to be relevant by

participants, given that a full range of external organizations constitute an environmental system.

Finally, this research attempts to contribute to the field of development communication in two ways: first, by providing an example of a study that recognizes the role of organizational context in the production of development communication projects; and second, by offering categories of development communication as it is understood and practiced in the field. These categories describe different assumptions, expectations and intentions characteristic of particular orientations to the field of development communication. Beyond this qualitative contribution, the research approach employed in this study is intended to demonstrate that the production of development communication is embedded in particular processes and constraints within organizational settings. This research attempts to contribute to the field of development communication by offering a model of development communication as a set of organizational practices perceived and produced by practitioners who are guided and constrained by these organizational contexts.

## B. Recommendations for Future Research

There are several aspects of this study that could be improved upon in future studies of the organizational contexts of development communication. An important revelation that would improve another study involves a recognition that many types of organizations in an environment merit scholarly attention. Instead of focusing only on connections between donor and recipient organizations, as I did with this study, an expanded explanatory model of environmental conditions should attempt to establish the perceived connections between members of focal organizations and all other related organizations in their environment. If one wants to move beyond a model of resource

dependency, an inclusion of all related organizations within an environmental domain would more accurately represent a model of system dependence. Scholars of organizational behavior might learn a great deal by exploring the complexities of system dependence, in order to understand the nature of environmental constraints organizations operate within.

Another caution arises from some self-reflection throughout this research: as in any research enterprise, one should be aware of one's own presuppositions. In the process of interviewing respondents and in examining my own approach to this study, I uncovered my own particular biases toward development communication. My experience with the type of organizations that tend to market products or ideas to developing country audiences colored my approach to this study. For example, the interview schedule I had originally devised had been constructed within a marketing perspective: I had used the phrase communication 'campaigns,' indicative of the persuasion frame described previously. Some respondents expressed their discomfort with that terminology, and I subsequently accepted their suggestion to use the phrase IEC 'projects.' I learned a great deal from these participants, and in the process of categorizing responses discovered several alternative approaches to development communication I had not considered before. Future studies would do well to allow respondents to discuss communication projects in terms that are familiar to them, in order to attempt to understand how respondents are thinking about communication.

Another point should be considered in future studies attempting to map organizational members' connections with non-members: respondents tend to have difficulty estimating how often they meet or speak with external actors in response to open-ended questions. They might have found it easier to answer more narrow, close-ended questions, asking them to estimate if they speak or meet with non-members more or less than monthly.

Asking respondents what they did the work-day before the interview served well as an additional indication of whether they had been in recent contact with members of other donor and recipient organizations. As a suggestion for future research, respondents more easily discuss what they have done on a specific work-day than judge their general interaction patterns.

On the whole, the interpretive method used in this study led to some important insights. Respondents' subjective experiences, compared to the objective classifications of the organizational contexts I had developed before interviewing, led to a complex understanding of the environmental circumstances participants operate within. The open-ended nature of the interviews allowed participants to explore freely their perspectives of their organization's audience and their activities. At times respondents needed this room to articulate their understandings, especially since some of these questions appeared to require some careful thought and sensitivity.

The categories were continually revised throughout the analysis process, so that the research takes its shape, for the most part, from the respondents' own underlying interpretive understandings. The open-ended nature of the study permitted a great deal of initial variation in responses. This variation may have been obscured by a pre-determined set of categories. Although categorization cannot escape the personal properties of an observer, I did attempt to devise categories that fit the open-ended responses I was offered. This interpretive approach allowed me to discover patterns in an exploratory mode appropriate to the stage of the research.

This interpretive approach was extremely useful in uncovering constructions of development communication, but the limited sample was less advantageous in comparing organizational contexts. With a comparative case study of four organizations, the types of patterns that could be suggested and generalized are quite limited. By exploring four cases in depth, I cannot

generalize patterns of responses across other projected types of organizational contexts. The patterns established in this research were contingent upon the sample of organizations studied; the findings produced were discussed across the organizational affiliations of respondents in a relative rather than absolute fashion. Thus, it would be misleading to attempt to generalize substantially beyond the sample of organizations studied.

Future studies, however, could build upon this research by further exploring the dimensions of systems that appear to contribute to organizational dynamics: these include perceptions of dependence and involvement with various actors and agencies. The strength and nature of these ties maintained in environmental domains appear to shape the organizational context that guides and constrains the production of communication projects. A study incorporating these dimensions in a larger sample of organizations might permit generalizations beyond the scope of this study.

However, an expansion of a sample of organizations would not be without its drawbacks. If one expands the number of development organizations included in a study, one increases the number of issues addressed by these organizations. Because I believed that the type of issues addressed by development organizations would make some substantive difference in the way participants justify and understand their activity and audience, I attempted to restrict the cases studied to those development organizations involved in population control, family planning, or women's health issues. A larger sample of organizations than the one in this study, though, would allow a researcher to determine if the patterns suggested here are merely specific to the cases studied, representative of international development organizations, or even representative of helping institutions in general.

In a future study contrasting interpretive understandings of development communication across different organizational

contexts, the categories derived from this exploratory study could be applied to a larger number of organizations. Respondents could be asked questions to establish whether they fit in the frameworks suggested in this research, and whether these frames are shared within particular organizations. Also, connections between the focal organization and all other organizations deemed relevant by participants in their environment could be included in a future study to explore more fully a model of system dependency. Finally, whether interpretations of development communication vary across the types and degrees of environmental constraints in organizational contexts could be explored with a larger sample of organizations.

