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Exploring Organizational Culture and Leadership Styles in El Paso Nonprofit Organizations

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EXPLORING ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP STYLES
IN EL PASO NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

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2011

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to:

My Mom and my Dad, for their unconditional love, support and faith in me.

My brother, Neto, for his constant display of encouragement.

My dearest husband, Silas, for being my everything.

My friends and family, whose admiration enabled me to soar fearlessly into this endeavor.

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IN EL PASO NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

by

MILENA SIMÕES MURTA, B.A.

THESIS

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Abstract

This study focuses on two non-profit organizations in the El Paso region to document the communication processes by which they maintain their culture across their units. The study also explores leadership styles, both what are they and how they are employed in these organizations. This study involves three research methods, including: content analysis of organizational documents, interviews with leaders, and ethnographic observation. The findings of this study suggest that managing non-profit organizations is a challenge but yet rewarding duty. Moreover, managers explained that mission management is facilitated through four major ways: through documents, through the delivery of services, through training and through personal examples. The communicative culture was seen as one of “transforming”, not only in the sense of being changed over time, but also in the sense of the way it affects and transforms the perspectives of people directly connected to these organizations.

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Preface

It may take you a while to understand but it has been “automatic” since I’ve got my driver’s license: If I am about to park my car, I’ll do whatever needed to park it backwards, so that I’m always “ready to go”. This is one of the numerous safety driving rules I learned from my Dad, who learned from the company in which he has worked for over 30 years. The organizational culture of this company values safety as the most important work principle and it has not only influenced Dad’s life, but also our lives, his family, too.

This example suggests from where my interest in organizational culture may come from. The way some values are inherited by us based on the organization with which we are associated just kept calling my attention and I’m glad I found the opportunity to dig deeper into that matter with this thesis project.

The decision to focus on non-profit organizations came after a very enlightening conversation with my advisor. I was sure I wanted to work with organizations, but I was not sure with what kind of companies to focus. Then she came up with the question I will never forget: “If you had one million dollars to donate to an organization, will you donate that to some environmental company, or maybe an organization that deals with animals...or what?” I didn’t think too much to answer that I would donate to an organization that deals with people, changing lives. Not that the other matters were not important, but that the matter of “helping people” speaks directly to me. That was the clue.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In a society in which profit is defined as “the gain from a given transaction” (Oleck, 1956, p. 1), one might consider almost surreal any endeavor that would define itself as “non-profit” or “not for profit”. And one might ask, if it is not for profit, what is it for? But the world, fortunately, is not all about gain. Or as, Oleck (1956) points out, parallel with the profit motive in the development of our civilization, there has been another tendency, which is a compound of many motives, including the nobler human impulses: religious and moral concepts and principles, tenderness toward children, resentment of injustice and oppression, and mainly the desire to help the needy. Grobman (2005) shares this same thought of humanism, stressing the importance of this sector by stating:

In our highly competitive, individualistic society, the nonprofit sector provides a way to express our humanitarian values, to preserve our cultural heritage, to promote various causes, to educate, and to enlighten. Nonprofits play a unique role as an intermediary between the citizens and their government. They maintain and transmit values to a degree that government has been unable to do. (p. 15)

Hall (1987) adds to the concept by defining a nonprofit as a body of individuals who associate for any of three purposes: “to perform public tasks that have been delegated to them by the state; to perform public tasks for which there is a demand that neither the state nor for-profit organizations are willing to fulfill; or to influence the direction of policy in the state, the for-profit sector, or other nonprofit organizations” (p. 3).

Being non-profit does not mean that there is no money involved. On the contrary, there can be a lot: according to Petrovits, Shakespeare & Shih (2011), the nonprofit sector represents a sizable slice of the United States economy. “Nonprofit organizations had over \$3.4 trillion in assets under their control and charitable giving to these organizations reached an estimated \$295 billion, or 2.2 percent of gross domestic product, in 2006” (p. 325).

According to the Internal Revenue Code there are over 25 categories of nonprofits, such as human service organizations, schools, health care providers, cultural institutions, community

development corporations, affordable housing, and research laboratories (Petrovits, C., Shakespeare, C., & Shih, A., 2011). Oleck (1956) summarizes these in five principal classes of non-profit organizations:

1) Charitable organizations: these include religious, educational, hospital, library and civic organizations; 2) Social organizations: these include clubs, mutual benefit societies, fraternal orders and the like; 3) Political organizations: These include political party organizations, and committees to aid the candidacy of a political hopeful or the adoption of certain legislation; 4) Trade associations: these include labor unions, boards of trade and chambers of commerce, manufacturers' or employers' associations, and the like; 5) Governmental organizations: these include all governmental and municipal organizations, such as municipal corporations and administrative bodies. Most of these are established and operated pursuant to express legislative provisions (pp. 5-6)

Typically, nonprofit operations are organized into major roles. These include clients, or the consumers of the services, staff, which are the supporters of the work, volunteers, the unpaid personnel, and the board, composed by individuals from the community that are accountable for the organization's directions. Larson (2011) stresses the importance of a team work: "at the heart of any successful nonprofit is an effective chief executive and board of directors. These leaders must work as a team with vision, skill, and sufficient resources to accomplish the organization's mission" (para. 1). Middleton (1987) explains the importance of selecting effective board members:

To control any external dependencies, an organization can place on its board representatives of important external groups or constituencies and define as one of the board's functions the task of mediating its relationships with these key elements. On the other hand, board members and the groups they represent can also use nonprofit boards for their own purposes, such as enhancing their prestige in the community (p. 141)

As they exist to provide a public benefit, nonprofits receive preferential tax treatment and other regulatory privileges. That is why policies and procedures need to be fixed and smoothly followed by staff, board members and volunteers.

1.1 HARD WORK, MANY CHALLENGES

Non-profit organizations are known to face numerous challenges; the first one is dealing with a tight budget. As Keyton (2005) describes, while non-profits typically do not make money by selling products or services, they cannot operate without capital, which is raised through donations, earned from invested monies, or provided by institutional grantors or individuals who want the non-profit to continue to provide services.

The second challenge is dealing with an increasing demand of work. As Dym & Hutson (2005) explain:

“Throughout history, the responsibility of non-profit organizations has increased: as government funding for housing, health, community development, environmental, and workplace safety programs has decreased, nonprofit organizations, led by their largely self-taught leaders, have risen to fill the gap. Non-profits are helping the people they serve claim responsibility for and control over their own lives, as best as they can” (p. 47).

A consequence of this situation is that the gap between the skills and activities required for profit and nonprofit leaders has narrowed. Non-profit leaders – both directors and board members – must spend more time raising money (Dym & Hutson, 2005). Another characteristic of leadership in non-profit organizations is the “type” of leader that is at the front, as mentioned previously, the “self-taught” one. But what non-profit leaders sometimes lack in formal education and management expertise, they make up for enthusiasm, energy and inventiveness. In other words, “They learn quickly because they must; they build their ships as they sail; they innovate to solve problems encountered along the way” (Dym & Hutson, 2005, p. 47).

1.2 FEMINIST LEADERSHIP

According to Buzzanell (1995), Fine (1993), Kanter (1977) and Marshall (1993), descriptions of leadership, management and administration not only highlight men and marginalize women but also value male modes of thinking, feeling, acting and forming identities. This is the case of understanding leadership as the process of externally articulating visions that challenge organizational identity and change; management as what translates that vision internally; and administration as the science of

developing standardized and routine practices and constructs applicable to all members in every organization (Bryman, 1996; Clegg & Hardy, 1996; Frick & Spears, 1996; Kotter, 1990; Yukl, 1989; Zaleznik, 1977).

When speaking about feminist leadership, it is important to recognize that the most often acknowledged way of knowing for women – subjective knowledge – can be applied for managerial purposes. According to Belenky et al (1986), subjective knowledge locates the place of truth within the individual and equates the scientific with the personal. “Rather than looking to authority or theory for understanding” the authors say, “women learn through direct experience, personal relationships, subjectivity, and passion” (p. 133).

Moreover, women leaders have known, through the decades, how to build, introduce and maintain its organizational culture. According to Schein (1991), the only thing of real importance that leaders do is to create and manage culture: “The unique talent of leaders is their ability to understand and work with culture” (p. 5).

1.3 TRUE LIFE: TWO EXAMPLES OF NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

As previously stated, non-profit organizations exist for a public benefit. Because of that and according to their level of engagement with the society, these organizations can grow fast and if well managed, last for a long time. This is the case for one of the most successful non-profit organizations in the world: The Young Women’s Christian Association, or the YWCA. In another perspective, sometimes dealing with delicate themes, such as drug abuse or alcohol addiction, non-profits need to act as advocates to face society’s most challenging obstacles in order to keep their doors open. This is especially the case for a local non-profit organization that has been successful for over 40 years: Aliviane, Inc.

1.3.1 YWCA - A bit of history for the national organization

It was the year 1855, in London, England. In the midst of the Industrial Revolution, when advances in agricultural techniques resulted in an increased supply of food, and changes in industrial organization resulted in increased production, efficiency and profits, a new movement began: a movement of women working for racial, social and economic change. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) was born.

Two events, which happened almost simultaneously, are considered the building blocks of the organization. In the mid-19th century, Mrs. Arthur Kinnaird established a London hostel where Florence Nightingale's nurses could stay on their way to and from the Crimean War (Boyd, 1986). At the same time, from her home in a small English village, Emma Robarts, wrote to 23 friends asking them to pray for young women around the world. These began the "Prayer Unions" movement (Rockefeller, 1963). Through the convergence of these movements, the YWCA sought to be a social and spiritual support system for young English women, "but it soon expanded to the whole world to fill the needs of women and girls brought out of their homes by the industrial revolution" (Rockefeller, 1963, p. 908). Today, the YWCA is the largest women's organization in the world, and the second oldest organization of its kind, with more than 25 million women worldwide (e.g., 2 million in the US) in over 125 countries (YWCA, 2011).

The YWCA gained momentum in the late 1800's because of increased gender inequities, or the broad range of conditions by which women were disadvantaged, including their economic opportunities, political standing, legal status, personal freedom, familial obligations, access to education, and cultural representation, which accompanied this new era (Barriteau, 2001; Mjagkik & Spratt, 1997; Wisenfeld, 1997). At that time, U.S. society was described as Alexis de Tocqueville (1835,1966) observed: "In America, more than anywhere else in the world, care has been taken constantly to trace clearly distinct spheres of action for the two sexes. You will never find American women in charge of the external relations of the family, managing a business, or interfering in politics" (p. 601). Because of the increasing demand for labor in the growing industries, some women were motivated to leave their families in the countryside to work in expanding urban centers. The employment permitted them to earn

their own support without depending on their families. The wages also permitted young women to save something for their future marriages (Dublin, 2006).

In her book *Emmissaries* (1986), Nancy Boyd, a member of the board of the International Division of the YWCA, notes that women who were drawn to the cities in search of employment also were the first victims of the Industrial Revolution. As she describes:

A woman without the protection of a father or a husband was viewed as fair game by unscrupulous men who were said to lurk in the recesses of railroad stations and disembarking sheds, ready to slip an opiate into the tea cup of an unsuspecting girl before dragging her off to a brothel (p. 12).

Boyd also stresses that, in addition to lacking the protection of a home, women had no skills in negotiating contracts and were obligated to accept wages that were half those of men's.

In 1858, a unit of the YWCA was established in the United States and it spread quickly across the country. At that time, it was called the "Ladies Christian Association." It was formed in New York City by Marshall O. Roberts (YWCA, 2011). In Boston, eight years later, another group formed the first U.S. association officially calling itself the Young Women's Christian Association. The movement spread rapidly, and a national body, the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States, was established in 1906. National headquarters have been in New York City since 1912 (Columbia, 2010; YWCA, 2011).

Since its inception, the YWCA's focus has been on the empowerment of women and girls, as well as on racial justice. Nationally and internationally, the organization works toward social change through legislative and development initiatives. According to Harter, Kirby & Gerbensky-Kerber (2010) YWCAs have raised health awareness about breast cancer, maintained rape and abuse crisis centers and homeless shelters, created sanitation systems in developing countries and have also advocated healthy lifestyles through fitness programs. YWCA leaders believed that recreation and group sports "would open entrancing vistas of longed for freedom of physical action combined with food for her social hunger" (Farnum, 1912, p. 161). In volleyball and water sports, for example, women would learn to put

their individual talents to work for the group, thus educating themselves in Christian cooperation and self-sacrifice (Boyd, 1986).

In summary, one could say that the YWCA's worldwide emphasis is on literacy and learning, health and nutrition, vocational training and the rights of women. Moreover, as Rockefeller (1963) points out: "It never imposes programs, but instead seeks to help women and girls meet their own needs and, in turn, meet the special needs of their regions" (p. 905).

1.3.1.1 YWCA and the needs of El Paso del Norte region

It is visible and sensible to anyone who has ever visited the region: El Paso's place on the US/Mexico Border makes it and the women who live here distinct and unique when compared to the rest of Texas and the nation. "El Paso women are shaped by the geography and the two cultures that meet at the border" (Romero & Yellen, 2004, p. 6). From one side, there is the Mexican culture, with traditional values such as familism, machismo and religiosity (Ramos-Sanchez & Atkinson, 2009). According to Ramos-Sanchez & Atkinson (2009), familism is the belief that family is central to one's life (Zinn, 1982) and that family needs take precedence over the needs of the individual (John et al., 1997). Another prominent value is machismo, which refers to strong adherence to gender role patterns of maleness that may include male superiority, stoicism, and aggressive behavior (Sandoval & De La Roza, 1986). Given the high prevalence of Catholicism in the Mexican culture (Gloria & Peregoy, 1996), religiosity is also a common value. Religiosity, as practiced by many Latino/a Catholics, refers to the belief in a greater power and that prayer and healing are linked to this greater power (Ramos-Sanchez & Atkinson, 2009). Of course, there is wide variance among Mexican and Mexican-American individuals, families and communities.

Both legal and illegal immigration brought many people from Mexico to the United States. They were often found at the bottom of the social strata in their home country and may have been discriminated against by members of their own ethnic group (Becerra, 1998). But here in El Paso, Mexican-American individuals, in close proximity to their mother country, continued to have on-going

interactions with first-generation immigrants who reinforced their traditional values (Saracho & Martínez-Hancock, 2004). In her book “Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza”, published in 1987, Gloria Anzaldua, a chicana feminist writer, describes this existence of several cultures near the Mexico-Texas border. “The U.S – Mexican border ‘*es una herida abierta*’ where the third world grates against the first and bleeds” (p. 3). This metaphor emphasizes how complex is the interaction between those cultures, something surrounded with discrimination and racism.

On the other side is the culture of the United States with a “Texas accent”. According to Willett and Curley (2005), Texas is a complex state stretching across at least five distinct geographic regions with different economies and life styles. The authors also mention that in Texas, women were never invisible and certainly rarely without voice. “However, the Texas republic began as a white, male, every-man-a-land-holder Jeffersonian dream” (p. xiv).

But besides this attempt to connect the El Paso region to a Mexican or a Texan influence, some authors would rather refer to the border as a third space. Saracho & Martínez-Hancock (2004) discuss that Mexican-American ethnographers adopted diverse philosophies based on their observations of border life. “The border and its surroundings shared a repertoire of cultural and linguistic experiences derived from Spanish and American colonialism as well as the nationalism from the United States and Mexico” (p. 254).

In this context, women’s lives have also been affected. Petros (2007) suggests that Mexico-U.S. border represents a space where traditional gender role expectations are constantly being questioned, challenged and redefined. Kathleen Staudt (2002) also reflects about this situation, when she explains:

Borderlands are special regions, at the national margins, but are as gendered a terrain as national heartlands and capitols. While men dominate most official positions of authority, women participate in many community-based and nonprofit organizations and networks. (Staudt, 2002, p. 199)

Wright (2006) recognizes that despite significant gains obtained by some women in the household and the workplace, gender-based discrimination and violence are grave problems that continue to plague the border region. One of these problems is related to prostitution. The same author

states that, for most of the twentieth century, Ciudad Juárez, in Mexico, has been known as a city bursting with prostitutes. As she explains:

During the Prohibition era in the United States, women could find work on Ciudad Juárez streets by selling sex or companionship to men who were looking for the entertainment and alcohol prohibited in their own country. The internal migration of Mexican men who sought work across the border also contributed to the growth of Ciudad Juárez as a place providing unregulated sexual services. (Wright, 2006, p. 685)

When aspiring to create new lives, many Mexican women, with different backgrounds, cross the border. For some of them, what was supposed to be a life-changing experience turns out to be a nightmare. Without homes, marginalized and sometimes in abusive relationships, those women were adrift with an unforeseen future. But this situation began to change in 1909, when the city of El Paso received its YWCA charter.

The YWCA El Paso del Norte Region has become the largest, most comprehensive YWCA in the United States (YWCA, 2011). The social programs have revolved around the region's needs to provide women the comfort and protection of a home, companionship, and recreation. Since the industrial revolution had destroyed many of the old ways of meeting these needs, the YWCA created new ones. It started hostels for working women and students, placing them under the direction of "benevolent", motherly managers (Boyd, 1986). In 1910, a 52-bed residence for young women was the first accomplishment of the organization, in El Paso. In the same year, a gymnasium was opened and health-education classes were formed (YWCA, 2010).

But in a border city, the organization had to deal with immigration issues. Along with the settlement houses, it offered immigrant women a place where they could meet, an oasis in a confusing and competitive world, where they could exchange memories of their country, and learn ways of surviving in the new world (Boyd, 1986).

Today, the YWCA El Paso del Norte Region is one of the largest providers of housing and services for domestic violence survivors, childcare and youth programs, job training and employment services, financial literacy and economic self-sufficiency programs, basic education and tutoring, low

income and transitional housing, health, fitness and aquatics programs, and more in the United States (YWCA, 2011).

1.3.2 Aliviane, Inc: another local perspective

Incorporated in 1970 and headquartered here in El Paso, Aliviane, Inc is a local non-profit organization focused on helping individuals and families with substance abuse problems. This is a problem that, today, affects the whole nation: according to the National Survey of Drug Use and Health, nearly 23 million people were users of illegal drugs in 2010 in the United States. The figure remained statistically the same as in 2009 (El Paso Times, 2011).

But especially in the El Paso-Juarez region, substance abuse is critical. According to experts on the Texas-Mexico border at the University of Texas at El Paso, poverty, lack of education, proximity to narcotics stashes and little access to treatment make border residents more susceptible to the dangers of the illicit drug trade. Because of that, the drug-addiction problem on the El Paso-Juárez border is often overshadowed by the extreme drug-cartel violence in Mexico.