In this research, I have described different roles that development communication is perceived as playing in a developing country domain; moreover, I have explored how these interpretive understandings appear to fit within boundaries set by organizational contexts. The patterns suggested in this research, however, are limited to the case studies presented. By exploring organizational participants' conceptions of development communication, I have attempted to understand relative successes and failures of communication projects as they are perceived by development organization practitioners. In order to help alleviate problematic conditions in audience domains, we must further attempt to understand how problems and their solutions are constructed by participants, and how these constructions are embedded in characteristic organizational contexts.

## APPENDIX

## A

## Interview Schedule

## INTRODUCTION:

Thank you for taking the time to do this interview. I am a PhD candidate at ASC, U Penn, and I am doing my dissertation research about organizations that use IEC projects in developing countries about population/women's health issues. This interview will be treated as confidential, as an anonymous interview from someone in Xorg. [Xorg refers to the organization the respondent is affiliated with.] This interview should take about an hour, but please feel free to skip questions, stop the interview, or talk at length about any particular topic.

To begin, I would like to ask you a few background questions about yourself and xorg.

## I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

101. What is your position with Xorg? [What does this position involve?]

102. How long have you worked here? [years]

103. What was your occupational background prior to working here?

104. And your educational background?

## II. ORGANIZATION

## A. INTRA-ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

200. About how many people work for xorg?

201. What is the nature of xorg's activity?

202. How was it decided that this organization would be involved in population/women's health issues?

203. Has this organization changed since you have been here?  
[How?]

204. Approximately, how long has xorg been in existence?

205. Do you think xorg has changed since xyear?

### B. INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS

Now I'd like to ask you about other organizations xorg has connections with.

206. What organizations does xorg hold contracts with? [Probe: type of contract; geographical location].

300a. What are xorg's obligations to x?

300b. What are x's obligations to xorg?

501. How often do you speak with someone from x?

502. How often do you meet with someone from x?

503. Other than yourself, about how often do people from your organization meet with someone from x?

[Probe for times per week or month]

207. What other organizations does xorg have informal connections with? What are these?

208. Are there any organizations doing work similar to that of xorg? Which?

209. How are [USAID/PCS; UNFPA; IPPF; Oxfam America] different from xorg? [Probe for characterizations of other organizations in sample.]

### III. GENERAL PROCEDURES

I'd like to know a little bit about your activities here with xorg.



505. To begin, what did you do yesterday? Was this a typical day? If not, what would you do on a typical day?

506. How often do you discuss work with others in xorg in a typical day? Who do you usually talk with?

Now I'd like to ask a few questions about general procedures here, starting with funding. Are you involved with funding? If not, would you please describe what you understand about xorg funding, starting with:

301. How is xorg funded?

302. How much of your funding is acquired from x, y, z?

303. What is the process of renewing funding? [how often?; competitive?]

304. Are there alternative sources of funding available?

I would like to understand how these projects work. —First, are you involved with choosing country sites? If not, are you familiar with the process by which they are chosen?

401. How is the country site for a project chosen?

Are you involved with determining budgets for specific projects? Are you familiar with how these budgets are determined?

402. How are budgets for specific projects determined?

403. Who has the authority to hire professional personnel in xorg?

404. Does anyone outside xorg have the authority to fire someone here?

#### IV. ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND IEC PROJECTS

Now I'd like to ask some general questions about your projects involving communications.

- 601. What types of problems do your campaigns address?
- 602. Why are these concerns important?
- 603. Is there a typical beneficiary of your efforts?  
If yes, please describe.  
If no, who are the different beneficiaries?
- 405. How is the target audience determined?
- 406. How are communication channels used in projects selected?

Now I'd like to hear about some of your current projects. Are you involved with any of the current campaigns? If not, would you please describe a campaign you are familiar with?

- 700. Would you please describe a few of xorg's current IEC projects?

[Probe: topic; audience; country site; channels used.]

- 701. How would you describe the audience of this campaign?
- 702. How did you learn about this audience?
- 703. What were some of the conflicts in the projects you have just described?
- 704. What makes a good communications project?
- 705. How successful do you believe IEC projects can be in effecting target audiences?

## V. WRITTEN MATERIALS

800. Are you familiar with this? [show brochures already received.]

801. What does this represent?

802. Who gets this?

803. Does this accurately reflect your understanding of x?

804. What do you think others here think about this?

805. Have these materials changed since you have been here? If so, how?

806. Do you have any other materials you think I should read? Any books or articles you recommend?

Any other comments?

Thank you.

## Appendix B

## CODING SHEET

**Interview #:**

Organization: USAID 1 PCS 2 UNFPA 3 IPPF 4 OXFAM America 5

Taped: Yes 1 No 2

## PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Nationality: American 1 European/Canadian 2  
Indian/Asian 3 Caribbean/ Latin or South American 4

Gender: Female 1 Male 2

Primary Current Position: Project Managers 1  
Managers, Directors, and Evaluators 2  
Editors, PR people, deal with image to public 3  
Funding, Resource Acquisition 4

Familiarity with (thru past experience at that org. or secondarily involved in):

Project Work 1      Funding 2      Not Applicable 4

Years at the Organization (round up) with organization anywhere, not just at headquarters. < 1 year =1.