Over the years, Aliviane, Inc has developed prevention, intervention and treatment programs in order to offer to people an opportunity to change their lives. Traditionally, the organization was known to offer treatment to hard core substance abusers who are considered difficult to rehabilitate, who are below poverty level economic status, and have no access to for profit treatment facilities (Aliviane, 2011). But the agency has grown: In 1989, Aliviane initiated women and children's residential treatment services, becoming one of the first programs in Texas and nationally to do so. Ten years later the organization developed adolescent services and today Aliviane is the primary provider of services in West Texas for men, women, and adolescents in El Paso County at different levels of intensity to meet the unique needs of the region.

The organization has grown, creating branches in other cities, such as Las Cruces, New Mexico, and other city districts, such as Socorro, to assist clients with many services including intensive residential treatment, behavioral health counseling, health education, and supportive outpatient services

for clients whose substance abuse problems have not reached a critical stage. Aliviane has also considered the relatives of their clients, who are also affected by the consequences of addiction. The organization coordinates a network of community support and an array of interagency agreements to provide a continuum of care in West Texas.

1.4 ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

This study focuses on nonprofit organizations' culture. But first, what is culture? It is not what an organization has, but "a culture is something an organization is" (Smircich, 1983, p. 347). Considering its roots in anthropology, the field of organizational culture offers numerous definitions (Jaskyte, 2010). Organizational culture has been defined as: "the set of artifacts, values, and assumptions that emerge from the interactions of organizational members" (Keyton, 2005, p. 28); "patterns of interpretation composed of the meanings associated with various cultural manifestations, such as stories, rituals, formal and informal practices, jargon and physical arrangements" (Martin, 2002, p. 330); the glue that holds together an organization through shared patterns of meaning (Martin & Siehl, 1983); a set of symbols, ceremonies, and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of the organization to its employees (Ouchi, 1981); a pattern of beliefs and expectations shared by organizational members that produce norms that shape behavior (Robbins, 1989). It has also been defined as a set of cognitions shared by members of a social unit and that are acquired through social learning and a socialization process exposing individuals to a variety of culture-bearing elements (Cooke & Rousseau, 1988); and, as "a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group has learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration" (Schein, 1994, p. 12). But especially in non-profit organizations, I argue that the organizational culture is also a common agreement.

An organization's culture is also defined through the communication among its members. As Taylor & Van Every (2000) and Keyton (2005) discuss, an organization emerges from communication and continues to emerge from the communication of its members. As organizational culture also influences who will be selected as leaders and how leadership roles will be enacted (Alvesson, 2002). In

this research, I have investigated how an organization's culture can be managed or changed through communication to influence organizational success, using two non-profit organizations based in El Paso as examples.

Research about organizational culture has been shown to influence not only employee attitudes and behaviors, but also employee outcomes, such as well-being, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction (Findler, Wind, & Mor Barak, 2007; Sikorska-Simmons, 2006). Additionally, empirical evidence links organizational culture with positive work attitudes, decreased turnover, and higher service quality, (Glisson & Green, 2006; Glisson & James, 2002). According to Jaskyte (2010), evidence has also been found for the relationship between organizational culture and successful efforts to improve service quality and perceived positive client outcomes (Shortell, Bennett, & Byck, 1998). Moreover, culture has been shown to be central to organizing for innovation and to fostering individual creativity in nonprofit human service organizations (Jaskyte, 2004, 2008; Jaskyte & Dressler, 2004).

Studying organizational culture requires a delicate balance between viewing a culture as frozen at a point in time so it can be explored, and viewing a culture's complexity and agreeing that no meaning can be fixed (Alvesson, 2002). Bantz (1993) also suggests that culture is both a process (i.e., it builds itself everyday, influencing people in different ways) and a product (i.e., as a consequence of interactions that have already happened).

According to Schein (1992), the investigation of organizational culture has the potential to produce at least three outcomes, and one of them is also an objective of this study: a deeper understanding of how different groups can integrate their work activities successfully. Additionally, Deetz (1988), argues that the goals of organizational culture studies should be twofold: "the first should be to generate insight about cultural processes and to demonstrate how our work lives articulate basic information about cultural processes. The second goal should be to continue to develop and re-form organizational practices acknowledging the complexity of the work environment, the variety of stakeholders, and their competing interests" (Deetz, 1988 In Keyton, 2005, p.81).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

According to Alvesson & Berg (1991), organizational culture is a popular subject with both scholars and practitioners, and enjoys both academic respectability and practical relevance. The term has numerous definitions, but all of them espouse the same principle: that organizational culture is the set of beliefs, values, behavioral patterns, and assumptions shared by the members of an organization (Cooke & Rousseau, 1998; Eisenberg & Riley, 2001; Keyton, 2005; Jaskyte, 2010; Ji-Young An et al., 2011). This culture is built and maintained through communication.

Rizescu (2011) stresses the importance of the field by locating organizational culture as an intrinsic part of modern approaches to the managing of organizations. “As a factor determining the success of the organization, culture is an essential element, essential for the social progress” (Rizescu, 2011, p. 75). In fleshing out this idea, Moldoveanu (2000) suggests that organizational culture can be characterized as follows: It is holistic, as it represents more than the sum of its parts; it is historically established, as it reflects the time evolution of the organization; it is connected to the anthropological nature elements; it is socially constituted, as it is created and maintained by a group of people that make up the organization; and it is hard to change, due to human complexities involved. But before proceeding with a review of organizational culture studies today, it is important to locate this area of study historically.

2.1 LOCATING ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE HISTORICALLY

A review of research suggests that studies of organizational culture have gained importance over time. More precisely, in the early 1980s, researchers, consultants, managers and other practitioners, mainly in business, began to believe that shared understandings of organizational culture could enhance organizational change, positive images of organizations and strategy implementation (Chatman & Jehn, 1994; Jaskyte, 2010). Socioeconomic factors, such as the dramatic downturn of economies, were also responsible for the growing interest in the study of organizational culture over the past 30 years (Ji-

Young An, Young-Hee Yom, & Ruggiero, 2011). Concerned about their profits, managers came to consider organizational culture a critical factor.

In the 1980s, as Eisenberg & Riley (2001) noted, the organizational culture concept exploded in the media through stories in *Business Week* and *Fortune* magazines, as well as in the popular business books *In Search of Excellence* by Peters & Waterman (1982) and *Corporate Cultures* by Deal & Kennedy (1982). While examining both books, Miller (1999) contended that what is most important about Deal and Kennedy's work was their belief that business success could be enhanced through the development of a strong culture. This strong culture is composed of four key components: values, the beliefs and visions that members hold for an organization; heroes, the individuals who come to exemplify an organization's values; rites and rituals, which are the ceremonies through which an organization celebrates its values and cultural network; and the communication system through which cultural values are instituted and reinforced (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Miller, 1999). What was most prominent about the work of Peters and Waterman, according to Miller (1999) was that they attempted to identify the themes that characterized the cultures of organizations "excellent" (i.e., as rated by employees and experts). Some of those themes were: a bias for action, close relations to the customer, autonomy and entrepreneurship and productivity through people (Peters & Waterman, 1982; Miller, 1999). On the one hand, both books achieved instant success and impact on organizational practice. On the other, however, scholars did not embrace them (Miller, 1999). The main reason, according to Miller (1999), is that the books provided prescriptions for managerial practice rather than descriptions or explanations of organizational life. This "prescription-perspective" ended up as a new approach in the literature, based on established points, akin to a recipe, which leaders were supposed to follow in order to succeed in their managing practices. "Scholars later called this approach value engineering because it espouses the belief that effective cultural leaders could create 'strong' cultures built around their own values" (Martin & Frost, 1996, p. 602).

While examining the history of organizational culture studies, Eisenberg & Riley (2001) noted that the origin of the term "organizational culture" was unknown, but the notion that factories, schools and other institutions have cultures has existed for at least a half century. Bennis (1969) found

organizational culture to be of the utmost importance because “the only viable way to change organizations is to change their ‘culture’, that is, to change the systems within which people work and live” (p. v). Keyton (2005) highlighted that the threads and notions of organizational culture began early in the field of management, most notably with Elton Mayo’s human relations studies. “Mayo can be credited for identifying that informal interactions among organizational members set up expectations and constraints that cannot be explained by other organizational structures” (Keyton, 2005, p. 78). According to Parker (2000), Elton Mayo can also be recognized as one of the first researchers to consider that employees’ beliefs, attitudes, and values can influence how they view themselves, the organization, and their roles within it (Parker, 2000).

Once discovered by business managers, as Eisenberg & Riley (2001) pointed out, the context behind the term “organizational culture” rapidly emerged as an effective way of engaging communication scholars and institutions. “It became both a part of the language of the business world and a flourishing stream of academic research” (Eisenberg & Riley, 2001, p. 294). But why did the cultural approach emerge in organizational studies? According to Alvesson (1993b), a number of reasons: a disaffection with the methods and results of traditional organizational research; an increased emphasis on the lived experience of organizational members and an awareness of global societal issues; a call for alternatives to authoritarian leadership; the productivity problems of western societies; the emergence of new organizational forms in which behaviors are controlled more through identification and loyalty than through direct supervision; and the marketing of the culture concept by consulting firms. The works of Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo (1983) also serve as significant analyses of culture and organizations: the authors explained that organizational members are choice-making individuals in the theatricality of performances. In the context of an organization, the notion of ‘theatricality’ refers to each organization as a stage and each member as an actor with different parts, masks and scenes (Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1983). The authors also discussed organizational communication as enculturation, which "refers to those processes by which organizational members acquire the social knowledge and skills necessary to behave as component members" (p.143). For Pacanowsky et al. (1983), the web of organizational culture “was the residue of employees’

performances, those actions by which members constitute and reveal their culture to themselves and others” (p. 140). In other words, Pacanowsky considered culture as more than a single variable in organizational research (Griffin, 2009).

In the 1990s, Bantz (1993) attempted a comprehensive, generalist meta-study of organizational culture. Eisenberg & Riley (2001) explained that the author developed an integrated communication-based technique called Organizational Communication Culture (OCC), which analyzed messages and their interpretations. They noted that the technique demystified discourse on organizational culture by opening up a space for more objective field studies and less abstract debate by providing a “fundamentally structurationist view of communication, in which all interactions are treated as inherently resource or constraint in pursuit of the maintenance or transformation of organizational reality” (Eisenberg & Riley, 2001, p. 297). In other words, the structurationist perspective emphasizes the social interaction among individuals as the main means to produce, reproduce, and transform organizational routines.

Martin (1992) offered an alternative categorization. She divided culture studies into three categories: integration, differentiation, and fragmentation. Eisenberg & Riley (2001) explained each one of them:

The integration text sought to define culture as everything that people in an organization “share” and was often closely associated with the themes of comparative management and corporate culture. The differentiation perspective, on the other hand, explicitly acknowledged the existence of different values, practices, and subcultures in organizations and highlighted the political struggles that were constantly a factor in achieving a negotiated order. The fragmentation perspective contended that organizational cultures were characterized by ambiguity and that individuals and organizations had fluctuating boundaries and identities. (Eisenberg & Riley, 2001, p. 300)

Tompkins, Tompkins, and Cheney (1989) used text as a metaphor to analyze what people do and say in organizational life. In this sense, to see organizations as texts was to focus on the language and arguments of the organization (Tompkins and Cheney, 1988).

The cultural perspective was also represented in the literature by book-length ethnographies by authors such as Kunda (1992). His study set out to learn about the way organizations attempt to create and maintain a strong culture specifically because the management executives believe that normative control is a better ideology than bureaucratic control. “Kunda (1992) also focused on the performance of ritual as a framing device where members acting as agents of the corporate interest attempted to establish shared definitions through the use of slogans and metaphors” (Eisenberg & Riley, 2001, p 298). By studying the “Engineering Culture”, which turned out to be the title of his book, Kunda noted: “tech management takes the implications of its own rhetoric seriously and invests considerable energy in attempting to embed the rules, prescriptions, and admonitions of the culture in the fabric of everyday life in the company” (Kunda, 1992, p. 218).

Two other approaches were deeply significant to organizational culture studies historically: the critical approach and the comparative management perspective. Critical approaches emphasize that any representation of culture always comes from a particular perspective, with particular interests, and encourages researchers to be more reflexive about what these interests and biases might be (Jermier, 1991). According to Aktouf (1992), what was central to this approach in the organizational context has been a shift away from notions of productivity and organizational effectiveness to a concern for employees’ quality of life. The comparative management perspective analyzed culture as it was imported into organizations through the national, regional and ethnic affiliations of employees.

Hofstede (1991) was specially connected with this later perspective. He proposed and tested four dimensions in which cultures might differ: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity-femininity. All of them stressed the significance of nationality over the power of any individual organization to influence member behavior. Moreover, Hofstede (1991) went beyond the comparative perspective and saw culture as the collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. The figure below illustrates Hofstede’s paradigm, highlighting the differences between personality, culture and human nature.



Fig 1: Hofstede's paradigm: differences between personality, culture, and human nature.

Hofstede, G. 1991. *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 6.

More recently, as Jaskyte (2010) explains, much of the literature on organizational culture acknowledges the guiding and directing role of values as the primary component of an organization's culture in the functioning of organization (Enz, 1988; O'Reilly, 1989). Values typically act as the defining elements of culture, with norms, symbols, rituals, and other cultural activities evolving around them (Katz & Kahn, 1978). They are essential for organizational survival because they maintain the organization as a bounded unit and provide it with a distinct identity.

While values are essential characteristics, there are also plenty of other factors that can influence organizational culture. According to Rizescu (2011), the most significant are: national culture, "It tolls the organizational culture, distinguishing organizations, depending on the specific characteristics and on the national culture, to which they belong"; organization's history: "the more history is long and complex, much more powerful is the influence of culture and organizational scope on members"; organization's employees: "the number, age, sex, temperament (among others) are human parameters that mark the staff's value systems, the norms and the organizational behavior"; the size of the organization: "the more amplified the organization is, the more diversified the organizational culture is, thus becoming difficult to perceive and model"; and Managers of the organization: "their personality, skills, expertise and leadership style have direct reflection on the real influence and on the patter and extent of organizational culture" (Rizescu, 2011, p. 77).

Today, the term corporate culture (or organizational culture) continues to mean different things to different people. As Griffin (2009) states: “Some observers use the phrase to describe the surrounding environment that constrains a company’s freedom of action. Others use the term to refer to a quality or property of the organization. They speak of culture as synonymous with image, character or climate” (p. 251). According to Fineman (2001), for example, organizational cultures and sub-cultures bond people emotionally and define the nature and legitimacy of their emotionality. D’andrade (1984) found that the most fruitful way to study culture is not through the examination of the messages but rather with the study of individual “meaning systems”. When discussing meaning systems, no word is a better example of that than “communication”.

2.2 ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION

Iedema and Wodak (1999) stated that organizations do not exist independently of their members, but are “created and recreated in the acts of communication between members” (p. 7). With that said, organizational communication has been defined as the process by which information is exchanged and understood by two or more people, usually with the intent to motivate or influence behavior (Daft, 1997). Over time, communication became “the central means by which individual activity is coordinated to devise, disseminate, and pursue organizational goals” (Gardner, Paulsen, Gallois, Callan, & Monaghan, 2001, p. 561).

Communication scholars have contributed to the growth and development of the study of organizational culture. These contributions can be explained from five different communication perspectives (Einsenberg & Riley, 2001). The first is a communication perspective that has demonstrated the symbolic nature of day-to-day conversations and routine practices, emphasizing that culture is present in all organizational communications. Second is a communication perspective that emphasizes the way in which both interpretation and action exist within communication practice. A third communication perspective on organizational culture recognizes how societal patterns and norms facilitate or constrain the practices of individuals within a particular organizational culture. A fourth,

honors a variety of researcher organization relationships. Finally, there is the communication perspective that acknowledges all motives as legitimate for the study of organizational culture (Keyton, 2005).

Deetz (2001) argues that three different ways of conceptualizing “organizational communication” are available. The first one focuses on the development of organizational communication as a specialty in departments of communication and communication associations. In this case: “organizational communication study is whatever anyone does who is a member of these divisions or publishes in particular journals” (p. 4). A second approach to conceptualizing organizational communication focuses on communication as a phenomenon that exists in organizations. A third way to approach the issue is to think of communication as a way to describe and explain organizations (Deetz, 2001). The same author has previously suggested that one should look at communication as the social process by which meanings, identities, psychological states, social structures, and so on are both produced and reproduced (Deetz, 2011). In both its constitutive and reproductive modes, communication processes are central to how perceptions, meanings, and routines are held in common (Deetz, 1994). That is why this field is considered extremely complex and rich. In short, organizational communication can be seen also as a paradigm in which both of the terms are complementary. In other words, as Gunbayi (2007) reminds us, “organizations are human communities in which the members are tied together in interpersonal relations. The nature of these relationships is influenced by the quality of communication among members” (p. 790).

Another important characteristic of the term is the one noted by Taylor, Flanagin, Cheney, and Seibold (2001). The authors stated that organizations are increasingly called upon to adapt to economic pressure by changing their internal structures, processes, and relationship to their markets (Kanter, Stein, & Jick, 1992). “This state of continual change means that communication processes are also changing both to create and to reflect the new structures, processes, and relationships” (Jones et al., 2004, p. 723).

2.2.1 Managerial Perspective

Operating from a managerial perspective, Tourish & Hargie (2004) state that organizational communication can be explained as a way to look at how people ascribe meanings to messages, verbal and nonverbal communication, communication skills, the effectiveness of communication in organizations, and how meanings are distorted or changed while people exchange messages, in both formal and informal networks. The authors consider communication as central to any study of what managers do, and to the effectiveness of organizations. “Managers devote much of their time to interactions with staff. Manager-watching studies have revealed that they spend over 60% of their working time in scheduled and unscheduled meetings with others, about 25% doing desk-based work, some 7% on the telephone, and 3% walking the job” (Schermerhorn, 1996, In Tourish & Hargie, 2004, p. 6). Those numbers shows how important communication is in the workplace context. Organizational communication is also seen as a mix of activities that are embedded in dense networks of relationships between managers and employees. One study observes that “managers spend much of their day communicating with people, in brief interactions which are nevertheless of enormous significance in determining the communication and cultural climate of their organizations” (Tourish and Hargie, 2000a, p. 6).

Sharing the same managerial standpoint, Altinoz (2009) considers organizational communication a crucial administrative function, especially for executives in the implementation of organizational and administrative functions. “Executives spend a significant part of their time on communicative activities”, notes Altinoz, and “arranging meeting schedules, speaking on the telephone, reading or replying to business correspondence, or fulfilling the control functions within the organization, an executive typically engages in communication processes” (p. 217).