Background Occupation:	Mentioned 1	Not Mentioned 2
None Prior to Working there		
Public Relations, Advertising		
Radio, TV, journalism		
Fundraising, Marketing, Business		
Overseas, Development, International Health		
Health Education, domestic		
Government, policy issues, advocacy group		
Other (park service, travel office)		

**Educational Background:**  
Highest Degree Obtained: PhD or MD 1 MA 2 BA 3 <BA 4 Not mentioned 5

	Mentioned 1	Not Mentioned 2
Field:	Advertising, Public Relations	—
	Radio, TV, journalism	—
	Business, Management, Economics	—
	International Relations, Political Science, Languages	—
	Public Health, Social Work, Education	—
	Communications, (social science)	—

Demography —  
 Other Social Science —  
 Other (library science, etc.) —

# ORGANIZATION CHARACTERISTICS:

## INTRA-Organizational:

Number of People (Count for headquarters if given a choice;  
 if given range, select median) Do Not Know 88 Not Asked 99 —

Year Began (last 2 digits) Do Not Know 88 Not Asked 99 —

Nature of Activity: Mentioned 1 Not Mentioned 2

### A. ADVICE

general technical assistance —  
 help articulate programs and policies —  
 assistance to institutions —  
 advise people —  
 research —

### B. PROJECTS

support programs —  
 implement projects, do overseas works —  
 population activities, broad sense —  
 family planning activities, narrow sense —  
 IEC —  
 Provide services —

### C. BROAD HELPING

relief —  
 international development —

Changes of Organization: Mentioned 1 Not Mentioned 2

Size increased —  
 General structure changed —  
 Procedures —  
 Leadership changed —  
 People changed —  
 Funding —  
 Issues and Topics addressed —  
 Other —

## INTER-Organizational Context:

ORGANIZATION: Formal Connection Mentioned 1 Informal Mentioned 2  
/Reference Group

Neither Mentioned 3 Not Asked 9

/Mention1 Not 2

USAID	-	-
PCS	-	-
UNFPA	-	-
IPPF	-	-
Oxfam America	-	-
UN Agencies (UN, WHO, UNICEF...)	-	-
AID Missions	-	-
Family Planning Associations	-	-
PATH/PIACT	-	-
Pathfinder Fund	-	-
Religious Orgs (mennonites, am friends)	-	-
Developed Country governments	-	-
Developing country governments	-	-
Foundations	-	-
Other Population Organizations	-	-
Marketing and Advertising (porter and novelli, savitz, etc).	-	-
Other Development Organizations	-	-
World Bank	-	-
Universities	-	-
Other (Amnesty Int, audobon society, greenpeace)	-	-

Descriptions of Other Organizations:

Mentioned 1 Not Mentioned 2 Not Appropriate 4

USAID/PCS:

Bilateral, US govt funded	-
Size	-
Priorities	-
Political-Geographical restraints	-
Family planning focus, no service provisions	-
promotes status quo	-
research, emphasis on numbers	-
failures	-

UNFPA: multilateral-works w govts, public sector, funding, no us. -

Size	-
purposes, goals	-
narrower programs	-
involved in service delivery, training, equipment	-
not concerned with service delivery	-
population education, in schools	-
does not implement projects	-

IPPF:

Non-govt, private funding	-
Size	-
Deals with services, training	-

Deals with Family planning exclusively -  
 Not Much IEC or mass media -  
 Involved in education -  
 Flexible, pioneers, innovators -

#### Oxfam America:

Non-govt, private funding -  
 Size -  
 Geographical Scope -  
 General Development, not just family planning -  
 Not involved in population issues -  
 Fund select programs -

#### SELF DESCRIPTION (given same questions as above)

Mention 1 Not Mention 2 Not Applicable 4

#### USAID:

Large -  
 Population just one sector of many -  
 Works with public and private sectors -  
 Uses missions, staff in country -

#### PCS:

Specialize in IEC -  
 support services, do not offer them -  
 research, evaluation, methodology -

#### IPPF:

works thru FPAs, private, non-govt -  
 institutional support to fpas, general funding, not just projs -

#### UNFPA:

multilateral, support to govts -  
 procedures diff, respect local political interests -  
 geographical scopes -  
 population defined broadly, into services and training -  
 more attention to interpersonal modes -

#### OXFAM AMERICA:

smaller, work at grass roots level, participatory dev. -  
 Funding, don't accept US funds -  
 geographical scope, can work anywhere -  
 promote image of poor as working, not helpless -  
 try to promote change, not maintain status quo -

## FUNDING:

Source Projects?	Mention 1	From this Source:		Restricted to
	Not Mention 2	All 1 Most 2 Some 3 (8 for dk)	Yes 1 No 2 Both 3 (9 if not mentioned) (8 for dk)	

US Congress	---	---	---
USAID Was.	---	---	---
USAID mis.	---	---	---
Governments	---	---	---
Foundations/ Corporations	---	---	---
Individuals	---	---	---
Other Org. branches	---	---	---
Other	---	---	---