Effective communication is essential for the implementation of organizational functions. It is considered important for many reasons, but mainly because communication makes the planning, organizing, guidance, and control functions of management possible (Fayol, 1949). That is why, Altinoz (2009) points out, “organizational communication ensures the interaction of all the elements in the organization and thus helps towards organizational integrity” (p. 219). Young & Post (1993) also

consider that communication process should be effective to reach organizational goals, and the quality of communication is an essential element. Clarifies another scholar: “It is through communication of one kind and another that employees learn what is expected of them, find out how to do their jobs, and become aware of what others think of their work” (Orpen, 1997, In Gunbay, 2007, p. 788). Accurate communication takes places only if the meaning that the sender intended to transmit is the same as what is understood and interpreted by the receiver (Gutenberg & Richman, 1969).

An effective message is processed in multiple channels and networks (Knootz & Weihrich, 1988). And at this point it is important to consider that communication in organizations takes place not only via formal communication channels but also informally among organization members who communicate to express emotional states and meet everyday needs (Gregson & Livesey, 1986). Informal communication channels also help employees overcome tension and job stressors (Boone & Kurtz, 1981). Communication channels and networks are essential in management process as well (Knootz & Weihrich, 1988). Decision-making is based on accurate communication in an organization and is a process of verbal and non-verbal communication forms, usually from superiors and subordinates (Sexton, 1970). Organizational communication is essential in a planning process to form organizational goals and reach those goals (Knootz & Weihrich, 1988). In sum, from a managerial perspective, organizational communication enables superiors and subordinates to achieve organizational goals.

2.2.2 Academic Perspective

Organizational communication is as broad in its domain as the field of communication as a whole (Jones, Watson, Gardner & Gallois, 2004). More importantly, communication in organizations has been studied not only by communication scholars, but also by scholars in most of the social sciences. “This breadth has given the area an eclecticism in approach, theory, and methodology that is a strength in its diversity, but that makes research in organizational communication impossible to review as a whole” (p. 723). Over the past ten years, studies about organizational communication took basically two directions: “On the one hand researchers have explored how social identity influences

communication. On the other hand, researchers have explored how communication creates, maintains, and modifies social identity” (Jones et al, 2004, p. 738). The concept of social identity is closely linked to the concept of culture discussed previously as it represents individuals’ shared beliefs and traditions.

An example of the first direction is a study by Gardener and Jones (1999). The authors investigated the beliefs of superiors and subordinates in different organizations about what constituted “best” and “worst” communicative behaviors. After analyzing questionnaires from 358 full-time workers in public and private sector companies the authors found out that superiors and subordinates hold similar beliefs about best-case communication (sharing management of conversation; achieving clarity) but more distinct beliefs about worst-case communication (face threats, aggression and crossing intergroup boundaries). These differences are the proof of how social identity influences communication, (i.e. the way they perceive best/worse case). Examples of the second direction are the works of Suzuki (1998) and Wiesenfeld, Raghuram and Garud (1999). Suzuki focused on interpersonal communication patterns in a culturally diverse organizational context. The goal was to find out whether social distance associated with social identity manifests itself in intergroup differentiation in communication patterns in terms of the use of multiple types of communication networks. The author demonstrated that level of identification was related to the perceived adequacy of communication with both in-group and out-group. In other words, each type of communication (in or out-group) shapes everyone’s social identities. Wiesenfeld, Raghuram and Garud (1999) studied how organizational identification may be a particularly effective and efficient means by which a virtual organization can accomplish its goals and insure performance. The communication, though, has to be adapted to the virtual workplace, creating a “new” social identity.

2.3 A MODEL OF RESEARCHING ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

After a wide overview of the most significant organizational studies, it is important to clarify the perspective on which this work is based. As was already discussed, a more contemporary look at the organizational studies in communication leads to three main approaches of research: the system (or

living systems) approach, the critical approach and the cultural approach. A system approach is built on the premise that communication within organizations can best be understood through open systems concepts such as permeability, interdependence and feedback (Miller, 1999). Organizations are seen as living organisms that must constantly adapt to a changing environment in order to stay alive (Griffin, 2009).

The critical approach has its roots in the work of Karl Marx, who examined the relationship between owners and workers in a capitalist society. By addressing several communicative practices through which control and resistance are produced, reproduced, and transformed in the process of organizing, Marx revealed how social and technological structures within organizations serve to oppress workers (Deetz, 1994, 2001; Marx, 1848). Stanley Deetz (1994; 2001), who defended this approach, discusses corporate decision-making and the role of the employees in that process.

The cultural approach derives from the field of anthropology and takes communication seriously by listening carefully for clues to the unique shared meaning that is at the heart of any organization. Because this thesis is interested in organizational culture exercised in a non-profit organization, this approach is the one that best fits the goals of this study.

One of the authors that defended this cultural perspective of organizational communication studies is Edgar H. Schein. The author acknowledges the complex nature of culture and the importance of communication in developing, maintaining, and displaying culture. He defines culture as a group phenomenon, and believes an individual cannot have a culture, stressing that cultural formation depends on communication. As Schein explains:

Culture is both a “here and now” dynamic phenomenon and a concertive background structure that influences us in multiple ways. Culture is constantly reenacted and created by our interactions with others and shaped by our own behavior. At the same time, culture implies stability and rigidity in the sense that how we are supposed to perceive, feel, and act in a given society, organization or occupation has been taught to us by our various socialization experiences and becomes prescribed as a way to maintain the “social order.” (Schein, 2010, p. 3).

To analyze organization cultures, Schein (2010) developed a model that sorts out the various elements of culture into three distinct levels. The first level is the one of artifacts, or “all the phenomena that you will see, hear, and feel when you encounter a new group with an unfamiliar culture” (p. 23). Examples of artifacts are the architecture of the organization’s physical environment, its language, its technology and products, creations, style, myths and stories, rituals and ceremonies. In the second level are the espoused beliefs and values, which represent preferences or what “ought” to happen in an organization. The author asserts that, for example, when an organization has a problem, the first solution proposed to deal with it reflects some individual’s own assumptions about what is right or wrong, what will work or not work. These are the espoused beliefs. The third level of culture is composed by core assumptions that individuals in a group hold about the world and how it works. “Basic assumptions, like theories-in-use, tend to be nonconfrontable and nondebatable, and hence are extremely difficult to change” (Schein, 2010, p. 27). Miller (1999) suggests that these assumptions usually become taken for granted, “because they have been reinforced time and time again as the group deals with internal and external problems” (p. 103). Schein’s model of organizational culture can be illustrated by the following figure:

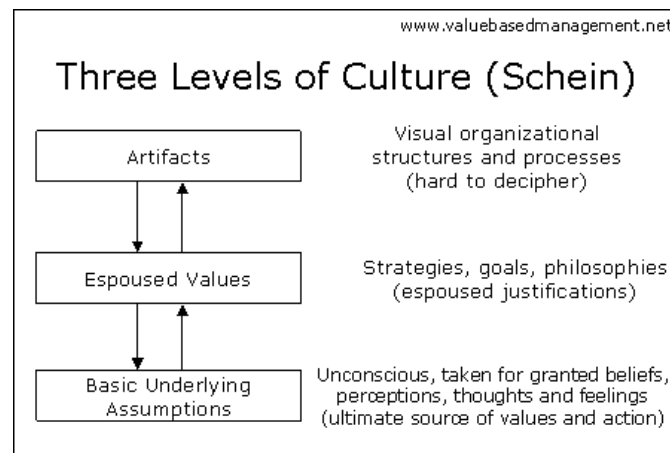


Fig. 2: Schein’s model of organizational culture

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Hatch (1993) fleshed out Schein's model by considering that other authors have challenged his approach. According to Hatch, subculture researchers have disputed Schein's assumption that organizational cultures are unitary. Other researchers, noting the apparent ambivalence and ambiguity found in culture, have contested the idea that the function of culture is to maintain social structure. "Still others, working under the broad label of symbolic-interpretive research, have pursued perspectives that Schein ignored" (p. 658).

One of these perspectives, according to Hatch (1993), leads to a new model that she calls the "cultural dynamics model". "According to the new model... culture is constituted by manifestation, realization, symbolization, and interpretation processes" (p. 661). What is most prominent about this model is that it makes the levels of culture less central, so that the relationships linking them become focal. The question that this model poses is "How is culture constituted by assumptions, values, artifacts, symbols, and the processes that link them?" (p. 660). Another interesting thing about this dynamic perspective is that it does not undermine Schein's interests: "It reaches beyond them toward a more complex, process-based understanding of organizational culture" (p. 661). Hatch's cultural dynamics model is illustrated by the following figure:

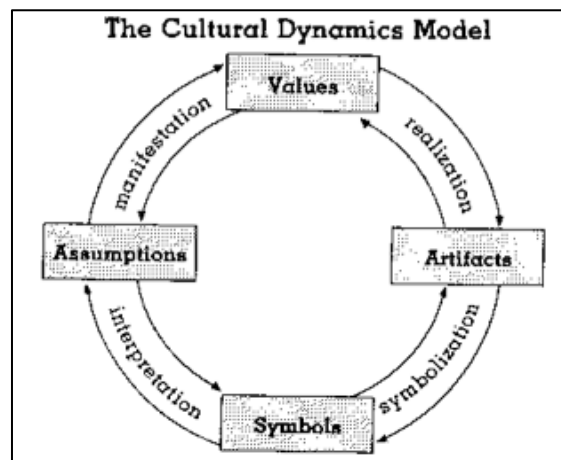


Fig. 3: Hatch's cultural dynamics model

Hatch, M. J. (1993). The Dynamics of Organizational Culture. *The Academy of Management Review*, 18
(4)

2.4 FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

Thinking about organizational communication from feminist perspectives leads firstly to one name in the literature: Patrice M. Buzzanell. Through numerous publications, the author maintains that “to understand gender in organizational life means to critique femininities and masculinities, and the intersections within and between the genders” (Buzzanell, 2000, p. 259). She explains that what is important to feminist organizational and managerial communication research is the ongoing critique of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion, among other dualisms. The sameness/difference dualism refers to claims about the similarities of women and men. Buzzanell (2000) criticizes the presumption that women are identical to men in all aspects except some biological characteristics, and because of that they have the right to argue for equality. “Equality arguments run into trouble when they neglect the disparate life experiences of women and men, the worldwide devaluation of the feminine and the different expectations and consequences for identical behaviors enacted by women or men” (p. 258). The inclusion/exclusion dualism refers to the difficulties that some researchers face with definitional boundaries that defy inclusion of that they know to be part of organizational constructs. As Buzzanell (2000) explains, “we often use our personal experiences and identities to question and construct theorizing” (p. 258).

Another study to ponder in connection with the “ongoing critique” highlighted by Buzzanell is that of Taylor and Trujillo (2001). According to the authors, feminist researchers share a commitment to critiquing gender bias in organizations and in organizational research: “Feminists have established that patriarchal and misogynistic elements of organizational structure and culture guide members to systematically devalue, marginalize and annihilate women” (Taylor & Trujillo, 2001, p. 171). What is most prominent about their study is that by reviewing the literature, they concluded that from a feminist perspective, researchers should not simply document the perceptions and behaviors of organizational members varied by biological sex, but they also should investigate the practices by which organizations conceptualize gender, and then deploy its meanings in ways that alternately oppress and please members (Taylor & Trujillo, 2001).

Buzzanell (2000) provides another concept that is valuable to an examination of feminist perspectives on organizational culture: she believes that “the recognition that organizing is enacted through gendered social practices has arisen simultaneously with a body of work that focuses on organizations as important sites of participatory decision-making processes” (p. 4). In other words, rather than viewing organizations as private, corporate individuals, it is argued instead that organizations must be reconceptualized as important public spheres in which both masculine and feminine identities and worldviews are fundamentally shaped.

When discussing the public sphere and its relation to the decision-making processes, one word is key: leadership. So, is there a feminist leadership style? According to Chin (2004) there are numerous approaches to defining, conceptualizing, and studying leadership in the literature. “The trait approach is one in which the personality characteristics of a leader are studied. The skills approach is another in which the essential competencies of leadership are identified. The style approach is a third in which the behavior of the leader or how leaders function are identified” (p. 2). Looking deeper into those three perspectives, one could say that the trait approach suggests that certain individuals have special innate or inborn characteristics or qualities that make them leaders (Northouse, 2004). Also, as the majority of the ideal leaders were men, this approach demonstrates how leadership and leadership theories have been studied primarily in masculinized contexts. As Chin (2007) explains:

Studies of leadership have been largely confined to men for the simple reason that they have historically held most of the leadership roles in society and its institutions. Although there is general agreement that women face more barriers to becoming leaders than men do, especially for leader roles that are male-dominated, there is much less agreement about how women actually lead. There is much to suggest that women lead differently from men, and feminist leadership styles are different and more collaborative despite significant overlap between the leadership styles of men and women. (Chin, 2007, p. 705)

The skills perspective emphasizes the essential competencies to good leadership. In other words, it enables the measurement and development of those competencies necessary to achieve effective leadership. The style perspective focuses exclusively on what leaders do and how they act, that is,

behavior and process. According to Taylor and Trujillo (2001), researchers studying this approach determine that leadership is composed of essentially two kinds of behaviors: task behaviors and relationship behaviors: “task behaviors focus on goal accomplishment whereas relationship behaviors help subordinates or followers feel comfortable with themselves, the situation, and each other” (p. 171).

Feminist leadership fits best under this third perspective (emphasizing what they do and how they act), considering that specific competencies characterize feminist leaders, with a strong emphasis on collaboration, as stated previously. “A more attentive look into feminist literature shows that women tend to use nurturance more often as a way to engage, communicate, and lead. They tend to use consensus building as a way in which to set direction” (Chin, 2004, p. 4). In connection with this idea, Eagly (1987) studied women leaders and found differences in how women were evaluated and expected to engage in activities and actions congruent with their culturally defined gender roles. Leadership was typically not one of these roles. It has been noted that women emphasize planning and organizing work and an empathic approach, while placing less emphasis on the “need to win at all costs” compared to men (Chin, 2007, p. 708).

Another important factor one should have in mind when studying feminist leadership styles is that the interpretation of the behaviors of diverse women leaders may vary depending on the different ethical and contextual perspective from which it is viewed. As Chin (2007) explains, “women leaders having multiple identities associated with race, culture, gender, disability, and sexual orientation face additional challenges to their leadership role as they grapple with their multiple identities and expectations” (p. 708).

In summary, the concepts of feminist leadership are important in examining the creation and development of discursive strategies around this theme. Also significant is the acknowledgement of women leaders as still leading within contexts that are male dominated. As Chin (2007) points out, definitions of women’s leadership are still tempered by comparisons with men, that is, many women feel that they are often expected to behave in ways consistent with feminist roles. “This can create a no-win situation where women leaders are made to feel marginalized, diminished, or weak if they behave gender-prescribed ways or are criticized if they step out of these roles” (p. 712). The literature review

highlights that it is essential, now, to challenge the power structure. Buzzanell (2000) echoes Calas and Smircich (1996) when she concludes that “It’s not about ‘gender’ any more, as both women and men, from both First and Third worlds, employed and unemployed, with and without families, struggle with inequality, injustice, inequity and intolerance” (p. 242). “It is about presenting and publicizing the voices of those who are silenced, ignored, and misunderstood because of either taken-for-granted practices or deliberate attempts to squelch resistance.” (Buzzanell, 2000, p. 263)

2.5 THIS STUDY

This research focuses on two non-profit organizations based in El Paso to document the communication processes by which the organizations maintain their culture across their units. To limit this study, the following research questions will be addressed:

RQ 1: What central management processes facilitate mission management across the organizations’ units?

RQ2: What leadership styles are employed by central staff and unit managers?

RQ3: Are feminist leadership styles and strategies employed throughout the organization?

RQ4: What is the communicative culture at the organizations?

Chapter 3: Methodology

The primary goal of this study is to document and analyze the communication processes by which El Paso nonprofit organizations maintain their culture across their units. Three research methods were used to gather data: content analysis of organizational documents, interviews with leaders, and ethnographic observation.

3.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS

According to Lindlof & Taylor (2002), paper documents, even in today's technology-rich environment, remain critical to the functioning of organizations. Paper documents can indicate what the organization produces, how it certifies actions, how it categorizes events or people and how it codifies procedures or policies. They also reveal how an organization informs or instructs its membership, explains the past or future actions, memorializes the organization's history of achievements, and tracks its activities.

In order to explore the important material that documents represent, quantitative content analysis was chosen as the first methodology for this study: the documents were examined for what themes are present and what they suggest about the culture. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) explain this process: "By themselves, documents are usually of limited significance. But when they are related to other evidence, they have much to offer the qualitative analyst" (p. 171). Because documents reflect certain kinds of organizational reality at work, they help researchers reconstruct past events or ongoing processes that are not available for direct observation.

According to Neuendorf & Skalski (2010) a range of definitions of content analysis have been articulated. Weber (1985), for example, highlights the ability to make facile inferences: "content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p. 9). More widely, Neuendorf (2002) describes content analysis as:

A summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method, including attention to objectivity/intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability,

replicability, and hypothesis testing. It is not limited as to the type of messages that may be analyzed, nor as to the types of constructs that might be measured (p. 10).

As explained by Weber (1985), content analysis can be used for many purposes. The author points out a few notable examples:

To disclose international differences in communication content, to compare media or “levels” of communication, to audit communication content against objectives, to code open-ended questions in surveys, to identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicator, to determine the psychological state of persons or groups, detect the existence of propaganda, to describe attitudinal and behavioral responses to communications, *to reflect cultural patterns of groups, institutions, or societies, to reveal the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention and to describe trends in communication content* (Weber, 1985, p. 9) (emphasis mine)

The purpose of this research matches the last three uses of content analysis, which justifies the selection of this method. Also, Melischeck et al. (1984) and Weber (1985) reinforce this selection by stating that one important use of content analysis is the generation of culture indicators that point to the state of beliefs, values, ideologies, or other culture systems, which is exactly what this study aims to discover.

3.1.1 Document gathering/selection

As Weber (1985) points out, “the sources of relevant texts are numerous, including books, magazines, newspapers, transcripts of speeches, conversations, radio, television programs and interviews. The difficulty of the research therefore is not the availability of data but the need for appropriate means of analyzing it” (p. 5). The researcher was aware of the vastness of documents available, but due to time constraints, the quantitative content analysis was done using thirteen documents from Organization 1 and 20 documents from Organization 2. All of them were available

online. The selection was made considering documents that are important to most organizations. The documents selected were:

A) Organization 1

1. Mission statement
2. Milestones Brochure*
3. Frequently Asked Questions (website FAQ)
4. Programs (webpage)
5. Racial Justice Initiative program (webpage)
6. Leadership Development program (webpage)
7. Consumer Credit Counseling Service program (webpage)
8. Housing and Shelters program (webpage)
9. 2006 Annual Report
10. 2007-2008 Annual Report
11. 2008 (Centennial) Annual Report
12. 2008-2009 Annual Report
13. 2009-2010 Annual Report

*This document is not available online but it was sent electronically to the researcher from the public relations department of the organization.

B) Organization 2

1. Mission statement
2. Organization's vision
3. Organization's history
4. Program brochure: Tigua women and children's residential center
5. Program brochure: Inner resources recovery center for men
6. Program brochure: Treatment resources for youth

7. Program brochure: Behavioral health clinic
8. Program brochure: Inner resources recovery clinic
9. Program brochure: Drug abuse service center
10. Program brochure: Infectious disease prevention unit/ HIV early intervention
11. Program brochure: Infectious disease prevention unit/HIV outreach services
12. Program brochure: Infectious disease prevention unit/El Paso youth click
13. Program brochure: *Dando fuerza a la familia & alianza familiar* (Strengthening the family & family alliance)
14. Program brochure: Rural west Texas programs: Alpine & Van Horn Prevention & Treatment
15. Program brochure: project aware
16. Program brochure: Project for assistance in transition from homeless
17. Program brochure: School based community programs
18. Program brochure: Abandoned infants assistance/Family Outpatient Program
19. Program brochure: Pregnant postpartum intervention
20. 2008-2009 Annual report

The mission statement of each organization was rated as a key document that represents the culture of the organization by itself. The mission statement was the building block of each organization's coding instrument. Other documents, such as brochures, were selected because they were considered examples of how the organization explains itself through its programs to society. The annual reports were considered the most important documents as they represent the summary of all the events and activities developed throughout the year. Because of this status, as Guthrie, Yongvanich & Ricceri (2004) explain, the substance or content of the disclosures made by organizations in their annual reports is an area of interest to many researchers: "Several studies, which focus on what is being reported, use content analysis as a research method to capture and organize diverse empirical data" (p. 283).

O'Donovan (2002) acknowledges the importance of annual reports as a means of communicating the tactics of the organizations:

The annual report has long been considered to be a major public document, which is a pivotal presentation by a company and has significant influence on the way financial markets and the general public perceives and reacts to a company (Anderson and Epstein, 1995). It has been argued that the inclusion of voluntary information in the annual report can be, and is, used by managers to send specific signals and messages to the public (Salancik and Meindl, 1984). It has also been emphasized that the inclusion of information in the corporate annual report is used to persuade readers to accept management's view of society (Amernic, 1992) and that annual reports are both reflective and constitutive of a wider set of societal values (Dyball, 1998). (O'Donovan, 2002, p. 351)

All the selected documents were printed out and organized in two binders for better handling.

3.1.2 Coding Instrument

As a technique for gathering data, "quantitative content analysis involves codifying information into pre-defined categories in order to derive patterns in the presentation and reporting of information" (Guthrie et al., 2004, p. 290). To engage in this process, after deciding which documents to analyze, the researcher developed a coding instrument, selecting the words (coding categories) whose frequency in the documents would be counted.

Considering that content analysis seeks to analyze published information systematically, objectively and reliably (Krippendorff, 1980; Guthrie and Parker, 1990; Guthrie, 1983; Guthrie, 2004), the first step towards shaping the coding instrument was to define what would be the culture indicators.

3.1.2.1 Organization 1

As previously stated, the mission statements of the organizations were considered key elements that identify and represent the organization culture of each one of them. Considering the mission statement of Organization 1:

The organization “is dedicated to eliminating racism, empowering women and promoting peace, justice, freedom and dignity for all. The organization will thrust its collective power toward the elimination of racism wherever it exists and by any means necessary (Organization 1, 2011).

The words “racism”, “empowering” and “power”, “women”, “peace”, “justice”, “freedom” and “dignity” were highlighted and selected as coding categories to be analyzed. Because of its local appeal, the second document considered key was the milestones brochure. In this document, the words “opportunity”, “hope”, “immigrants”, “Mexican women” and “girls” were emphatically repeated, giving the researcher a clue that those were also categories to be analyzed. When reading the program’s webpage, the words “diverse” and “diversity” were visually stressed, becoming one category as well. Finally, a first look at the annual reports lead to the conclusion that the words “community” or “communities” and “core values” were emphasized. Because of that, the researcher decided to also include them as coding categories.

After pilot-testing, some questions started to pop up: what to do when we have different words but with the same idea? (e.g. racism, race and racial justice). Or do we encompass “women” and “girls” in the same coding category? These questions led the researcher to reshape and finalize a complicated quantitative content analysis instrument (see Appendix A) with 15 categories of organizational culture.

The amount of time spent doing the quantitative analysis of texts called the researcher’s attention to the photos used in those documents. Thus, a quantitative content analysis instrument for the photos was also developed. In the beginning, this process was a lot easier than the first one because the identification of the categories seemed (initially) very clear. The researcher did some pilot-testing with 19 categories (based on color, age, gender, and if the person pictured was serious or smiling). But then, the researcher entered on a dilemma of being herself “racist” while coding race: to decide if the person pictured was white or of color, latina or Asian was really a challenge, especially considering that all of

the pictures were black and white. After some discussions with the advisor, the researcher reshaped the coding instrument, including categories such as “unknown”, for example, considering 18 coding categories (see Appendix B).

3.1.2.2 Organization 2

Drawing from the same reasoning used to define the coding categories for organization 1, the researcher considered first the mission statement of Organization 2: “To provide a comprehensive and integrated continuum of high quality trauma informed behavioral health, interventions, treatment, and education services”. From this statement the words “comprehensive”, “integrated”, “continuum”, “high quality”, “behavioral health”, “interventions”, “treatment”, “education” and “services” were highlighted and selected as coding categories to be analyzed. The second document analyzed, the vision of the organization, provided other coding categories such as the words “dignity” and “discrimination” or “stigma” stood out. The document representing the history of the organization brought a local appeal with the words “El Paso” or “Texas” being repeated and emphasized several times. Also, in the history of the organization, the words “prevention” and “community” appeared for the first time and were also included as coding categories. The words “empowering” or “strengthening” and “supportive” started to appear in the first program brochures and as they have a connection with what the organization is all about – empowering and supporting people that need help – these words were considered coding categories. Finally, the word “advocacy” was present in the business card of the organization and in the annual report, so it was considered an important coding category.

After doing some pilot-testing, the researcher shaped and finalized a complicated quantitative content analysis instrument (see Appendix C) with 17 categories of organizational culture. The photos in the documents of this organization also called the attention of the researcher, but as this organization is not directly concerned with racism, there was no purpose for analyzing this matter. Moreover, as the organization deals with people somehow related to drug addiction, recognizing them in documents could be harmful even if they are already published in public documents.

Quantitative content analysis was an effective method to examine the research question “What is the communicative culture at the non-profits?” as it allowed for the frequency of words being associated with the organizational culture to be counted, and placed into a context of how they occurred in the documents being measured.

According to Guthrie et al. (2004), for content analysis to be effective, certain technical requirements should be met:

First the categories of classification must be clearly and operationally defined. Second, objectivity is key – it must be clear that an item either belongs or does not belong to a particular category. Third, the information needs to be able to be quantified. Finally, a reliable coder is necessary for consistency. (Guthrie et al., 2004, p. 287)

In order to verify these three suggestions, the coding instrument was carefully analyzed and discussed with the advisor, who gave guidance and inputs about the choices that had to be made.

3.1.3 Intercoder reliability

It is widely acknowledged that intercoder reliability is a critical component of content analysis, and that although it does not ensure validity, when it is not established properly, the data and interpretations of the data cannot be considered valid. As Neuendorf (2002) notes, "given that a goal of content analysis is to identify and record relatively objective (or at least intersubjective) characteristics of messages, reliability is paramount" (p. 141). Guthrie et al. (2004) flesh out this idea stating: “those conducting content analysis need to demonstrate the reliability of their instruments and the reliability of the data collected using those instruments to permit replicable and valid inferences to be drawn from data derived from content analysis” (p. 288).

As this study is a thesis project, and thus the researcher is supposed to work independently, additional coder(s) were not used and a calculation of intercoder reliability is not permissible.

3.2 INTERVIEWS

Another method that was employed in this study was interviewing. According to Lindlof & Taylor (2002), the qualitative interview is an event in which one person (the interviewer) encourages others to freely articulate their interests and experiences in order to gather valuable information. This research method is chosen to facilitate several goals, among them to understand the social actor's experience and perspective through stories, accounts, and explanations; to understand native conceptualizations of communication; to elicit the language forms used by social actors in natural settings; and to gather information about things or processes that cannot be observed effectively by other means. The interview also is effective for inquiry about occurrences in the past and to verify, validate or comment on information obtained from other sources and to achieve efficiency in data collection (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

As this study also explores leadership styles, different types of interviewing were employed in order to identify and characterize these styles. These include the ethnographic interview, also known as the informal conversation interview, which occurs on site; the respondent interview, in which the purpose is to elicit open-ended questions; and the narrative interview, in which participants were encouraged to tell stories, enabling them to make their experiences intelligible to the researcher.

The respective chief executive officers from both organizations signed an approval letter granting the researcher permission to conduct the study. The names of the organizations and the names of the participants are kept confidential.

The interviews were guided by a set of 11 open-ended questions (see Appendix D) since the objective of the research was to allow the managers to share their professional experiences for further analysis. Questions 1 "What is your position?" and 2 "What is it like to work here?" were chosen as ice-breakers questions, for the informant and the interviewer. Questions 3 "Is the mission communicated to your unit?" and "How do you think managers use communication?" were chosen strategically to gather inputs to answer RQ1. Questions 5 through 8 dealt with organizational culture, its importance and influence. These questions were crucial to answer RQ4. Question 9 "What leadership styles do you think are employed here?" and 10 "Do you think women's leadership style has contributed to the

organization's success?" were developed to encourage participants to reflect about leadership and thus answer RQs 2 and 3. As the interviews progressed, the researcher asked probing questions related to the initial 11 questions in response to interesting revelations or themes. Each interview was approximately 30 minutes long.

3.2.1 Organization 1

Considering the organizational chart of Organization 1, an e-mail was sent to the 12 individuals occupying managerial positions. The researcher got 4 replies on time. Two other potential informants replied to the e-mail, but did not have availability during the study period. The Chief Executive Officer of this organization suggested an interview with one employee.

3.2.2 Organization 2

Within Organization 2, the process of selecting the professionals to be interviewed was different. After a first conversation with the chief executive director about this research project, he suggested four other managers (besides himself) to be interviewed.

3.2.3 Protection of Human Subjects

All participants read and signed required Internal Review Board (IRB) documentation, which included a research consent form (see Appendix E). Participants were notified that all aspects of participation in the study were completely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time during the interview without reason or explanation. The researcher reviewed the consent form together with all the participants. The participants were also informed that their responses would remain confidential and anonymous since those would be assigned a code and the participants themselves would be identified either by a pseudonym, numerical or alphabetical code, or by another signifier that would protect their

identities. This same guarantee of anonymity would also apply to any publications or reports resulting from the present research.

The participants were asked if they would allow interviews to be recorded and none of them expressed any worries. The interview recordings will remain confidential as well by using pseudonyms or codes and not full names in the transcription to ensure the anonymity of all participants. These recordings were used only for data collection and only replayed for transcription purposes. Participants were assured that the recordings would not be released to the media nor replayed in public settings and that transcripts of the interviews used for publication in academic journals or books, would maintain the anonymity of the participant when including quoted material.

3.2.4 Data analysis

The interview transcripts were examined using a multistep method involving individual and joint analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The researcher conducted line-by-line analysis of all the interview transcripts to identify units of analysis. Units were defined as “thought units” based on the conceptualization of the participants’ experiences as communicative or cognitive activity that promotes or reflects their understanding of organizational culture and/or the leadership styles employed in the organization they are part of.

This unit analysis led to the production of 5 different categories: importance of communication, work identities, perceptions of culture, leadership styles, and women.

Analyses of the data followed a constant comparative technique (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) involving iterative examination of themes that emerged from the interviews, which answered the research questions proposed in this study.

3.3. ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATION

Finally, the third research method employed in this study was ethnographic observation. According to Murchison (2010), “ethnography is a research strategy that allows researchers to explore

and examine the cultures and societies that are a fundamental part of the human experience” (p. 4). The researcher participated in one meeting and some events with the staff with an openly acknowledged investigative purpose. As a result, the researcher was able to study a scene from the vantage point of one or more positions within its membership (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

To take full advantage of this method, the researcher followed the guidelines for a systematic observation, proposed by Weick (1985). When observing, he says, researchers must first engage the phenomenon for a prolonged period of time. In the specific case of this study, the researcher observed the routine of both organizations during two weeks. Weick also suggests that observers should account for how the observing is done. The support of the advisor, who was provided a weekly report of the researcher’s findings and perceptions, served this function. Another guideline is that researchers must observe in a proactive manner that also allows them to improvise. This means being ready also to answer questions that participants might ask. Another recommendation is to selectively focus on complex phenomena and summarize their observations, and to follow that, the researcher concentrated on answering the research questions. The observations were reported weekly and summarized in a blog format, so that findings would not be lost over time. Weick concludes his guidelines by suggesting that observers should ground their observations in the relationships between places, actors, and activities and should try to distinguish the immediate and specific features of social action from their abstract and remote influences. Bringing those concepts to this specific study, the researcher considered all the interactions enacted in the context in which they were observed (i.e. considering where it happened, with whom and in which circumstances).

Lindlof & Taylor (2002) also highlight some attributes to which researchers should pay special attention when conducting ethnographic observation: tolerance for marginality, which means considering different opinions without judgment; requisite variety, that is, to acknowledge and be prepared to experience different situations; embodiment, which means to understand that researchers are bodies in fields; spontaneous decision making, or an ability to decide what is and what is not important according to the criteria determined by research goals.

What is most prominent about ethnographic observation is the opportunity to consider all kinds of interaction, especially the initial ones: how actors claim each other's attention, the place and time of interactions and the context in which these interactions occur. Keyton (2005) gives some recommendations about this issue, when discussing an organizational culture data collection process: "how an organization is designed physically can influence organizational member's interactions and how the culture is developed. Record any interesting features of the space or layout; be sure to describe how the members interact within it" (p. 168).

Chapter 4: Results

The possibility of using three different research methods enriched this study by providing triangulated results. In this section, the results derived from the quantitative method are described. A discussion of those results is provided on the following chapter.

4.1 QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

In an effort to answer RQ4, a quantitative content analysis was conducted to examine how the organizational culture of the non-profit organizations studied was represented in their public documents. The results obtained are described as follows:

4.1.1 Organization 1

As appendix F shows, considering the 13 documents selected for Organization 1, the words “racism”, “race” or “racial justice” (category 1) appeared 103 times. This category was not present in all documents (e.g. housing and consumer credit programs) and it was present the most in the milestones brochure (23 times). The words “women” or “female” (category 2) appeared 172 times, the most frequently used word in all documents. The word “peace” (category 3) appeared 9 times, mostly in the annual reports. The word “justice”, when not related to racial issues (category 4), appeared 15 times. The word “freedom” (category 5) appeared 8 times. The word “dignity” (category 6) appeared 11 times. The words “power”, “empowering” or “empowerment” (category 7) appeared 48 times present almost in all documents analyzed, except the FAQ (document 3). The following table summarizes those results.

Table 1: Quantitative content analysis results: mission words in organization 1

Word	Number of times cited in the documents
Race	103
Women	172
Peace	9
Justice	15
Freedom	8
Dignity	11
Power	48

The word “opportunity” or its plural “opportunities” (category 8) appeared 31 times. The word “hope” (category 9) appeared only one time and in the milestones brochure (document 2).

The words “immigrants” or “nationalities”, when not referring to Mexican population (category 10), appeared 2 times, only in the milestones brochure (document 2). The words “Mexican women”, “Mexico”, “Mexican population” or “Hispanic” (category 11) appeared 5 times: 4 of them in the milestones brochure and one in the most recent annual report (document 13). The words “diversity”, “differences”, “different”, “diversify” or “diverse” (category 12) appeared 29 times, being stressed 3 times in the racial justice initiative document (document 5). As table 2 clarifies:

Table 2: Quantitative content analysis results: local culture appeal in organization 1

Word	Number of times cited in the documents
Immigrants	2
Mexican	5
Diversity	29

What is most prominent in this results is that the word “community” (or “communities”), which is not present in the mission statement of Organization 1, appears 165 times, almost the same number of times that the word “women” appears in the documents (see table 3). This word was not present in the mission statement and in the FAQ (document 3). The frequent use of “community” made the researcher question if it is not a “sanitized” way, possible racist, of the organization to talk about Mexicans without saying “Mexican”.

Table 3: Quantitative content analysis results: most cited words in organization 1

Word	Number of times cited in the documents
Community	165
Women	172

The words “core values” or the core values’ words (e.g. integrity, responsibility, respect and corporate citizenship) (category 14) were mentioned 23 times, mostly in the annual reports. Finally, the words “girl” or “girls” were mentioned 31 times.

The content analysis of the photos considered a total of 119 photos used in the 13 documents selected (See Appendix G). The documents in which pictures were used the most were the 2009-2010 annual report (47 photos), the 2008-2009 annual report (17 photos) and the programs document (17 photos). Table 4 helps to compare the number of images used through the documents.

Table 4: Quantitative content analysis results: number of pictures used per document in organization 1

Document	Number of pictures used
1-Mission	1
2-Milestones	5
4-Programs	17
5-RJ Initiative	6
6-Leadership Development	1
8-Housing	3
9-AN 2006	8
10-AN 2007/2008	8
11-AN 100s	6
12-AN 2008/2009	17
13-AN 2009/2010	47

Twenty-one photos contained a white woman smiling; the majority of them was in the programs document (document 4) and in the most recent annual report. A white woman wearing a serious expression was present in 18 photos and 29 photos contained a white girl smiling. Twelve photos contained a white girl serious, 7 photos contained a white boy smiling and a white boy serious was present only in 3 photos, all of them in the most recent annual report. Only one picture contained a white

man smiling and only one picture contained a white man serious as well. A number of 21 photos contained a woman of color smiling and in 12 photos there is a woman of color serious. In 16 photos there is a girl of color smiling and in 9, a girl of color serious. A number of 5 photos contained a boy of color smiling and 4 contained a boy of color serious. A man of color smiling is just pictured one time (document 9) and a man of color serious is pictured two times in the most recent annual report. Three pictures were considered as representing a mixed group of people and 10 pictures had unknown characters or characters that do not match with the categories (e.g. backlight pictures or pictures of places).