## US Funding:

Receiving 1 Not receiving, discussed 2 not receiving, not discussed 3 \_

## Alternatives:

Yes 1 Sometimes, qualified response 2 No 3 Do not know 8 \_

## Obligations to

Abide by policies, mandate, principles  
Provide or Receive Advice  
Periodic Reporting Obligations  
Reporting at end or project cycle

## Donors:

## Recipients:

---  
---  
---  
---

[Mention 1 Not 2 Not involved 3 Dk 8]

Written Materials (annual reports, etc.) prepared for Donor \_ Recipient \_ General Public \_

## FREQUENCY OF INTERACTION (round up to most often)

## SPEAK WITH

daily (+several x a day) 1  
weekly (>once a day - <=every week) 2  
monthly (>weekly - <=every month) 3  
Less than every month 4  
Other Answer 5  
Not Personally Involved with this 7  
Do Not Know 8  
Not Asked 9



For DONOR: —  
 For RECIPIENT: —  
 For BRANCH ORG: —

## MEET WITH

weekly 1 monthly 2 less than monthly 3 Other Answer (often...)

For DONOR: —  
 For RECIPIENT: —  
 For BRANCH ORG: —

## Travel time to recipients:

None 1  
 One Month a year 2  
 2-3 Months a year 3  
 4-6 Months a year 4  
 >6 months a year 5  
 Not applicable for functional position 6  
 Other answer 7

## Others in Organization:

Daily 1 weekly 2 monthly 3 < monthly 4 other 5 dk 8 Not asked 9

For DONOR: —  
 For RECIPIENT: —

## Talk to Others in Organization:

> Once a day 1, Daily 2, Often 3, Not often, not a lot 4, often 5 dk 8,  
 notasked 9 —

## Evaluative Dimension:

Donor: seems to like 1 neutral 2 seems not to like 3  
 Recipient: ""

## Yesterday's Activities:

Typical? yes 1 No 2  
 if no, typical day exists? yes 1 No 2

## Mentioned 1 Not Mentioned 2

Spoke with donor organization  
 Spoke with recip org  
 meetings within org  
 prepared for travel/meetings with donor  
 "" recipient  
 read materials pertaining to donor  
 "" recip  
 wrote materials for donor  
 "" recip  
 internal matters (budgets, procedures)

## AUTONOMY:

Country Sites: [Mention 1 Not 2 DK 8 Not Asked 9]

Initiation	System of Priorities held by donor	—
	""Organization	—
	""Proposals sent by recipient	—
Negotiation	within org	—
	between org and recip	—
	between org and donor	—
Approval	needed by donor	—
Budgets: Initiation	by Org	—
	by recipient	—
	ceiling set by donor	—
Negotiation	within org	—
	between org and recipient	—
	between org and donor	—
Approval	needed by donor	—
Hiring:	Within org 1 outside org division 2 outside org 3	—
Firing:	Within org 1 outside org division 2 outside org 3 not asked 9	—
Top personnel require external approval	mentioned 1 not 2	—

How are Audiences determined?

DONOR: Discuss with donor

ORG: fits priority or mandate of org  
 "we" do research or needs assessment

RECIP: provide technical assistance/advice  
 recip proposes, initiates  
 recip decides, may do own research  
 org has no authority to change recip plan

OTHER: depends on country or project

How learned about?

Research 1 Experience 2 Observation/meetings 3 recip.responsibility 4  
 dk 8 not asked 9

How are channels selected?

- we ask outside experts, consultants 1
- We determine 2
- we do research 3
- we use what is available, depends on 4
- depends on country, what is appropriate, local situation 5
- recipient determines 6
- dk 8
- not asked 9

Preferred Means of Communication, If mentioned.

Interpersonal 1 Radio 2 Television 3 Print 4 radio and tv 5

# ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY:

What Problems do Projects Address?

Mention 1 Not Mention 2

Did not understand question, discusses conflicts

Stabilize population (broad terms)

Establish govt population policy

Improve general health of population

Improve services (including training of health personnel)

Increase acceptability (among husbands, religious groups, etc.)

Increase awareness and/or knowledge

Create demand for services

Increase behavior (get people to clinics, new acceptors)

It varies

Social Equity, Empowerment

Hunger, Poverty

Is more than 1 listed? yes 1 no 2

ENVIRONMENT addressed as an issue in interview? yes 1 no 2

Mention of religious OPPOSITION? yes 1 no 2

Why are these issues important? (note if people say more than 1)

GLOBAL: humanity, human rights  
reduce global population  
global environmental issues

NATIONAL: part of development process  
so country can plan economically, reduce fertility, etc.  
health implications for country

WOMEN: choice, planning, control over lives \_  
 social justice, status issues \_  
 empowerment \_  
 for women in general \_

PEOPLE: to help family unit \_  
 people want this \_  
 poverty, economic, self-sufficiency \_  
 increase knowledge, prevalence \_

ORG: that is mandate, what organization exists to do (for USAID) \_

Conflicts in Projects:  
 None 0  
 Logistical 1  
 Management/personnel/leadership 2  
 Lack of resources 3  
 problems with recipient 4  
 among recipient institutions 5  
 donor goals, their conditionalities with recipients 6  
 Church opposition 7  
 Do not know 8  
 Not asked 9 \_