4.1.2 Organization 2

It is important to consider that in organization 2, all the documents were available both in English and Spanish. In this analysis, because the researcher does not speak Spanish, only the documents in English were used.

As appendix H shows, considering the 20 documents selected from Organization 2, the word “comprehensive” (category 1) appeared 25 times. This category was not present only in two documents: the vision and the history of the organization. The same happens with the word “integrated” (category 2), which appeared 19 times. The word “continuum” (category 3) appeared 22 times in the documents, and was included only in document 2 (organization’s vision). The words “high quality” (category 4), together as an expression, appear 23 times and the words “behavioral health” (category 5) appears 26 times, at least once in every document, except in document 2.

The word “intervention” or in its plural “interventions” (category 6) appears 37 times and the word “treatment” or “treatments” (category 7) appears 59 times. The word “education” (category 8) is mentioned 48 times and the word “service” or “services” or “serving” (category 9) appears 73 times being the most mentioned category. It is also important to mention that categories 5 through 9 are present at least once in every document, except in document 2 (Organization’s vision). Table 5 summarize these findings:

Table 5: Quantitative content analysis results: mission words in organization 2

Word	Number of times cited in the documents
Comprehensive	25
Integrated	19
Continuum	22
High Quality	23
Behavioral Health	26
Intervention	37
Treatment	59
Education	48
Services	73

The word “dignity” (category 10) appears only 2 times in the documents: in the vision and in the 2008-2009 annual report. The same happened with the words “discrimination” or “stigma” (category 11). The words “El Paso” or “Texas” or “West Texas” or “El Paso county” or any other city in El Paso county and proximities (category 12) appeared 28 times, mostly in document 17 (5 times). The word “community” (category 14) appeared almost the same number of times, 29, but mostly in the 2008-2009 annual report (document 20). As table 6 clarifies:

Table 6: Quantitative content analysis results: local culture appeal in organization 2

Word	Number of times cited in the documents
El Paso	28
Community	29

The word “prevention” (category 13) appeared 33 times, mostly in document 20 (13 times). The words “empowering” or “strengthening” (category 15) appeared 7 times and the word “supporting” or “supportive” (category 16) appeared 10 times. Finally, the word “advocacy” (category 17) appeared only two times, both of them in the 2008-2009 annual report (document 20).

What is most prominent about the results obtained for this organization is that, through their documents, they stress that their focus is on all the stages of involvement of substance abuse assistance (prevention, intervention, treatment and advocacy), by repeating the word “service” or “services”.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purposes of this study were (a) to find out what central management processes facilitate mission management across El Paso nonprofit organizations' units, (b) what leadership styles are employed by central staff and unit managers, (c) whether or not feminist leadership styles and strategies were employed throughout the organizations studied and (d) what is the communicative culture in those organizations. Overall, results indicate that both organizations build and maintain strong cultures by using and emphasizing unique strategies. As three different research methods were used, this chapter will examine the results obtained via each one of the methods. An overall analysis of all the findings is provided in the conclusion (chapter 6) including limitations of this particular study and a discussion on future research directions.

5.1 QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Results of the quantitative content analysis provide insight into two basic aspects: the connection between the mission statement and the content of the documents, and themes that are not present in the documents.

As explained in the methodology section, the first rule used to establish the categories of analysis (i.e., what would be counted) was simply derived from the words present in the mission statement of the organizations. Considered to be significant corporate reporting tools, mission statements, as scholars see it, "tells two things about a company: who it is and what it does" (Falsey, 1989, p. 3). But, as Williams (2008) explains, in addition to conveying a corporation's nature and reason for being, the mission statement may also outline where a firm is headed; how it plans to get there and what its priorities, values, and beliefs are. In other words, the organizational culture may be expressed there.

Studies have acknowledged the importance of creating a great statement for many reasons: to assert leadership (Klemm et al., 1991), to inform employees about the company's goals and unify their efforts toward accomplishing them (Bart, 1998; Ireland & Hitt, 1992; Klemm et al., 1991; Pearce & David, 1987), to serve as an effective public relations tool (Bart, 1998; David, 2007; Falsey, 1989), to

provide a rationale for allocating resources (Bart, 1998; Bart et al., 2001; David, 2007), to guide current, critical, strategic decision making (Drohan, 1999), and to inspire enthusiasm about the firm (Bartkus et al., 2000; Collins & Porras, 1991; Ireland & Hitt, 1992; Williams, 2008). But none of them have emphasized how present the mission statement should be in the organization's publications such as brochures and annual reports. This study argues that those documents (printed or available online) are a crucial form of communication and thus, it is necessary to assess how the statement was expressed in such documents.

The second aspect has to do with the themes that were not present, or not stressed in the documents. As both organizations studied have very specific clientele and purposes, some themes are expected to appear at anytime. But as the findings suggests, some of them surprisingly were not present.

For a better organization of this analysis, the discussion of both topics will be divided in two: the first referring to Organization 1 and the second to organization 2.

5.1.1 Organization 1

Documents of organization 1 first stand out because of the use of the organization's colors: orange, black and white. All the pictures and photos are in black and white, the text is usually in black font and any emphasis is made in orange, which gives a unique visual unity. Researchers say that the establishment of a unity is based on the gestalt theory of visual perception, which states that the eye of the viewer seeks a gestalt or unified whole. This means that the viewer is actually looking for a connection between the elements, for some sort of organization (International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 2011). That is exactly what happens: it is completely easy to identify the document as belonging to Organization 1.

The words "women", "woman" or "female" were the most present in all the documents highlighting the focus of the organization, but surprisingly, the word "community" (or "communities"), which is not present in the mission statement, was present almost the same number of times as the word "women". The expressions "community members", "community service", "community partners,

“community awareness”, “community programs”, “community business”, “community-based” and “building our community” are some examples of how this word was stressed in the documents. In contrast, other words present in the mission statement such as “peace”, “freedom” and “dignity” were very seldom mentioned.

The content analysis also provided some inputs about how important the organization considers the local context in its documents. Elements of the category that dealt with this local situation (considering the city of El Paso as having a lot of Mexican influence), were only present in two of the documents analyzed: the brochure that tells the history of the organization in El Paso and in the most recent annual report. At this time, it is important to remember that organization 1 is a branch of a worldwide organization.

In regards to valuing the local reality, the quantitative analysis of 5 annual reports reflected a lot of interesting changes on the focus of the organization. It is important to note that in the older document (from 2006), the first page located the mission of the organization in El Paso, and not the organization worldwide as it happens in all other ones. On the other side, as mentioned previously, the organization seemed to value its local context by mentioning the Mexican influence in its most recent annual report (2009/2010).

As photos were constantly present in the documents, and as the words “racism”, “race”, “racial justice” were emphasized 103 times in the documents, the researcher decided to do a content analysis of the people present in the pictures as well. It is important to mention that only pictures containing people (men, women or children) were considered. A lot of pictures were repeated in the documents, mainly in the annual reports. Surprisingly, the most used character was a “white girl smiling” (29 times), followed by a “white woman smiling” and “woman of color smiling”, both counted 21 times. The differences in the organization’s focus throughout the annual reports could also be noticed by the photos used, for example: results show that 8 pictures were used on the 2006 annual report representing 7 categories. On the most recent annual report, 47 pictures were used representing 14 categories.

From these practices, we could draw the following conclusions: organization 1 might follow some national guidelines in their documents, which might justify, for example, the absence of

documents written in Spanish (considering El Paso is a bilingual city); the organization is going through a process of transformation considering the massive number of pictures used in the last annual report; and also the organization may contradict its mission statement, that says “eliminating racism”, when using a larger number of Caucasian images.

5.1.2 Organization 2

At least two aspects stood out while the researcher was collecting the documents from this organization’s website. First, all documents were available both in English and Spanish. This characteristic is extremely important due to the fact that El Paso is considered a bilingual city and a portion of the population does not speak English or Spanish. This aspect leads to two conclusions: the organization is not only concerned about discrimination in relation to addicts, and the organization has an inclusive culture, because all the information about its services and purposes is available to all. Also one can conclude that this organization is very merged into their community. But curiously, this word, “community” which was one category of analysis, was only mentioned 29 times and mostly in reference to “community referrals” or “community service”, in contrary to what happened with organization 1, when the word was explored more broadly.

The second aspect that called the researcher’s attention was the fact that in every brochure and in every program description, the mission statement of the organization was present at the top. It demonstrates that there is a reinforcement of the values and objectives of the organization directed to its clientele.

Surprisingly, the word that was mentioned the most in all documents analyzed was “services” (73 times), which is not present in the mission statement. It leads to two different conclusions: the first is that the organization is more focused on practice or on what is doable. The second is that they stressed this word because it summarizes all that they intend to do: prevention, intervention, treatment and advocacy. In order to exercise these activities, they promote their services. Interestingly, the words that

follow “services” in number of times mentioned are exactly these ones, respectively: “treatment” (59 times), “education”, (48 times), “intervention” (37 times) and “prevention” (33 times).

Another important result reflects the words that were less cited in all the documents: “dignity”, “discrimination” and “advocacy”, which were mentioned only 2 times. The first two are present only in the vision of the organization and in the annual report (also when the vision was mentioned) and the last one was cited only in the last annual report, what shows an inclination towards advocacy only in the past years.

5.2 INTERVIEWS

This section culminates the findings of the interviews conducted with the organizations’ managers and one employee. The data was drawn from a total of five interviews in organization 1 and five interviews in organization 2, coded using a grounded theory approach. The results were organized into 5 different categories: importance of communication, work identities and commitment, perceptions of culture, leadership styles and feminist leadership.

5.2.1 Importance of communication

Considering that an organization emerges from communication and continues to emerge from the communication of its members (Taylor & Van Every, 2000), the first research question asked what central management processes facilitates the communication of mission management across the organizations. In order to get inputs to answer this question, participants were invited to reflect about how the mission of the organization is communicated to them and their unit, and how they communicate with their employees.

A) Organization 1

When it comes to communication, informants at organization 1 stressed its importance considering the size of the agency. Emailing and meetings were cited as the most effective forms of

communication used between managers. Manager E explained why her primary form of communication is through emails:

I certainly read articles and I understand that email is not necessarily the most effective, or the most empowering, or the most engaging form of communication, but that is very important because you have a record of what you said, you know who you said it to and likewise you know how they responded.

Manager A expressed how open the communication between managers is in this organization. It relates directly to the concept of communication openness, defined by Meyers et al. (1999), as the willingness to communicate and share opinions, ideas, and criticisms with each other. Anderson & Martin (1995) also discuss the different motives for communication openness in the workplace. One of them is that when coworkers fulfill needs through communication, they are more likely to develop lasting friendships and be satisfied. We can perceive this sense of “developing friendships” and satisfaction in the following comment. Note that the manager referred to her co-workers as part of a family:

What is good about the organization family is that you can pick up the phone and talk to anybody. So, if I'm experiencing something, and I'm trying to get some good ideas, I can call other managers and ask: how have you ever done this before? And I can get good information. That is really nice to be able to have that kind of communication. (Manager A)

But on the other side, one manager expressed that some boundaries need to be established in order to keep a safe workplace environment. As Manager B pointed out:

The boundaries I've set up with my staff is that we don't use personal phones to do company business, and as much as I love my staff I will not friend them on Facebook or in any of the social media, because it just needs to have some boundaries between the workplace and our personal lives. (Manager B)

Considering the size of this organization, it was interesting to note through the interviews that strategies were developed to make managers aware of what is happening during the meetings when they cannot be present, for example. As Manager C explained:

Because of my schedule I can't always make every committee meeting. Many times they happen simultaneously with other meetings; there is just too many to choose from. So part of the communication with the people that report to me is to tell them: if you're engaging with the board, copy me on things that they may be asking you to do (Manager C)

In organization 1, the researcher had the opportunity to interview one employee that is directly connected to one of the managers, which was very enriching as it brought another perspective to the answers. For example, the employee cited another strategy of communication developed so that managers can be more aware of what is happening in the organization:

"My boss attends committee meetings or she gets the minutes for those meetings" (Employee D)

When encouraged to reflect about how the mission of their organization was communicated to them and their units, managers emphasized different aspects, but they all agreed that it is something ubiquitous, as Manager E noted:

We can't walk in without seeing it on the wall, you see it on your business card, you see it on your nametag. As far as cognitively, certainly, everybody sees it, everybody knows it (Manager E).

Managers also revealed that the mission is very connected to what the organization does through their programs, which conforms to Kirk & Beth Nolan's (2010) statement that there is a presumption that a well-designed mission statement is linked to better organizational performance because it provides a framework for decision-making, influence over staff and volunteer motivation. Part of this presumption could be seen in some of the interviews. Managers A, B and E commented:

Everybody knows that all our objectives fit into the mission. So permeating throughout all of the programs and all the specific work that its done within the programs we ask: “does it tie in with the mission?” (Manager A)

I think to communicate the mission to my staff is very easy because what they do is directly mission related (Manager B)

The employee interviewed also shared this same opinion:

I think managers communicate the mission mostly through the delivery of the services on the programs that they manage. The programs are very tied into the mission...it is a straight line. If it that doesn't fit into our mission, than we don't embrace that kind of service. (Employee D)

Another important aspect mentioned by some of the managers is that there is a training that all employees need to go through to learn more about the organization's values and mission. Manager B explained:

There is a leadership training as well as racial justice training. Through them we talk about the values of the organization and I think that when people understand the values, they understand that respect, listening and understanding that are embedded in our mission (manager B)

Manager E exemplified:

In our unit, four to five times a year we have department training. Because our mission has to do with racial justice and eliminating of racism, we implement a small segment of training related to that. Sometimes it is outside, a film, a video, or an exercise that has been developed by somebody else (Manager E).

Manager C discussed the forms of communicating the mission as a process and mentioned that besides the work that the organization does and training, there are some other ways to address that message. It has to do with partnership and with leaders as an example:

Part of this process is demonstrating who we are by who we align ourselves with. The other thing is honesty, by the actions that I take: the other way that I try to communicate the mission is by being an example of fairness, of openness and integrity. (Manager C)

The employee interviewed, who has been working in the organization for 3 years, adds to this comment that by speaking from her own experience:

(The mission) It was not communicated verbally, it was not a big flag, it was not a signature statement that I did, but it was in every decision, in every conversation, in every major road direction that you have to choose. I see it in every day and in every circumstance. I was not preached. It is not a slogan. (Employee D)

B) Organization 2

When informants in organization 2 reflected about communication, they unanimously responded that it was a critical element within the organization. As “manager 4” commented:

(Communication) It is very much important. All of us need to be in the same page and in order for us to be in the same page we need to communicate constantly and if we don't do it we don't know what is going on. And so with us, our communication is one of the most important procedure or protocol that we need to follow and we do that in a weekly basis. (Manager 4)

As happened with organization 1, meetings and e-mails were the most prominent forms of communication in organization 2. For most managers, email was the default mode of communication and the main form of interaction with both colleagues and clients. Manager 2 explains his use of communication:

I think our communications are kind of standard: we communicate things quickly through meetings or e-mails. To things we need to explain a little further, we do memos because they go out and they're more directive or mandate. (Manager 2)

Manager 3 commented about the use of new technologies:

We have the Internet, of course, we have e-mail, what I do with my guys is that I usually text them, we text a lot, I use that with my nurses, it seems to be a more easy or more productive way of communication. (Manager 3)

Two of the managers interviewed agreed on the importance of e-mails and Internet but they emphatically mentioned the “live conversations” as their way to communicate better:

The way I use communication is, when I have an issue that I need to bring to the attention of a person I'll bring it to them immediately. I'm always very direct in what I ask for and in the way I communicate my methods. (Manager 5)

I think the best way to communicate is “hands-on”, “one to one”, “let's talk about this”. (Manager 3)

In regards to the communication of the mission statement, organization 2 seems to be following the presumption that it brings a lot of benefits when correctly defined and explained to the employees (Kirk & Beth Nolan 2010): In this agency, the mission statement was printed in the back of all employees' business cards and as the quantitative content analysis showed, it was present at least once in every brochure analyzed and in almost every document. Considering these characteristics, the informants were asked about the way they see the mission being communicated. Two main aspects stood out during the interviews: the first is that managers said they do not only communicate the mission statement. As manager 1 and 4 observed:

The mission statement, we live it. It is a life. We do not communicate it per se, we don't go around repeating our mission statement. We just live it. (Manager 1)

I don't think it is only communicated, but it is something you can feel...if you do not believe in that, you're going to leave, because it is just the way it is. I don't know how to explain the right way that we communicate, not to the employees, because the employees, believe it or not, here, they know our mission and our vision and we move forward with it. And they're here because they believe in that. You can tell to some employees...their hearts are not here. Then, you say, "oh that person is not going to last long". (Manager 4)

The second aspect is that almost all of the informants stressed that the mission and the way it was communicated to managers changed over time in order to get the organization and the employees more focused. Interestingly, this is one of the guidelines present in the U.S. Internal Revenue Service's good governance guidelines for nonprofit organizations (IRS, 2008). According to this document, a clearly articulated mission statement, adopted by the board of directors, serves to explain and popularize the charity's purpose and guide its work. It also addresses why the charity exists, what it hopes to accomplish, and what activities it will undertake, where, and for whom. As Manager 2 explains and Managers 3 and 4 exemplifies:

(The mission statement) That has kind of changed over the years, too. I don't think we've always had that way. I think all organizations are becoming more focused. They have less money to work with, so they have to focus their mission and instead of saying "we do everything", we say "we do this". (Manager 2)

That mission has been explained to me, and I know that what I am here for (Manager 5)

The mission is something we try to hold ourselves accountable to. (Manager 3)

5.2.2 Work identities and commitment

In the interview script, there was no question related to “work identities”, which may be defined as how much someone’s perception of who they are is tied to what they do. However, as this theme was present in most of the interviews, this category of analysis was created because it showed to be an aspect in common between the ones who work in nonprofit organizations, thus, characterizing part of their organization culture.

A) Organization 1

The work identity characteristic mentioned in organization 1 mainly related to job satisfaction, a field in which many theories have been proposed. One of these theories posits that job satisfaction results from the interaction between the situation and individual characteristics such as personality and dispositions (Kim, 2005). However, in this study, informants revealed that job satisfaction was more a consequence of the impact of their duties in the clients’ lives. As managers C and B and E noted:

I think the work here is very hectic at times but it is very rewarding at other times, when you can see the difference that you’ve made in people’s lives. It is rewarding, I feel that it is certainly like a mission that you give all of yourself. (Manager C)

I think if you ask any employee that loves their job here: Why do you stay? The response is always about the clients we serve and always about the impact that they have on people’s lives. They’re passionate about what they do and that is what keeps them here. (Manager B)

The thought of existing for the better good of all, to change people’s lives for the better creates a different environment in which you want to stay. In real life, you get a paycheck, and then you get other values added to your life working here. (Manager E)

B) Organization 2

In organization 2, the relation between work identity and job satisfaction was present, but what stood out was another important aspect. It was very interesting to notice that two of the managers interviewed in organization 2 had some type of identity with the organization due to personal experiences. It increases their commitment to do their work and also builds in them special skills when dealing with people going through the same problems. As Manager 1 described:

I can talk to the smartest guy, I can talk to the most violent guy, I can talk to the guy that is streetwise or I can talk to the guy that is book wise. And I think that makes me a better person. I can talk to a woman in our women's facility. I don't have to act, I can feel. I have that ability because I was a street guy for the first 17 years of my life, so I know how it is to be on the street and survive. So I think that all those things make me the manager I am today. (Manager 1)

This level of commitment derived from personal experiences has been discussed in the literature. According to Ohnson, Chang & Yang (2010), in work settings, commitment refers to a perceived psychological bond that employees have with some target associated with their job. One of the forms in which this commitment may be expressed is called affective commitment, which the authors explains as “an acceptance and internalization of the other party's goals and values, a willingness to exert effort on that party's behalf, and a strong emotional attachment to that party” (p. 227). Self-determined motivations form the basis for this commitment reflecting autonomous propensities to engage in goal-directed behaviors because they are believed to be important in and of themselves (Ohnson, Chang & Yang, 2010). Manager 3 gives an example of that. When referring to the way he is used to treat clients and co-workers in the organization, he said:

I grew up in a household where my father was an alcoholic so I had to grow up really quick, so I had to learn how to become I guess, mature, and what I do in my workplace is that I try to hold that same manner as far as not having them grow up but having them learn how to respect, learn good manners, and be a good person. (Manager 3)

Manager 5 mentioned another important aspect, in relation to work identities. According to this manager, who did not disclose any personal experience with what the organization stands for, it is extremely important to be able to work with something that fits the employee's personality. As the manager explained,

They have allowed me to manage this program in a way that it fits to my personality, too. So I can do my best for the people that I'm working with. I'm able to be myself. (Manager 5)

5.2.3 Perceptions of culture

Research question number 4 asked about the communicative culture at the non-profit organizations studied. To answer this question, the researcher explored the term "organizational culture" encouraging informants to reflect about the characteristics of it, how important it is and its influence on the organization's success.

A) Organization 1

In organization 1, the first concept that stood out is that all of the informants mentioned, at least once, that their organizational culture is something really connected to their mission, which emphasizes empowerment of people. As manager B explains:

Our local culture is the one in that the empowerment is important. We have a lot of young staff, and I think historically this organization has been a place where people come to get their start in their careers. Our greatest challenge is turnover because once those people get their skills, they tend to move on. We're non-profit, so our salaries are limited to how far you can go up the full chain. And so, I think the culture is one of encouraging people to learn and grow. (manager B)

Manager E shared this same opinion by stressing the values that are present in the mission as components of the culture:

Our organization wants for all of us to know our organizational values: community involvement, responsibility accountability and integrity. (Manager E)

Another aspect of their culture, cited by two managers, is in relation to maintaining a “business-like” environment. According to one of the managers, usually non-profit organizations are known as not having a really strict structure, with policies and procedures organized and accessible to all. That is not what happens in organization 1. As this manager observed:

I would characterize our culture as a fairly businesslike environment, which is great because it means that everything that is done, is done in a good fashion. Our policies and procedures are placed on our intranet, right there at our fingertips available for us to use. (Manager A)

Another manager commented about this business culture as something that the organization is trying to make the employees understand and assimilate:

Part of the culture is that we are here to help families who need help, no matter what. I had to shift that thinking, to make employees and clients understand that we are a business first. And if we don't make people to pay their bills, we're going to be out of business. (Manager C)

Several managers recognized also that the organizational culture is always transforming and evolving. That leads to Alvesson (2002)'s concern about the study of organizational culture. According to him, researchers must consider a balance between viewing a culture as frozen at a point in time and viewing a culture's dynamics. Also, Bantz (1993) highlights this dynamism when suggesting culture is both a process, because it builds itself everyday influencing people in different ways; and a product, because it is a consequence of interactions that have already happened. As manager B and C explained:

We haven't stayed the same organization for 102 years. We do continually take a look on what is going on in our community and how do we need to grow (Manager B)

Transformation is a great way to describe our culture because every year there have been significant shifts in how we do business. (Manager C)

Other managers mentioned that it is part of their culture to have employees not only satisfied but also passionate about their jobs. The consequences of that have reflected on the success of the organization. As manager B noted:

I think that what keeps bringing people to us and built our success and the longevity is that our clients know that here people are passionate about their jobs and want to help others. (Manager B)

Additionally, informants mentioned the influence that the organizational culture has in their personal lives. Manager A and B explained:

You tend to gravitate towards the things you have interested in and you're spending time on and you become devoted to. For example, I'm doing a racial justice training at my own time. I'm now emerged in those type of things in a way that I wasn't before. (Manager A)

Because I have worked here in the organization, my family has become a lot more aware of certain things. For example, I know conversations in around the family dinner table are now different, where maybe once in a while a racist type of comment was present. But when I started working for this organization, it was intolerable for me to hear this comments. Without a doubt, my family has been changed by my being employee of this organization. (Manager B)

B) Organization 2

In Organization 2, participants emphasized different aspects. First, as happened with organization 1 and also as happened with the managers' opinion about the mission of this agency, some informants, like Manager 1, considered the organizational culture something that changes over time.

Our organizational culture has evolved. When we first started, it was a continue fight with the cartels and with the gangster in the streets. They didn't want us. (Manager 1)

The culture of the organization is something always being transformed. We have to transform our culture and ourselves to the society, to the community and to our clientele. (Manager 3)

Another interesting finding has to do with what Martin & Siehl (1983) define as organizational culture. The authors stress that it has been defined as the glue that holds together an organization through shared patterns of meaning. Manager 1 used this same metaphor to exemplify the culture of common support within employees:

We can disagree with each other at different levels of the organization but when we are out there negotiating contacts or debating different points where people want to shut us down, we stay together like glue and we fight for each other and for the defense of the corporation (Manager 1).

Other informants reflected about the connection between the organization and its clients, stressing that the people that they serve were an important element affecting the organizational culture that managers try to maintain. As Manager 2 explains,

We've always try to stay close to the street culture because we have to be able to relate very closely to the addict. When someone has substance abuse problems, we have to be able to have some counselors that have had some addict experience with that. So this is the component that we have to have to that we can help people. (manager 2)

Manager 3 also commented on that:

We have to be at their (clients) level. We have to understand where do they come from and that they are people, instead of thinking "Oh, I'm better than you". (Manager 3)

The majority of the responses to the question “How would you characterize the organizational culture of this agency?” included a belief or a value that informants considered as key in the organization. That comes to terms with Schein (2010)’s model of analyzing organizational culture. As discussed in chapter 2, the author developed a model that sorts out the various elements of culture into three distinct levels: artifacts, espoused beliefs and values, and basic assumptions. Schein explains the level of values and beliefs as something that represents preferences or what “ought” to happen in an organization. That is what the informant’s responses provided. Manager 2, for example, stress the value of forgiving:

The organization is always very forgiving, if you make a mistake, we view it more as you learned a lesson, and you’re more valuable because you learned that lesson. (Manager 2)

Manager 5 stressed the value of trust and freedom:

I think that there is a trust in everyone. Everyone trusts in each other and I think that is what I value the most in my experience here. I’ve been given the freedom and trust within my job. In other words, I feel the liberty and I feel the freedom to do more things and be innovative and to bring more imagination to the program because it is received with respect from my superiors. (Manager 5)

In the literature, Katz & Kahn (1978) also stressed the importance of values. According to them, values typically act as the defining elements of culture, with norms, symbols, rituals, and other cultural activities evolving around them. They are essential for organizational survival because they maintain the organization as a bounded unit and provide it with a distinct identity. The value of “helping people” or “believing in people” was mentioned by all the managers as something that really strengthens the organization. Manager 4 observed:

The greatest value that we share here is that we believe in helping people in need, especially those people that are addicted or that have problems. I think that all of us are here for the same purpose and all of us share the same dream and the same belief. We believe in helping people.

That is why we are here. This field does not have a lot of money...we're here because we believe in what we do. If you need help, we're here to help. (Manager 4)

Still in the category of beliefs and values that are elements of the organizational culture, spirituality was an important theme present in two of the interviews. Not that it was a surprise, but thinking about management concepts in organizations, this finding was an interesting revelation. As Pawar (2009) points out, researchers have noted the importance of workplace spirituality by indicating that individuals are seeking to fulfill their spiritual needs at work. Marques et al. (2005, p. 88) outline the starting point of spirituality at work as a set of internal values of an individual such as honesty, kindness, and courage. Other authors, like Fry (2003) focus on spiritual leadership, defined as comprising the values, attitudes and behaviors that are necessary to intrinsically motivate one's self and others so that they have a sense of spiritual survival through calling and membership. Chakraborty (1993) outlines an approach to facilitation of spirituality at workplaces that focuses on an individual employee's spiritual transformation as the focal point. One of the organizational outcomes sought through this approach is a positive change in organizational culture (Pawar, 2009).

The way in which spirituality was present in the interviews, however, was not related specifically to the managers, but related to what they believe the organization stands for. As manager 1 commented:

The Lord, I'm convinced, has blessed us. This agency should have been shut down many times. But the Lord has kept it open. (Manager 1)

Manager 2 also expresses this sense of calling, resulting in positive outcomes for individual employees, interpersonal benefits, and organizational rewards.

People here in the organization think that we're supposed to be here...God wants us to be here, It's kind of we have a directive from God to be here, to help people, and we really feel that way. Because most non-profits they don't last very long, 40 years is very good, and so, we've gone through so many things and so many times that we could have gone out of business, things could

have happened that we wouldn't be around, that we know that there is probably a greater power that is looking out for us and really wants us to help people (Manager 2)

In an attempt to go beyond beliefs and values, and focus more on personal perceptions about the organization, the researcher asked the question “What is it like to work here?”. Informants unanimously prioritized positive characteristics focusing on what they like about the organization or what holds them there. Almost all of them, mentioned dynamism:

There is no boring day; it is something very dynamic. (Manager 1)

It is challenging because it is always different. There is always something new coming up, there is always surprises. There is always a challenge that keeps you interested and you never get bored. (Manager 2)

Here there is the opportunity to do something different, to create change within this society. I think here is the best place to do that. (Manager 3)

It is constantly a challenge. You learn and you gain experience. I'm happy. I'm pleased. This has been my only job and hopefully it will be my last one, too. (Manager 4)

My experience here has been wonderful. I have loved my job from the day that I started. All the people that I have been contact with, all my supervisors have been very helpful to me, very understanding, very caring, and very open. (Manager 5)

These perceptions suggest how employees live the culture as their reality. According to Bell (2008), an individual's perception is empirical. The author explains that human beings perceive sensory stimuli, and form insight, intuition, and knowledge regarding those stimuli. “They give their own meaning to environmental stimuli as they attempt to make sense of their environment and the objects,

people, and events in it” (p. 36). As a result, as we can see in the answers given to the same question, different individuals perceive the same thing in dissimilar ways because of variances caused by their personal experiences, cultural backgrounds, needs and values. This suggests that organizations must pay attention to employees’ perceptions of the workplace environment because employees will behave as if those perceptions were reality (Bell, 2008).

Several informants noted the influence of the culture on the organization’s success. As manager 5 mentioned:

Because of the trust and because of the way the culture is we’re able to deal with negative issues. Through positive reinforcement from the organization we’re able to deal in a daily basis with such difficult issues. Because if there wasn’t that trust, freedom and relaxation, within the organization, I think that will be very difficult to deal with the issues we’re dealing with. (manager 5)

Jaskyte (2010) has mentioned that evidence has been found for the relationship between organizational culture and successful efforts to improve service quality and perceived positive client outcomes. That is exactly what Manager 3 pointed out:

The culture highly influences the organizational success because this is what is keeping the program alive. When we understand how to adapt and how to relate ourselves in a manner that the client feels comfortable, we feel comfortable as well. (Manager 3)

As happened with organization 1, informants in organization 2 also mentioned the influence that the organizational culture has in their personal lives and in their families. Manager 4 explained:

It not only has influenced me, but everyone in my family too. Being in this field for me has been helpful because I can provide them with a lot of information. (Manager 4)

Other managers voiced similar opinions. Manager 2 gave an example of how he and his family have been influenced:

For sure it has influenced me and my wife and children a lot. Maybe we're more aware of certain things. When you dealing with substance abuse you see things that most people, in general, will never see or never hear about. There are some things that will come up on the news that I'll pay special attention to, because I'll know the story behind the news. Yes, I think there is certain culture that does expend to the family. (Manager 2)

Manager 5 remembered that after working in organization 2, certain personal characteristics have changed. As the manager explained:

I think that I've learned from the culture here how to trust other people. Maybe before I didn't trust as much in other people and in their abilities. Maybe before I would say, "I need to be on the top of this person to make sure that he will do what he need to do, because I don't know if he will get to the goal that I think he should get to or that we need for him to get to." Now it is different. (Manager 5)

5.2.4 Leadership styles

The second research question asked what leadership styles are employed by central staff and unit managers in El Paso nonprofit organizations. At this point, it is important to stress that leadership, in this study, means not only accomplishing activities and managing routines, but also influencing others and creating visions for change or empowerment (Mary, 2005).

A) Organization 1

Several leadership styles were mentioned in organization 1, all of them with a team component present. As manager B explained:

We try to utilize the team approach. It really does take everyone working together to identify the needs of our clients. We have to have this interconnectedness because we're such a large

organization and we have so many different resources that we have to work as a team. (Manager B)

Manager E added to that by explaining that such leadership styles, based on a team approach, are responsible for creating a comfortable environment:

It is very comfortable. I do have a feeling that I'm in a culture where we are all working together towards the same goal. (Manager E)

Openness was very present in the leadership styles described by the managers as well. Manager C and B described that:

From a management standpoint, I try to be clear about what I need. I don't hide things but I make it easy to make people talk to me. I try to be an open book as much as I can, I give people the opportunity to ask me questions, even in our management meeting which has maybe about 65 people who attend that, that are managers, at the end, I ask them...you know if you have questions, hear from the horses mouth, because humors, in a place this big, are everywhere, and rumors are half-truths. So I give them the opportunity to address me the question directly, so that they can get the honest answer (Manager C)

So that is my goal as a manager, to make sure that my employees have the tools they need, the knowledge and the experience they need to better service our clientele. And I never want them to feel intimidated like they can't ask a question. As a manager I should understand everything that my employees do on a daily basis. I have to walk the walk that they walk to better understand how they're doing their jobs. (Manager B)

One informant mentioned that managers need to be strict because of the type of work involved:

It is strict because we have a lot of people and a lot of lives in our hands. We have policies and procedures that we need to follow. Every little thing, we have documented. Everything is extremely precise. (Manager A)

One manager also focused on the importance of having a strong leader in the front of the organization, not one that dictates what to do, but one that has charisma and presence towards society. As manager A commented:

Certainly having a very strong woman in a leadership role sets the tone. And it is a good one. People just immediately trust and respect her. That is not only because the work that it is done, but also because of presence and how she presents herself, and how she speaks (Manager A)

B) Organization 2

Informants in organization 2 consistently mentioned that very different types of people were employed. As manager 3 explained:

In the organization I think there's all types. I think it serves well the organization when you have that mixture, because I think if we had only one style it would be so artificial. (Manager 3)

Manager 2 and 5 described the leadership styles employed:

My leadership style is to look at each different options and try to find the one that is going to work. (Manager 2).

I'll never expect anything from someone that I cannot do and that I cannot live up to. I'll not say to anyone something that I cannot do myself. I'll speak from my experience (Manager 5)

But undoubtedly, what stood out in organization 2 when managers were asked about leadership styles was the way they valued having a strong leader at the top of the organization. The sense of this leadership is not entirely the one characterized by Kbasakal and Dastmalchian (2001), who suggest that

organizational leaders are expected to be sensitive to local cultures and traditions, yet at the same time become initiators of change. The sense of strong leadership is materialized in one person that serves as an example for other managers. Managers 4 and 5 express their gratitude for having a strong leader above them:

As long as we have a strong leader we're just going to be fine. Our leader has the type of thing that makes you believe in everything that he says and everything that he does. The way he approached to you makes the difference. (Manager 4)

If he says he is going to do something, he does that. So there is that trust in him, what makes him a good leader. He lives what he preaches. (Manager 5)

Two of the managers explained that this strong leadership is based somehow in a kind of authority exercised by the CEO. But instead of seeing it negatively, both managers agreed that sometimes this is the way the organization needs to be led in order to have things done.

We have a little central leadership, and that is very important for us because we need to move quickly. The CEO gathers the information but he will make the final decision. We don't have a vote on it...what would make the organization very slow. (Manager 2)

Sometimes we have to have the authoritative to dictatorship type of leadership, especially in the upper management. Things need to get done and I understand that. (Manager 3)

Again, the change or transforming factor is present. Most managers expressed that their leadership styles may change depending on what is needed or according to the experiences they are gaining within the organization. Manager 1, which has worked in the organization for over 40 years, commented:

I used to think that I was a superman, so I would manage from top down ...I don't do that any more. What I do is I hire young and smart people and they give me their inputs, and they manage

the corporation. My experience goes in there, but my management style now is not dictatorial, it is horizontal. If you look at the organizational chart I allow my top management people to direct the agency. Only if there is some problem, I then walk in and I make decisions. I say “I’m here to do a little tune up on this”. (Manager 1)

5.2.5 Feminist leadership

The third research question asked specifically about feminist leadership styles. Informants were encouraged to reflect on whether they act as feminist leaders and how. Also, as some informants were men, managers were asked to reflect about the differences between men and women leaders.