What makes a good communication project?  
 Mention 1 Not 2  
 People \_  
 Planning, reaching objectives \_  
 Addressing locally specific needs (not explicitly audience) \_  
 Services (quality, provision) \_

AUDIENCES: Audience understands, it addresses their concerns \_  
 Emotional appeal, information clear (message based answer) \_  
 Knowing audience, research on audience \_  
 Audience is persuaded \_

How successful can IEC projects be in effecting audiences?  
 (PERCEIVED POWER OF COMMUNICATION)

Very (emphatic) 1  
 Very, but depends on... 2  
 Mixed, depends on... 3  
 Not very 4  
 Hard to measure 5  
 Do not know 8  
 Not asked 9 \_

## CONDITIONALITIES (to above):

Informs, but does not change behavior  
changes behavior

works if researched  
if well planned and designed  
if staff is good  
if services exist and are good  
if demand exists  
systemic problems in country mentioned

## AUDIENCES

Is there a typical beneficiary?

yes 1 no 2 resist stereotyping 3

## Description:

GLOBAL: everybody

NATIONAL: countries  
developing countries  
depends on country

RECIPIENT: institutions we work with  
people we work with  
health workers, service providers

AUDIENCE: potential users  
men  
women  
families  
mothers and children  
youth  
married couples  
poor  
rural focus  
urban focus

## Issues Mentioned:

Health  
Choice, freedom, control  
economic

## Project Descriptions:

Number of Projects described (0,1,2,3)

Audience of Project: (mentioned 1, not mentioned 2, dk 8, not asked 9)  
 No Audience in project

Youth, teenagers, adolescents (note controversy)  
 men and women both  
 men only  
 women only (no description)  
 women, poor  
 women, uneducated  
 potential family planning users  
 opinion leaders  
 health workers  
 rural population  
 other

How did you learn about this audience?

Research, by org 1  
 Research, by recipient 2  
 Working with governments 3  
 past experience 4  
 other 7  
 dk 8  
 not asked 9

Channels mentioned in project descriptions:

MASS: TV  
 Radio  
 Records/tapes  
 Film  
 Videos for local villages  
 Print

INTERPERSONAL:

Health workers, service providers, nurses  
 Teachers in educational system  
 Outreach education  
 Traditional theater  
 Counseling center  
 Public contests

TELEPHONE to counselor

## APPENDIX C

### RELIABILITY ESTIMATES

To assess the reliability of the variables used in analyses, the following measures of inter-coder agreement were calculated. A sample of four interviews (one randomly selected from each case study group) was recoded by another observer. The noted agreement coefficients represent the degree to which the researcher and the other coder agreed in their categorizations of these variables (see Krippendorff, 1980, for explanation of mathematical formula to calculate agreement coefficient).

VARIABLE	AGREEMENT COEFFICIENT
Perceived Dependence	1.00
Donor Involvement in Sites	.92
in Budgets	.92
in Audiences	1.00
Donor Interaction	.75
Recipient Involvement in Sites	.88
in Budgets	.88
in Audiences	.88
Recipient Interaction	.75
Organizational Activity Justifications:	
Global Level	1.00
National Level	.92
Individual Level	.94
Human Rights	1.00
Women's Rights	1.00
Donors	1.00

**Beneficiaries:**

Humanity	1.00
Developing Countries	1.00
Recipients	1.00
Audience Communities	.95

**Project Audiences:**

Potential Family Planning Users	1.00
Men Only	.75
Women Only	1.00
Men and Women	1.00
Married Couples	1.00
Youth	1.00
Poor Women	1.00
Opinion Leaders	1.00
Health Workers	1.00
Rural Population	1.00

Power of Communication to Change Audiences 1.00

**Communication Channels Used in Projects:**

Television	1.00
Radio	1.00
Records and tapes	1.00
Film	1.00
Print	1.00
Health Workers	1.00
Teachers and School Outreach efforts	.88
Local Theater	1.00
Public Contests	1.00
Counseling Center	1.00
Videos and moderators	1.00
Telephone and counselor	1.00



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aiken, Linda H. "Private Foundations in Health Affairs."  
American Psychologist, 41:11, November 1986, p. 1290-5.
- Aldenderfer, Mark S. and Roger K. Blashfield. Cluster Analysis.  
Beverly Hills, C.A.: Sage Publications, 1984.
- Aldrich, Howard E. Organizations and Environments. Englewood  
Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979.
- Allison, Graham T. Essence of Decisions: Explaining the Cuban  
Missile Crisis. Boston: Brown Little Co., 1971.
- Anderson, James. 1989. Draft Paper Presented at the Association  
for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. 1989.
- Arnove, Robert F. (ed.). Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism:  
The Foundations at Home and Abroad. Boston, M.A.: G.K.  
Hall and Co., 1980.
- Austin, J.L. How to Do Things with Words. New York: Oxford  
University Press, 1962.
- Baird, John E. Dynamics of Organizational Communication. New  
York: Harper and Row, 1977.
- Ball-Rokeach, Sandra J. and Muriel G. Cantor (eds.). Media,  
Audience, and Social Structure. Beverly Hills, C.A.: Sage  
Publications, 1986.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckman. The Social Construction of  
Reality. New York, Doubleday, 1967.
- Berkowitz, S.D. An Introduction to Structural Analysis. Toronto:  
Butterworths, 1982.
- Blau, Peter. On the Nature of Organizations. New York: John Wiley  
and Sons, 1974.