A) Organization 1

Curiously, in Organization 1, which has its roots in women’s rights, none of the managers considered themselves feminists. Also, they agreed that women have certain characteristics more developed than in men, but they didn’t see this as something that has influenced their leadership style. As manager E commented:

As far as feminism of considering women better than men, I don’t see that in the management style (Manager E).

Manager C added to that bringing in personal experiences:

This agency has only had female CEO’s. But I manage differently from my predecessors. And I think that there are parts of it that are more feminist when it comes to maybe hearing all sides of the story, being more inclusive and empowering people. But there are other parts where I’ve been told that I’m intimidating like a man. (Manager C)

Manager A and employee D also acknowledged those differences:

Personally I sometimes think that women are extra helpful in certain situations because they have that negotiation skills, patience and gentle touch with things. It doesn't mean men can't be great managers. (manager A)

“When you're a woman, there is more sensitivities and you have to be gentler in the way you communicate. It is just the dynamic. (Employee D)

Manager B, however, brings a different element to this discussion. According to her, the differences in leading are not related to sex but to the nature of the work that managers are involved with:

With my employees I probably ask more questions but I don't know if it is a nature of the gender of a manager or if it is because of the work that we do. I would think it has a lot more to do with the type of work that we're doing, because we're more in a social service environment. I think it is the nature of social service work. Your mind set is different when you're there to serve people and serve their needs. (Manager B)

B) Organization 2

As the informants were men and women, they were encouraged to reflect about the importance of having women in the organization and to discuss what were women's characteristics as leaders. Overall, the answers were all positive. Manager 1 touched on a motherly approach:

My mother was probably the most influential person in my life. So, in my organizational chart there are more women in leadership positions than men (Manager 1).

The two women interviewed in organization 2 both said they have feminist characteristic in their leadership styles. Manager 4 expressed the sense of dependence from one another:

My leadership is somehow feminist in the sense that I value that all of us need to work as a team and I'm going to expect you to do your part. We are like a puzzle. And in order for me to complete my task I need your part. (Manager 4)

Manager 2 valued the balance of having women and men in the organization:

I think women take a different approach than men. I think in our management that would be really bad to have all women or all men, because we need a good balance so that we can look at every detail differently. (Manager 2)

When it come to differences, curiously, two managers agreed that women are better at multitasking than men:

I know that men can be more compartmentalized. They look at one thing and they finish that one thing before going to another, and I think that women they can look at one thing but they maybe look at 10 other different things at the same time. (Manager 2)

I can do 3, 4 things at a time. Even so I'm able to complete those tasks. Men, they're like...“don't talk to me until I get this done”. (Manager 4)

When reflecting about women, one of the managers discussed the importance of being aware of the power of strong feminist leaders not only in the organization but also in the community. Manager 5 explained:

I do think that in the society that we live here in our community, there are a lot of oppression towards women, woman still live with the Marianismo, which is living under the oppression of a macho, and I think that my belief is if you educate one woman, with her rights, than that would change at least 6 other people in the community, because a woman is always in touch with their

children, she also has influence on her parents, she has influence on a lot of people in the community. (Manager 5)

5.3 AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATION

This section contains a summary of the findings from the researcher's ethnographic observations conducted during the months of October and November. For a more loyal description, results will be described using "I". This participant-observer experience was a wonderful chance for me to gain perhaps the most direct understanding of the phenomena under study (see Murchison, 2010).

5.3.1 Organization 1

5.3.1.1 Auto-ethnographic observation

Ever since I decided to research about organization 1, I was intimidated by its magnitude. Different branches and a very strong name were part of its culture. I had the chance to visit some of these branches during one week of events that the organization was celebrating. All the events were open to the public. In common, all these units have big signs with the name of the organization. That definitely was not something they wanted to hide. On the contrary, I had the feeling that the more they promoted the name of the organization, the more they were satisfied.

5.3.1.2 Ethnographic observation

The mission of the organization was everywhere: from the reception to the walls on the halls, in frames, posters and banners. The mission was also in the answering machine. Every time I called outside office ours, a woman's voice started saying: "Thank you for calling [organization 1]. Where we are eliminating racism and empowering women". In all the events that I attended, the words "peace",

“freedom”, “dignity” and “justice” were inserted in separate banners. These banners were positioned behind the podium. They were very direct about the message they are trying to address.

Speaking about these words, there was another time when they called my attention. That happened in one of the units that provide women in need a place to live. I had the opportunity to tour this unit, accompanied by the unit manager. With passion, she took me to visit the different spaces of the facility, from the large and common kitchen to the different kinds of bedrooms. After explaining each place, she usually finished the sentence by saying: “isn’t that wonderful?”, “Isn’t that great?” or “isn’t that cool?”. Yes, it was. But the first thing that I saw when I got into this unit was the residents’ mailbox. They were on the side of the reception balcony, and instead of numbers, as we usually see on mailboxes, there were those words again: “peace”, “freedom”, and I remember seeing “faith”, too. When I asked a volunteer: “why those words?”, she said that some of the women that live there are victims of domestic violence, so their address is confidential. I was amazed.

The last event of this week was a gathering at one of the organization’s big camps. Music from all over the world, different workshops and the presence of different small organizations with little booths stressed the idea of diversity that I noticed when doing the content analysis. That was definitely a diverse environment.

The ethnographic observation in the administration building was a little affected by the fact that this part of the organization is moving. So I could see and note a lot of boxes all over the place when I got there to interview some of the managers and the CEO. Even so, I again could note the stress on the name and the public image of the organization, reflected on a lot of magazines’ reports framed on the walls. Also, several pictures of older members, presidents, donors and important people were there, as a form of gratitude and also as a form of emphasis of how long organization 1 has been serving the El Paso community.

5.3.2 Organization 2

5.3.2.1 Auto-ethnographic observation

I'll never forget the first time I visited organization 2: there were no signs outside the building, nothing that could identify the organization. At that time, I did not think about the fact that, dealing with diverse treatments for people that have problems with substance abuse, and considering that discrimination still exists in our society, not having anything that identified the organization would be a way to protect their clients.

When I got into the building, I noticed a lot of empty chairs in the waiting room and I felt a brightness, or should I say, a “whiteness” sensation: walls, doors, floor...everything was white. This whiteness made me feel clean. “May I help you?”, said a lovely old lady on the other side of the balcony. Her smile, gestures and the way she spoke so slowly and softly was truly comforting. I waited for some seconds and one of the managers that participated in this study came to bring me into the office. The way to get there was a kind of maze: all the doors have security codes. Another thing I noticed was that in almost every wall there was a picture of a positive quote or a positive attitude guide, for example: “10 ways to live better” or “10 ways to...”. All the signs were both in English and Spanish. Before getting into the office we passed through a big room where an altar for “*dia de los muertos*” was displayed. “Do you know what that means?” asked the manager, smiling. That was a sign of how important the organization considers the maintenance of traditions because for members of this community the “*dia de los muertos*” is a day to remember and celebrate their antecedents.

5.3.2.2 Ethnographic observation

The furniture was simple, the environment was simple. I had the chance to visit the administration unit when I interviewed the CEO. Again, no signs. There was nothing that identified the organization from the outside. Inside, the environment was a little more formal. Again, the CEO came personally to greet me in the reception area and bring me into the office. Along the hall, the doors of other offices were open, you could see people working.

The initial conversation with the CEO was quite interesting. In his office, several pictures of his family, college certificates, awards and artwork. His desk was full of papers. We met at the big round meeting table. After explaining my project, the CEO agreed to open the doors of the organization for my study but asked me to do two things: take a drug test and complete a criminal background check. I did not understand the purpose of that, at that time, but it was acceptable to me. I did the drug test on the following afternoon. That was my first experience. The place where I was tested is called “Confidential Drug Testing”. Since I was on my way, I was tried to imagine people that needed to face this issue. I was trying to be in the shoes of the ones that did not have the confidence I had to do that. I then understood that going through this process was fundamental to me, as a participant, to get involved. As Murchison (2010) describes, “In order to learn about the complex dimensions of society and culture in action, the ethnographer almost necessarily has to become involved on a personal level to one degree or another” (Murchison, 2010, p. 85). This whole process was still more representative once I got back to the organization. While I was waiting to talk to another manager, an employee came and kindly asked me what I was doing there, because he saw me on the day before and was seeing me again that time. When I told him that I was a student and that I was researching the organization and because of that he would probably see me a lot during that week, he smiled and said, trying to make fun of the situation of seeing me often “Oh, okay, I’ll let the other employees know that you’re not here looking for treatment!”. We laughed but I could see that he was worried about me and what I may be feeling about being seen there by other people.

I also had the opportunity to observe one class of the parents’ training course offered by the organization. It was visually a very comforting and friendly environment. The table and chairs were set on a semi-circle, their names were affixed on the table, and everyone was at the same level. That stressed to me the culture of “being at the client’s level” and not considering the organization’s members as superior people.

Before the class started, participants had a meal together. I could feel that they were all very happy for having the opportunity to be there. The class started at about 5 p.m. and I had to leave at 8:30

p.m., but the conversation seemed to be just beginning. It was quite an experience to observe the level of engagement and satisfaction of the participants. They were feeling at home.

On Thursday, November 10th, I had the chance to observe a manager's meeting that was held in one of the facilities. There were about 12 managers including the CEO. There was no dress code to the meeting. Only the CEO and one of the managers were wearing a suit and tie, but they all were feeling comfortable. The meeting took place in a big room that seemed like a home: it was a large space with a kitchen, a living room and the place where several tables were put together as a meeting table. One by one, managers were showing up and as they entered the room they were informally introduced to me. They also greeted the CEO in a very informal way: No "Dr." or "Mr.". They all called him by his first name. Before the meeting began, they were talking to each other, sometimes in Spanish, and drinking coffee.

In English, the manager that was hosting the meeting signaled that they should gather at the table. He thanked everybody for their presence, mentioned that there was a sign-in sheet and immediately passed the word to the CEO. He stood up, introduced me as a researcher and talked a little about his expectations about the meeting. The language was not very formal. The hosting manager had the floor again. He did not stand up and talked for the following 30 minutes, at least. By the end of his speech, he was asking directed questions and waiting for an individual answer. He also asked individually if the participants had any questions. During the meeting all managers were taking notes, including the CEO.

The next person to take the floor was a manager's assistant. In a very friendly way, she was explaining some of the procedures that the other managers would need to follow. She used "you guys" frequently and smiled a lot. During her speech she asked for questions a lot of times.

The participants asked questions, claimed explanations in a really safe environment. No one seemed to be intimidated by either my presence or by the presence of the CEO. Sometimes, I couldn't understand what they were talking about because they were using initials, referring to program terms or accreditation entities. They all seemed on the same wavelength.

By the end of the meeting, the CEO stood up again and asked for a kind of summary about what has been discussed. Specially, he asked about when he would get some reports, as the managers debated due dates. They all agreed about the decisions made.

5.4 ANSWERING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Considering all the findings, it was very clear that communication plays a major role in building and maintaining organizational culture and leadership styles within an organization: it is through communication that managers keep contact with employees and clients. Therefore, what follows is a response to the following research question:

RQ1: What central management processes facilitate mission management across the organizations units?

The interviews and ethnographic observations provided insights to answer this question. As both organizations studied have several units, managers shared that staff meetings were very important for co-workers to be “on the same page”. Also, the communication through emails and phone calls was rated as critical in the process of facilitating management. Emails were rated as the safest tool to communicate, in a “traditional” sense of keeping a record of what you said and to whom you said. The openness was a precious characteristic cited by informants. All of them noted that free and direct communication with the CEO helped decisions to be made more quickly and objectively.

In regards to the mission, specifically, managers explained that it is communicated in four major ways: through documents, through the delivery of services, through training and through personal examples. Documents such as brochures and annual reports were considered a form of communication of the mission because they are strong tools of connection between the organization and the community in which the organization is inserted. The content analysis also helped the researcher to conclude that there is a concern, from both organizations, about having the mission statement as clear as possible in these important documents.

The second way through which the mission is communicated is the delivery of services. Managers unanimously said that all the programs offered to the community are very tied into the mission. In other words, the mission is not only a statement that employees read and need to understand, but the mission is what they do through their daily jobs. Another way to facilitate mission management is through training. Managers highlighted the importance of mission-related classes and activities. This way, employees are constantly updating their knowledge and renewing their experiences. Another interesting management process utilized to facilitate mission communication across units is by setting an example. Managers explained that through their actions, the values present in the mission statement might be exercised, such as integrity and comprehensiveness.

Several managers in this study emphasized the importance of having a strong leader occupying the CEO position as an example for the whole organization. This leads to the possible answers provided to the next major research question:

RQ2: What leadership styles are employed by central staff and unit managers?

Considering their own experiences, managers described different leadership styles, and the informants were all glad that there is a mix of those styles within the organization. But the managerial types described have many things in common. One of them is the team approach. It was clear that managers try to emphasize that every employee counts and that all must work together towards the same goal. Several times during the interviews, the organizations were compared to a puzzle in which every part depends on the other to succeed.

Another interesting characteristic of the leaders is that all of them seemed a little strict or exacting. Managers explained that because their organizations deal with peoples' lives, their employees needed to be very careful in their jobs, following the rules and policies. The effects of this strictness is the avoidance of allowing exceptions that might cause mistakes to happen. However, employees that may have failed doing one task are encouraged to learn the lesson and managers usually give them a second chance.

Managers also explained that their leadership styles might change according to the situation, for example: some tended to ward a "dictator way" when decisions need to be made quickly, but were more

open to others' suggestions when different opinions enriched and facilitated the decision-making process. When speaking about differences, managers stressed that having both women and men occupying managerial positions brings a lot of value to the organization. This assumption begins to provide answers to the following research question:

RQ3: Are feminist leadership styles employed by central staff and unit managers?

None of the informants answered "yes" to this question. But when the researcher encouraged them to reflect about differences in the way men and woman manage in the organization, they all agreed that at some extent those differences were very remarkable. But before getting into those differences, it is important to discuss the concept of feminism that the managers talked about.

Based on informants' answers, two aspects stood out when considering what should be considered feminism. The first is related to women's rights or the recognition of women as capable of doing hard work. In other words, they considered the idea that considering women equal or better than men might influence managers that are women to give some privileges to other women in order to "prove" to society that women are strong enough to assume higher positions in organizations. None of the informants align themselves with this idea.

The second aspect, and that all managers agreed that does exist, is a "feminine" and not "feminist" managerial style. It is more in the sense of acknowledging differences between men and women. Several managers (both men and woman) stressed that woman are more sensitive, more attentive and more able to multitask than men. But at the same time, they all stressed that it does not mean that female leaders are better than male leaders. It is just a matter of differences and not competencies. This diversity (having men and women) in the organizations was much appreciated by informants, constituting in some ways the cultural environment of the workplace.

The workplace environment characteristics lead to the "construction" of organizational culture. A brief review of findings discovered in the narratives, in the content analysis and in the ethnographic observation will be used to address the final research question:

RQ4: What is the communicative culture of the organizations?

If words could summarize the findings in this section, certainly “transformation” would be one of them. All managers cited the changing factor while they tried to describe their organization’s culture. For sure, the beliefs and values shared do not change so frequently, but the way the organizations put these values into practice or the way the organizations focus on them changes from time to time. Schein’s (2010) model of analyzing organizational culture suggests that artifacts, values and basic assumptions are influenced by each other all the time.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The findings of this study suggest that managing non-profit organizations is a challenging but yet rewarding duty. Despite the constant concern about program funding, there is, in contrast to members of for-profit organizations, a strong happiness associated with individuals who work at non-profit organizations and have the opportunity to impact people's lives for the better. That seems to be the fuel that runs these agencies.

The discoveries also say a lot about each organization studied. Organization 1, for example, is a women-run nonprofit and originally a women-serving nonprofit. That could be seen in the results from the quantitative content analysis, which showed the word "women" as the most cited in the documents. Also, the quantitative content analysis of the pictures showed women or girls as the most present images. But, at the same time, the results from the interviews and the ethnography observation brought different inputs to this matter. Managers were much more focused on eliminating any type of racism (and not only racism related to women) and on empowering people, rather than empowering only women. Such different elements composing this organization's culture leads to one conclusion reinforced in Trice and Beyer (1993) statement: "Cultures have multiple ideologies; the ideas they express sometimes complement and sometimes contradict each other" (Trice & Beyer, 1993, p. 175). Organization 2 is all about helping people with substance addictions. Results showed that managers were pretty much focused on offering and emphasizing different types of services in order to encompass most of the needs of the region.

Another interesting conclusion is related to the way the local nonprofits are managed. The organizations studied were organized as businesses, functioning similarly to corporations. In other words, their work was somehow shaped by consumer opinion and demand. The organizations believe that if they work on programs to promote the common good they do have to model their actions and services based on the community's needs.

The different findings may lead to the conclusion that culture is something that enhances organizational commitment. According to the values shared by the organizations and assimilated by

managers, there is a commitment to the services offered to the community. It can be related to this research's initial argument about organizational culture as a common agreement between the employees. For example, it was clear that if you do not believe in people being healed from their drug addiction, you certainly would not feel comfortable working at Organization 2. Moreover, if your expectations about career are more linked to how much money you can make rather than how many lives you can change, certainly a non-profit organization is not the place for you. It is also clear that the more an organization's values are intensely held and widely shared, the stronger its culture is. Having a "positive" culture based on team orientation and commitment to cooperation influences all the ones involved with the organization and its effectiveness: staff members like their work; board members enjoy their positions; program participants feel valued.

Moreover, since one of the objectives of this research was to discover the communicative culture of the organization, it was very interesting to understand the concept of this word. In other words, it was clear that culture is the "property of" or the "domain of" the group and not what is dictated by one person, the leader. As Teegarde, Hinden, & Sturm (2010) explain: "Individual employees and leaders inevitably interact with and sometimes influence organizational culture, but the individual's particular cultural makeup is not the culture of the organization" (p.12). In other words, one person does not own the culture and it reflects the kind of values that the whole organization embraces.

The major leader of the organization – the CEO plays a strong role in the organization not only in managerial perspectives but also as someone that carry values appreciated by other employees. Managers, in general, live their values but they also count on someone else, the CEO, to lead.

This study brings new perspectives to the discussion about feminist leadership. Female managers interviewed did not define themselves as feminists at all. They were skeptical when trying to define this term, what may lead to at least two conclusions. The first is that now women believe that by living feminist principles they would stress rather than fight against gender racism (e.g they would emphasize that a huge difference exist). The second is that they might think that it is not important or not necessary to fight for those causes. Female managers emphasized the feminine aspect, remembering that men and women have some standard "way of being" what may differentiate them minimally.