Blewett, Lori and Randall Stutman. "Performing Conflict in Organizations: The Role of Novel Metaphors" presented at International Communications Association, 1988.

Bolman, Lee G. and Terrence E. Deal. Modern Approaches to Understanding and Managing Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984.

Bronner, Ethan, "On Abortions, Turkey Bows to U.S." in Boston Globe, July 13, 1989: p.1: 18.

Burek, D.M., K.E. Koek and A. Novallo, (ed.). Encyclopedia of Associations: International Organizations. 24th edition. Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Inc., 1990.

Burrell, Gibson and Gareth Morgan. Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis. London: Heinemann, 1979.

Caldwell, John and Pat Caldwell. Limiting Population Growth and The Ford Foundation Contribution. Dover, N.H.: Frances Pinter, 1986.

Cantor, Muriel. The Hollywood TV Producer. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1971.

Child, John. "Predicting and Understanding Organizational Structure" in Pugh, D.S. and C.R. Hinings (eds.) Organizational Structure: Extensions and Replications. Hampshire, England: Saxon House, 1976.

Child, John. "Managerial and Organizational Factors Associated with Company Performance" in Pugh, D.S. and C.R. Hinings (eds.) Organizational Structure: Extensions and Replications. Hampshire, England: Saxon House, 1976.

Clegg, Stewart. The Theory of Power and Organization. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

- Colwell, Mary Ann Culleton. "The Foundation Connection: Links among Foundations and Recipient Organizations," in Arnove (ed.) Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad. Boston, M.A.: G.K. Hall and Co., 1980.
- Conrad, Charles. "Organizational Power: Faces and Symbolic Forms" in Putnam and Pacanowsky (eds.) Communications and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983.
- Curran, James, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woollacott (eds.) Mass Communication and Society. London: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- Deetz, Stanley and Astrid Kersten. "Critical Models of Interpretive Research" in Putnam and Pacanowsky (eds.) Communications and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983.
- Deshpande, Rahit. "Action or Enlightenment Functions of Research: Comparing Private-Public Sector Perspectives," Knowledge, 2:3.
- Douglas, Emily Taft. Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.
- Douglas, Mary. How Institutions Think. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986.
- Dye, Thomas. Understanding Public Policy. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984.
- Eco, Umberto. Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Eisenberg, Eric. "Ambiguity as Strategy in Organizational Communication" in Communication Monographs. Vol 51, pp. 227-242.

- Eisenberg, Eric. "Meaning and Interpretation in Organizations" in Quarterly Journal of Speech. 72. pp. 88-113. 1986.
- Elliott, Philip. The Making of a Television Series: A Case Study on the Sociology of Culture. Beverly Hills, C.A.: Sage Publications, 1972.
- Estelle, James and Susan Rose-Ackerman. The Nonprofit Enterprise in Market Economies. New York: Harwood Academic Pub., 1986.
- Etzioni, Amitai. Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Evan, William. Organizational Theory: Structures, Systems and Environments. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976.
- Everitt, B. S. and G. Dunn. Advanced Methods of Data Exploration and Modelling. Exeter, N.H.: Heinemann Educational Books, 1982.
- Ferguson, Tyrone. The Third World and Decision Making in the IMF. New York: Pinter, 1988.
- Friedland, Roger, Frances Fox Piven, and Robert Alford. "Political Conflict, Urban Structure, and Fiscal Crisis" in Ashford (ed.) Comparing Public Policies: New Concepts and Methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978.
- Friendly, Fred W. Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control... New York: Vintage Books, 1968.
- Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum, 1983.
- Gallagher, Margaret. "Negotiation of Control in Media Organizations and Occupations" in Gurevitch et al (eds.) Culture, Society and Media. London: Methuen, 1982.

Gandy, Oscar. Beyond Agenda Setting: Information Subsidies and Public Policy. New Jersey: Ablex, 1982.

Gawthorp, Louis. "The Environment, Bureaucracy and Social Change: A Political Prognosis" in Negandhi (ed.) Modern Organization Theory: Contextual, Environmental and Socio-cultural Variables. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1973.

Georgopoulos, Basil. "An Open Systems Theory Model for Organizational Research" in Negandhi (ed.). Modern Organization Theory: Contextual, Environmental and Socio-cultural Variables. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1973.

Gerbner, George. "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice" in Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, and William Melody (eds.) Communications Technology and Social Policy. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.

Gergen, Kenneth J. and Mary M. Gergen. "The Social Construction of Helping Relationships" in New Directions in Helping. Volume I. New York: Academic Press, 1983.

Gergen, Kenneth. J. "Toward a Psychology of Helping" in Journal of Applied Social Psychology. 4: 3, pp. 187-193. 1974.

Gilligan, Carol. In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Grusky, Oscar and George Miller (ed.). The Sociology of Organizations. New York: Free Press, 1970.

Guess, George. The Politics of United States Foreign Aid. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Gurevitch, Michael, Tony Bennett, James Curran, and Janet Woollacott (eds.) Culture, Society and Media. London: Methuen, 1982.

Hartogs, Nelly and Joseph Weber. Impact of Government Funding on the Management of Voluntary Agencies. New York: United Way, 1978.

Herman, Edward. Corporate Control, Corporate Power. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Hinings, C.R. and Gloria L. Lee. "Dimensions of Organizational Structure and their Context: A Replication" in Pugh, D.S. and C.R. Hinings (eds.) Organizational Structure: Extensions and Replications. Hampshire, England: Saxon House, 1976.

Hinings, C.R., S. Ransom and A. Bryman. "Churches as Organizations: Structure and Context" in Pugh, D.S. and C.R. Hinings (eds.) Organizational Structure: Extensions and Replications. Hampshire, England: Saxon House, 1976.

Holdaway, E.A., J.F. Newberry, D.J. Hickson and R.D. Heron. "Dimensions of Organizations in Complex Societies: The Educational Sector" in Pugh, D.S. and C.R. Hinings (eds.) Organizational Structure: Extensions and Replications. Hampshire, England: Saxon House, 1976.

Hornik, Robert C. "Communication as Complement to Development" in Gerbner and Siefert (eds.) World Communications: A Handbook. New York: Longman, 1984.

Hornik, Robert C. Development Communication: Information, Agriculture, and Nutrition in the Third World. New York: Longman, 1988.

Hunter, Shireen. OPEC and the Third World: The Politics of Aid. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Inkson, H. K., D.S. Pugh and D.J. Hickson. "Organizational Context and Structure: An Abbreviated Replication" in Pugh, D.S. and C.R. Hinings (ed.) Organizational Structure: Extensions and Replications. Hampshire, England: Saxon House, 1976.

- International Planned Parenthood Federation. Annual Report, 1988-89. London, U.K.: IPPF.
- International Planned Parenthood Federation Western Hemisphere Region, Inc. Annual Report. NY: IPPFWHR, 1988.
- Jones, Mervyn. In Famine's Shadow: A Private War on Hunger. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.
- Jones, Sue. "Choosing Action Research: A Rationale" in Mangham (ed.) Organizational Analysis and Development. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1987.
- Kaplan, Berton. "Further Notes on a Non-Weberian 'Model' of Bureaucracy: The Case of Development Organizations" in Negandhi (ed.) Modern Organization Theory: Contextual, Environmental and Socio-cultural Variables. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1973.
- Kapsis, Robert, "Hollywood Filmmaking and Audience Image" in Ball-Rokeach, Sandra J. and Muriel G. Cantor (eds.). Media, Audience, and Social Structure. Beverly Hills, C.A.: Sage Publications, 1986.
- Katz, Daniel and Robert L. Kahn, "Open-Systems Theory," in Grusky, Oscar and George Miller (ed.). The Sociology of Organizations. New York: Free Press, 1970.
- Kelley, E.W. "Universal Needs: An Inductive Framework for Comparative Policy Analysis" in Ashford (ed.) Comparing Public Policies: New Concepts and Methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978.
- Knight, Kenneth and Rueben McDaniel. Organization: An Information Systems Perspective. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1979.

- Koek, Karin E. (ed.) Encyclopedia of Associations: International Organizations. 23rd Edition. Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Inc., 1989.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. "Paradigms for Communication and Development with Emphasis on Autopoiesis" in Kincaid (ed.) Communication Theory: Eastern and Western Perspectives. San Diego: Academic Press, 1987.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. "A Heretic Communication about Communication about Communication about Reality" Presented to Institute of Communication Research, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. 1988.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. "On Reflexivity in Human Communication," Prepared for Presentation at Temple Conference on Discourse Analysis. 1989.
- Krippendorff, Klaus and Frederick Steier. "Cybernetic Properties of Helping: The Organizational Level." in Erichson (ed.). Improving the Human Condition: Quality and Stability in Social Systems. Louisville, Kentucky: Society for General Systems Research, 1979.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. Metaphors We Live By. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Lefton, M. "Client Characteristics and Organizational Functioning: An Interorganizational Analysis" in Negandhi (ed.) Modern Organization Theory: Contextual, Environmental and Socio-cultural Variables. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1973.
- Littlejohn, Stephan W. Theories of Human Communication. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1983.



- Luhmann, Niklas. The Differentiation of Society. Translated by Stephen Holmes and Charles Larmore. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Magat, Richard. The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods and Styles. New York: Plenum Press, 1979.
- Mohr, Lawrence. Explaining Organizational Behavior. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982.
- Morgan, Gareth. Images of Organization. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1986.
- Morse, Stanley J. and Kenneth J. Gergen. "Material Aid and Social Attraction" in Journal of Applied Social Psychology. 1: 2. pp. 150-62. 1971.
- Morss, E. "Institutional Destruction Resulting from Donor and Project Proliferation in Sub-Saharan African Countries," World Development, 12:4, April 1984, p. 465-70.
- Morss, E. and V.A. Morss. U.S. Foreign Aid: An Assessment of New and Traditional Development Strategies. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982.
- Morss, E. and V.A. Morss. The Future of Western Development Assistance. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986.
- Murdock, Graham. "Large Corporations and the Control of Communications Industries" in Gurevitch et al (eds.). Culture, Society and Media. London: Methuen, 1982.
- Negandhi, Anant R. Modern Organization Theory: Contextual, Environmental and Socio-cultural Variables. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1973.
- Ness, Gayl D. "Organizational Issues in International Population Assistance" in Hanser, Philip M. (ed.). World Population and

Development: Challenges and Prospects. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1979.