The communicative culture of both organizations was proved to be strong enough to make a difference in people's lives, not only the clients' but also the employees'. As happened to me and the culture of the organization in which my father works (see Preface), several managers shared that their families are also impacted by the culture of their non-profit organizations they work in either by being more aware of society's issues, such as substance abuse, or by turning to be volunteers at non-profit organizations, or maybe not tolerating certain racist comments that usually were unnoticed.

In conclusion, the communicative culture is one of "transforming" not only in the sense of being changed over time, but also in the sense of the way it affects and transforms the perspectives of people directly connected to these organizations.

6.1 LIMITATIONS

This study used only two non-profit organizations in the El Paso region; therefore results may not be generalized. Another limitation in this research deals with the use of the content analysis and its subjectivity involved in coding. As the researcher, a master's degree student, was expected to work individually, the reliability of both data and the instrument could not be scientifically assessed.

6.2 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

To continue the inquiry about this topic, future research is needed to include other organizations in the framework in order to get a broader array of results.

As this study found that organizational culture is related to job satisfaction and therefore organizational effectiveness, I would also suggest for future research to focus on testing a model proposing that organizational culture has a direct effect on quality of work life and vice-versa. That would be very interesting to find out what are and also to map the operant mechanisms by which organizational culture influences organizational effectiveness.

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Appendix A

Coding instrument – quantitative content analysis: organization 1

CODING INSTRUMENT: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

document #	racism/ race/ racial justice ¹	women/ female ²	peace ³	justice ⁴ (not racial)	freedom ⁵	dignity ⁶	power/ empowering/ empowerment ⁷	opportunity ⁸ (ies)	hope ⁹	immigrants/ nationalities ¹⁰	Mexican women/ hispanic ¹¹	diversity/ differences/ different ¹²	community ¹³ (ies)	core values ¹⁴	girl/ girls ¹⁵
1/															
2/															
3/															
4/															
5/															
6/															
7/															
8/															
9/															
10/															
11/															
12/															
13/															

1. Anytime "racism", "race", or "racial justice" appears
2. Anytime "women" or "female" appears
3. Anytime "peace" appears
4. Anytime "justice" appears but not related to "racial justice"
5. Anytime "freedom" appears
6. Anytime "dignity" appears
7. Anytime "power", "empowering" or "empowerment" appears
8. Anytime "opportunity" or "opportunities" appears
9. Anytime "hope" appears
10. Anytime "immigrants" or "nationalities" appears (e.g. Italians, Germans but not Mexico or Mexicans or Hispanics)
11. Anytime "Mexican women" or "Mexico" or "Hispanic" or "Mexican population" appears
12. Anytime "diversity", "differences", "different", "diversify" or "diverse" appears
13. Anytime "community" or "communities" appears
14. Anytime "core values" appears OR the words in their core values are mentioned together (e.g. integrity, responsibility, respect and corporate citizenship)
15. Anytime "girl" or "girls" appear

Appendix B

Coding instrument – quantitative content analysis of photos: organization 1

CODING INSTRUMENT: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS - PHOTOS

document #	white woman smiling ¹	white woman serious ²	white girl smiling ³	white girl serious ⁴	white boy smiling ⁵	white boy serious ⁶	white man smiling ⁷	white man serious ⁸	woman of color smiling ⁹	woman of color serious ¹⁰	girl of color smiling ¹¹	girl of color serious ¹²	boy of color smiling ¹³	boy of color serious ¹⁴	man of color smiling ¹⁵	man of color serious ¹⁶	other nationalities ¹⁷	mixed group ¹⁸	unknown ¹⁹	# photos
1/																				
2/																				
3/																				
4/																				
5/																				
6/																				
7/																				
8/																				
9/																				
10/																				
11/																				
12/																				
13/																				

1. Anytime a white woman smiling appears
2. Anytime a white woman not smiling appears
3. Anytime a white girl smiling appears
4. Anytime a white girl not smiling appears
5. Anytime a white boy smiling appears
6. Anytime a white boy not smiling appears
7. Anytime a white man smiling appears
8. Anytime a white man not smiling appears
9. Anytime a woman of color smiling appears
10. Anytime a woman of color not smiling appears
11. Anytime a girl of color smiling appears
12. Anytime a girl of color not smiling appears
13. Anytime a boy of color smiling appears
14. Anytime a boy of color not smiling appears
15. Anytime a man of color smiling appears
16. Anytime a man of color not smiling appears
17. Anytime a woman, girl, man or boy from other ethnicity appears
18. Anytime a mixed group of people appear
19. Anytime it is not possible to categorize a photo (e.g. pictures against light)

Appendix C

Coding instrument - quantitative content analysis: organization 2

CODING INSTRUMENT: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

document #	comprehensive 1	integrated 2	continuum 3	high quality 4	behavioral health 5	intervention 6	treatment 7	education 8	services 9	dignity 10	discrimination stigma 11	Texas El Paso region 12	prevention 13	community 14	empowering strengthening 15	supporting 16	advocacy 17
1/																	
2/																	
3/																	
4/																	
5/																	
6/																	
7/																	
8/																	
9/																	
10/																	
11/																	
12/																	
13/																	
14/																	
15/																	
16/																	
17/																	
18/																	
19/																	
20/																	

1. Anytime "comprehensive" appears
2. Anytime "integrated" appears
3. Anytime "continuum" appears
4. Anytime "high quality" appears
5. Anytime "behavioral health" appears
6. Anytime "intervention" or "interventions" appears
7. Anytime "treatment" or "treatments" appear
8. Anytime "education" or "educational" appears
9. Anytime "services" or "service" or "serving" appears
10. Anytime "dignity" appears
11. Anytime "discrimination" or "stigma" appears
12. Anytime "El Paso", "Texas", "West Texas", "El Paso County" or any other city in El Paso county and proximities appears
13. Anytime "prevention" appears
14. Anytime "community" or "communities" appears
15. Anytime "empowering" or "strengthening" or "strength" appears
16. Anytime "supportive" or "support" or "supporting" appears
17. Anytime "advocacy" appears

Appendix D

Interview script

Hello! I'm a researcher trying to learn more about the organizational culture of this organization. I would like to interview you about your experiences as an employee. If you do not want to participate, that is fine. I will understand that you are busy or not interested. If you do want to participate, I would appreciate it. You may stop the interview if you do not want to participate any longer. Do you understand? Do you want to be interviewed? Thank you.

1. What is your position (i.e. manager, volunteer...)?
2. What is it like to work here?
3. Is the mission of the organization communicated to your unit?
 - a. Probe: How? Can you give me one example?
4. How do you think managers use communication here?
5. How would you characterize the culture of this organization?
6. Do you think that this organizational culture is important?
 - a. Probe: Why or why not?
7. Do you think that the organizational culture influences your work/family life?
 - a. Probe: Why or why not?
 - b. Probe: How?
8. Do you think the organizational culture affects the success of this non-profit organization?
 - a. Probe: Why or why not?
9. What leadership styles do you think managers employ here?
 - a. Probe: How would you define them?
10. Do you think women's leadership has contributed to the organization's success?
 - a. Probe: Why or why not?
 - b. Probe: How?
11. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix E

Informed consent form

University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) Institutional Review Board Informed Consent Form for Research Involving Human Subjects

Protocol Title: Exploring organizational culture and leadership styles in El Paso nonprofit organizations

Principal Investigator: Milena S. Murta

UTEP Department of Communication

1. Introduction

You are being asked to take part voluntarily in the research project described below. Please take your time making a decision and feel free to discuss it with your friends and family. Before agreeing to take part in this research study, it is important that you read the consent form that describes the study. Please ask the study researcher or the study staff to explain any words or information that you do not clearly understand.

2. Why is this study being done?

You have been asked to take part in a research study of organizational culture designed to document the communicative processes by which this organization maintains its culture across its units.

Approximately, 12 people will be enrolling in this study.

You are being asked to be in the study because you are currently one of the managers of the organization.

If you decide to enroll in this study, your involvement will last about 20 minutes.

3. What is involved in the study?

If you agree to take part in this study, the research team will interview you following a script with 11 questions.

The researcher will take notes during the interview. The notes will be kept. No information on who agreed to an interview or what they said will be provided to the organization aside from the final thesis. If you agree, the researcher may record the interview. Only the principal researcher will have access to the recordings, which will be stored in a locked cabinet and destroyed when the research is over. The

recordings might be used as a way to guarantee that information will not be lost over time, during the interview process.

4. What are the risks and discomforts of the study?

The possible risks related to this research are:

- 1- Recalling embarrassing moments: recalling events is normally a distressing activity, causing some level of suffering for the participants. In order to minimize this risk, the researcher intends to focus on positive experiences of the employees.
- 2- Loss of time: Loss of work time is uncomfortable for many individuals. In order to minimize this risk, the time needed to participate on the interview will always be identified.

5. What will happen if I am injured in this study?

The University of Texas at El Paso and its affiliates do not offer to pay for or cover the cost of medical treatment for research related illness or injury. No funds have been set aside to pay or reimburse you in the event of such injury or illness. You will not give up any of your legal rights by signing this consent form. You should report any such injury to Milena S. Murta at (915) 261-9983 and to the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915-747-8841) or irb.orsp@utep.edu.

6. Are there benefits to taking part in this study?

There will be no direct benefits to you for taking part in this study. This research may help us to document the communicative processes by which the organization maintains its culture across its units.

7. What other options are there?

You have the option not to take part in this study. There will be no penalties involved if you choose not to take part in this study.

8. Who is paying for this study?

Funding for this study is provided by UTEP Department of Communication

9. What are my costs?

There are no direct costs. You will be responsible for travel to and from the research site and any other incidental expenses.

10. Will I be paid to participate in this study?

You will not be paid for taking part in this research study.

11. What if I want to withdraw, or am asked to withdraw from this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You have the right to choose not to take part in this study. If you do not take part in the study, there will be no penalty.

If you choose to take part, you have the right to stop at any time. However, we encourage you to talk to a member of the research group so that they know why you are leaving the study. If there are any new findings during the study that may affect whether you want to continue to take part, you will be told about them.

The researcher may decide to stop your participation without your permission, if he or she thinks that being in the study may cause you harm.

12. Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may call insert Milena S. Murta at (915) 261-9983, msmurta@miners.utep.edu.

If you have questions or concerns about your participation as a research subject, please contact the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915-747-8841) or irb.orsp@utep.edu.

13. What about confidentiality?

1. Your part in this study is confidential. None of the information will identify you by name. All records will be kept in a locked cabinet. Only the principal researcher will have access to them.

15. Authorization Statement

I have read each page of this paper about the study (or it was read to me). I know that being in this study is voluntary and I choose to be in this study. I know I can stop being in this study without penalty. I will get a copy of this consent form now and can get information on results of the study later if I wish.

Appendix F

Quantitative content analysis results: organization 1

CODING INSTRUMENT: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

document #	racism/ race/ racial justice ¹	women/ female ²	peace ³	justice ⁴ (not racial)	freedom ⁵	dignity ⁶	power/ empowering/ empowerment ⁷	opportunity ⁸ (ies)	hope ⁹	immigrants/ nationalities ¹⁰	Mexican women/ hispanic ¹¹	diversity/ differences/ different ¹²	community ¹³ (ies)	core values ¹⁴	girl/ girls ¹⁵
1/mission	2	1	1	1	1	1	2								
2/milestones	23	35		1	1		4	2	1	2	4	4	3		11
3/FAQ	1	4													
4/programs	4	8		1		1	4	3				1	11	2	4
5/RJ Initiative	14		1	3	1	1	1					3	1	2	
6/lead. Devel	1	8				1	2					2	6	3	
7/cons. Cred		2					2						1		2
8/housing		22					2						10		
9/AN 2006	10	24	2	2	1	1	8	6				4	31	4	5
10/AN 07-08	11	24	1	2	1	1	9	8				4	22	5	3
11/AN 100s	11	19	1	2	1	1	9	7				5	31	4	6
12/AN 08-09	12	13	1	2	1	2	4	3				4	25	2	
13/AN 09-10	14	12	2	1	1	2	1	2			1	2	24	1	
	103	172	9	15	8	11	48	31	1	2	5	29	165	23	31

1. Anytime "racism", "race", or "racial justice" appears
2. Anytime "women" or "female" appears
3. Anytime "peace" appears
4. Anytime "justice" appears but not related to "racial justice"
5. Anytime "freedom" appears
6. Anytime "dignity" appears
7. Anytime "power", "empowering" or "empowerment" appears
8. Anytime "opportunity" or "opportunities" appears
9. Anytime "hope" appears
10. Anytime "immigrants" or "nationalities" appears (e.g. Italians, Germans but not Mexico or Mexicans or Hispanics)
11. Anytime "Mexican women" or "Mexico" or "Hispanic" or "Mexican population" appears
12. Anytime "diversity", "differences", "different", "diversify" or "diverse" appears
13. Anytime "community" or "communities" appears
14. Anytime "core values" appears OR the words in their core values are mentioned together (e.g. integrity, responsibility, respect and corporate citizenship)
15. Anytime "girl" or "girls" appear

Appendix G

Quantitative content analysis results: photos in organization 1

CODING INSTRUMENT: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS - PHOTOS

document #	white woman smiling ¹	white woman serious ²	white girl smiling ³	white girl serious ⁴	white boy smiling ⁵	white boy serious ⁶	white man smiling ⁷	white man serious ⁸	woman of color smiling ⁹	woman of color serious ¹⁰	girl of color smiling ¹¹	girl of color serious ¹²	boy of color smiling ¹³	boy of color serious ¹⁴	man of color smiling ¹⁵	man of color serious ¹⁶	other nationalities ¹⁷	mixed group ¹⁸	unknown ¹⁹	# photos
1/mission									1		1	2		1				1		1
2/milestones									1		1			1				1		5
3/FAQ							1		5	5	2		1							17
4/programs	6	4	8	1	2				2	2							2			6
5/RU initiative				4					2											1
6/lead. Devel	2																			3
7/cons. Cred									1		1									8
8/housing									5		5		1	1	1			1		8
9/AN 2006	2		3							3			1	1						8
10/AN 07-08		4	1	1	2				2			2								6
11/AN 1006	1		3						2									1		9
12/AN 06-09	3	2	2	4				1	2	1	4	1	1	1						17
13/AN 09-10	7	8	12	2	3	3			2	1	3	4	1	1		2			10	47
21	18	29	12	7	3	3	1	1	21	12	16	9	5	4	1	2	2	3	10	

1. Anytime a white woman smiling appears
2. Anytime a white woman not smiling appears
3. Anytime a white girl smiling appears
4. Anytime a white girl not smiling appears
5. Anytime a white boy smiling appears
6. Anytime a white boy not smiling appears
7. Anytime a white man smiling appears
8. Anytime a white man not smiling appears
9. Anytime a woman of color smiling appears
10. Anytime a woman of color not smiling appears
11. Anytime a girl of color smiling appears
12. Anytime a girl of color not smiling appears
13. Anytime a boy of color smiling appears
14. Anytime a boy of color not smiling appears
15. Anytime a man of color smiling appears
16. Anytime a man of color not smiling appears
17. Anytime a woman, girl, man or boy from other ethnicity appears
18. Anytime a mixed group of people appear
19. Anytime it is not possible to categorize a photo (e.g. pictures against light)

Appendix H

Quantitative content analysis results: organization 2

document #	comprehensive1	integrated2	continuum3	high quality4	behavioral health5	intervention6	treatment7	education8	services9	dignity10	discrimination stigma11	Texas El Paso region12	prevention13	community14	empowering strengthening15	supporting16	advocacy17
1/Mission	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1								
2/Vision										1	1						
3/History			1		2	1	3	2	1			5	2	1			
4/Tigua	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	4				2	1		1	
5/Men	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3				1	1		1	
6/TRY	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1				1	1			
7/BHC	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2						1		
8/IRCC	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	4	2				2	1			
9/DAC	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	5				2	1		1	
10/IDPU/HEI	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3					1			
11/IDPU/HV	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	1					1			
12/IDPU	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	1				1	1			
13/Alianza	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1			1	1	1	2		
14/Rural	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2			1	3				
15/Aware	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3								
16/PATH	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7					2		1	
17/IMASTAR	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	4			1	5	3			
18/AIA-FOP	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	5								
19/PPI	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1					1			
20/AR 08/09	4	1	3	4	4	12	28	11	26	1	1	20	13	13	4	6	2
25		19	22	23	26	37	59	48	73	2	2	28	33	29	7	10	2

1. Anytime "comprehensive" appears
2. Anytime "integrated" appears
3. Anytime "continuum" appears
4. Anytime "high quality" appears
5. Anytime "behavioral health" appears
6. Anytime "intervention" or "interventions" appears
7. Anytime "treatment" or "treatments" appear
8. Anytime "education" or "educational" appears
9. Anytime "services" or "service" or "serving" appears
10. Anytime "dignity" appears
11. Anytime "discrimination" or "stigma" appears
12. Anytime "El Paso", "Texas", "West Texas", "El Paso County" or any other city in El Paso county and proximities appears
13. Anytime "prevention" appears
14. Anytime "community" or "communities" appears
15. Anytime "empowering" or "strengthening" or "strength" appears
16. Anytime "supportive" or "support" or "supporting" appears
17. Anytime "advocacy" appears

Curriculum Vita

Milena Simões Murta was born on April 24, 1984 in *Natal, Rio Grande do Norte*, Brazil. She is the daughter of José Luiz Murta de Oliveira and Maria da Assunção Simões de Oliveira, and the sister of José Murta de Oliveira Neto. She graduated from *Conhecer* High School and The Federal University of *Espírito Santo*, Brazil, where she earned a Bachelor's degree in Communication with a license in Journalism. Upon completion of her undergraduate degree she interned at the communication department of companies such as Arcelor Mittal Inc., and the University radio station. Also before graduation, she was selected between the top 20 journalist students in the state and was offered a position in the local network affiliate of the largest and most important television broadcasts of Brazil: Globo TV. Once she got her certificate, she immediately started working as a TV reporter and also she was invited to join the economy section team of newspaper reporters within the same organization. She worked there for three years. She, then, decided to step forward to graduate school in the United States, where she was accepted at the University of Texas at El Paso with a Teaching Assistant scholarship. During the course of her studies, she has participated in local summits and national conferences. She also has become a member of The Social Justice Initiative at UTEP and an active volunteer at a local non-profit organization, The House of Hope. Milena has finished her master's degree course with two awards: the Liberal Arts Graduate Student Marshal, in recognition of outstanding academic achievement and the Department of Communication Outstanding Graduate Student.

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This thesis was typed by Milena Simões Murta.