Norusis, Marija J. SPSS-X Advanced Statistics Guide. 2nd edition. Chicago: SPSS Inc., 1988.

Osborn, Frederick, "American Foundations and Population Problems" in Warren Weaver (ed.), U.S. Philanthropic Foundations: Their History, Structure, Management and Record. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

Oxfam America. Annual Report. Boston, M.A.: Oxfam America, 1988.

Parker, James J. "The Organizational Environment of the Motion Picture Sector" in Ball-Rokeach, Sandra J. and Muriel G. Cantor (eds.). Media, Audience, and Social Structure. Beverly Hills, C.A.: Sage Publications, 1986.

"Pathways," Watertown, M.A.: Pathfinder Fund, May 1990.

Piotrow, Phyllis Tilson. World Population Crisis: The U.S. Response. New York: Praeger Publishing, 1973.

Population Communication Services. Annual Report. Baltimore, M.D.: The Johns Hopkins University, Center for Communication Programs, 1988.

Price, James L. Handbook of Organizational Measurement. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1972.

Przeworski, Adam and Henry Teune. The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry. New York: John Wiley and Son, 1970.

Pugh, D.S. and C.R. Hinings. Organizational Structure: Extensions and Replications. Hampshire, England: Saxon House, 1976.

Putnam, Linda L. and Michael E. Pacanowsky (eds.) Communications and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983.

- Rapaport, Anatol. "Introduction: What is Semantics?" in Hayakawa (ed.) The Use and Misuse of Language. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962.
- Rich, Robert. "The Use of Science in Policymaking: A Comparative Perspective on Science Policy" in Ashford (ed.) Comparing Public Policies: New Concepts and Methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978.
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan. "Ideals versus Dollars: Donors, Charity Managers and Government Grants, " Journal of Political Economy. 94: 4, 1987, p. 810-21.
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan (ed.) Economics of Nonprofit Institutions: Studies in Structure and Policy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Sadik, Nafis (ed.). Population: The UNFPA Experience. New York: New York University Press, 1984.
- Salas, Rafael M. Reflections on Population. New York: Pergamon Press, 1984.
- Schön, Donald. "Generative Metaphor: A Perspective of Problem-Setting in Social Policy" in Orthony (ed.) Metaphor and Thought. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Smircich, Linda. "Implications for Management Theory" in Putnam and Pacanowsky (eds.) Communications and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983.
- Smith, Ruth and Eric Eisenberg. "Conflict at Disneyland: A Root-Metaphor Analysis" in Communication Monographs. 54. pp. 367-380. 1987.
- Solomon, Douglas S. "A Social Marketing Perspective on Communication Campaigns," in Ronald E. Rice and Charles K.

Atkin (eds.), Public Communication Campaigns. Second Edition. Newbury Park, C.A.: Sage Publications, 1989.

Szilagyi, Andrew D. Jr. and Marc J. Wallace, Jr. Organizational Behavior and Performance. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1983.

Theophanides, Stavros M. "Key Issues in Project Planning and Implementation: The Case of Greece" in Cook and Kuhn (eds.) Studies in Management Sciences: Vol. 17 Planning Processes in Developing Countries. New York: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1982.

Tompkins, Phillip. "On Organizational Value Premises, Contexts, Threatening Changes, and the Opposition of Ambuity/Abstraction." Paper presented at the International Communication Association, Dublin, June 1990.

Turow, Joe. Media Industries: The Production of News and Entertainment. New York: Longman, 1984.

United Nations Population Fund. UNFPA Report. New York: UNFPA, 1987; 1988.

UNFPA. Inventory of Population Projects in Developing Countries Around the World 1986/87. New York: UNFPA.

United States Agency for International Development. User's Guide to the Office of Population. Washington, D.C.: USAID, 1989; 1990.

United States Agency for International Development. Evaluation Special Study No. 56: Getting the Message: The Communication for Young People Project. Washington D.C.: USAID, October, 1988.

Weick, Karl E. "Organizational Communication: Toward a Research Agenda" in Putnam and Pacanowsky (eds.) Communications and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983.

- Weisbrod, Burton and Mark Schlesinger. "Public, Private, Nonprofit Ownership and the Response: The Case of Nursing Homes" in Rose-Ackerman, Susan (ed.) Economics of Nonprofit Institutions: Studies in Structure and Policy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Whitaker, Ben. A Bridge of People: A Personal View of Oxfam's First Forty Years. London: Heinemann, 1983.
- Wilensky, H. Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures. Berkeley: University of California, 1974.
- Wilkins, Karin. "Metaphors of World Population" in Social Development Issues. 12. pp. 71-80. 1988.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. Philosophical Investigations. Translated by G.E.M. Anscombe. New York: MacMillan, 1958.
- Wyatt, Nancy and Gerald Phillips. Studying Organizational Communication: A Case Study of the Farmers Home Administration. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1988.
- Young, Dennis. "Entrepreneurship and the Behavior of Nonprofit Organizations: Elements of a Theory" in Rose-Ackerman, Susan (ed.) Economics of Nonprofit Institutions: Studies in Structure and Policy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Yuchtman, Ephraim and Stanley Seashore. "A System Approach to Organizational Effectiveness," American Sociological Review, 32, 1967, p. 891-903.