View metadata, citation and similar papers at core.ac.uk

brought to you by CORE

provided by Digital Commons@Wayne State University

Clinical Sociology Review

Volume 4 | Issue 1 Article 10

1-1-1986

An Interorganizational Approach to the Explanation of Community Development Activities

Robert C. Anderson
Michigan State University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/csr

Recommended Citation
Anderson, Robert C. (1986) "An Interorganizational Approach to the Explanation of Community Development Activities," *Clinical Sociology Review*: Vol. 4: Iss. 1, Article 10.
Available at: http://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/csr/vol4/iss1/10

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@WayneState. It has been accepted for inclusion in Clinical Sociology Review by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@WayneState.

An Interorganizational Approach to the Explanation of Community Development Activities

Robert C. Anderson
Michigan State University

ABSTRACT

This paper presents an interorganizational theory that attempts to account for and explain the adoption and implementation of innovative ideas at the community level. A flow model is presented to show how organizational responses to an innovative idea occur. It provides for the identification of a relevant order of organizations whose unilateral responses to the innovation determine whether the idea is adopted and implemented or not. Another model on how organizations couple or come together in support of or opposition to the implementation of an innovative idea is presented. Finally, organizational conditions favorable for adoption of innovations within organizations are discussed.

The study of organizations involved in community development activities is a neglected field. This is true despite the fact that community development is, first and foremost, an interorganizational phenomenon. Few, if any, development projects can be initiated and completed by a single community organization, and certainly not by an individual. True, an individual might conceive the idea, may even propose the suggested development to the community. But very early in the process, various groups, organizations, or agencies become involved. Social institutions must, in general, become involved to allocate the necessary resources; employ, persuade, and assign the personnel needed to do the work; review the plans; and grant the permits to proceed. In fact, most development projects require the involvement and cooperation of many organizations, as well as cooperative action on the part of many individuals.

Correspondence to: Robert C. Anderson, Community Development Programs, 39 Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Despite this recognition of the interdependency of organizations, it is rare to find research that penetrates this interorganizational phenomenon. My objective in this work is to develop a theory for use in the study of the interorganizational relationships of society within a community development context.

Community development is best conceptualized as planned change. Contrary to the general notion that communities—and specifically organizations—tend to resist change, my research and programming experience over the past 30 years suggest just the opposite; they welcome change. Planned change, i.e., community development, in fact, is sought by individuals, small groups, and organizations alike—but with certain conditions. As exchange theorists have pointed out, there are significant human and material costs associated with change. If development is to occur, the costs must be perceived by the participants to be less than the probable gain. Planned change must pass the test of acceptability and validation by the participating units.

No innovations or new practices will be adopted until each development goal has met the validation test of each affected group. If the groups that will be significantly affected do not approve the proposed change, they may mobilize to resist it. This resistance is not so much an inherent opposition to change as it is a failure of the proposed development to meet the validation tests that must be passed before adoption and implementation occur. While there is little or no systematic data on how this process takes place, interorganizational research does provide clues that are useful in theorizing about various dimensions of organization involvement in community development activities. The following generalizations flow from such studies (Anderson, 1963, 1976; Anderson and Gendell, 1981; Anderson and Sower, 1964; Long et al., 1973; March and Simon, 1959; Miller, 1953; Sower et al., 1967).

- Modern society is a bureaucratic society. Its functional requirements are generally the responsibility of organizations.
- Organizations are the basic units of social power.
- As such, they are responsible for development. Societal development is carried out by some combination of large, small, simple, complex, public, or private organizations.
- Organizations are units of various subsystems of society at large. These organizations are created, controlled, and operated in an interorganizational environment, and each organization's survival is dependent upon this environment. The growth and/or decline of a society is a function of the interrelationships among the organizations comprising that society.
- Organizations are control mechanisms through which power for development is generated and flows. They represent basic units which receive, hold and allocate resources. Consequently, organizations, in themselves, can be viewed as a basic resource of development activity.

- Social power is structured and the social structure of a region is made up of interdependent, heterogeneous, interacting organizations.
- The organizations within a region can be seen as having a set of roles that constitute the social organization of that region. Within this structure, individual organizations typically act and contribute in accordance with role prescriptions or expectations. They perform and coordinate their activities with one another in accordance with the relationship of their own roles to the roles of others in the structure.
- Organizations form constellations in order to achieve development goals. As specific issues arise, overlapping constellations of special interest organizations are formed. A specific organization sometimes cooperates, at other times competes, and at still other times is not involved with other organizations in issue resolution.
- A given organization's involvement and influence in the resolution of an issue or specific development project depend upon the place it occupies in the order of the organized constellation of organizations affected by the issue or the developmental activity. For any given issue, some organizations are more powerful than others. An organization's power rank will generally vary with the nature of the issue to be resolved.

In addition, classical diffusion studies provide additional underpinning for the generation of a theory of development at the community level (Rogers, 1975, 1983; Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers, 1976; Rogers, et al., 1969; Utterback, 1974). While most diffusion research has focused on how innovation decisions are made, by whom, using what criteria, and with what consequences within a single organization, these studies only hint at variations in adoption practices at the interorganizational level. Diffusion researchers generally assume that it is rational (good) to adopt innovations and that the rejection of an innovation is an undesirable (bad) and/or irrational decision. However, a few of these researchers have pointed out that this aspect of diffusion and adoption literature is more a rationale than a fact. What is needed is the development of some criteria by which the judgment to adopt or not adopt is explained.

An Interorganizational Explanation of Community Development Activities

This work presents an interorganizational theory that accounts for and explains the adoption and implementation of innovative ideas at the community level. The work is a result of my research and practical experiences along with those of other researchers and applied development specialists working in Community Development Programs at Michigan State University (Anderson, 1963, 1976; Anderson and Gendell, 1981; Anderson and Sower, 1964; Long et al., 1973).

The theory attempts to account for how organizational responses to an

innovative idea occur. It provides for a flow chart on the adoption of an innovative idea in a community and identifies a relevant order of organizations whose unilateral responses to the innovation determine whether the idea is adopted and implemented. Conditions that contribute to interorganizational coupling of organizational innovations are discussed. The theory identifies organizational conditions favorable for adoption. It predicts organizational members' response to the implementation of innovative ideas based on the kind of power used.

The primary variables in the theory are *organizational involvement* and *adoption and implementation of innovations* at the community level. These variables are related to organization type and power used. Other variables, such as structure, administrative style, membership characteristics, prestige, and organizational dependence, also affect organizational involvement, but are dealt with only indirectly.

The nature and timing of organizational involvement and adoption or rejection of community development proposals are the bases for classification and analysis. Organizational involvement and adoption processes are related as well to other development variables. Furthermore, organizations with different adoption processes tend to differ in the way they react to community development activities over time. Organizations serve as the collectives within which the general problem of community development may be studied empirically. They constitute a "strategic site" (Merton, 1959) for the study of community development activities because community development is dependent upon the interaction in and among organizations.

Interorganizational Action Is Required for Collective Community Decisions

The adoption and implementation of an innovative idea in a community requires that several organizations in a community come together and group their ideas, personnel, and resources to implement an innovation in the community. These organizations must come from the *relevant order*, which is all organizations that perceive themselves or are perceived as having the socially defined right to pass judgment on the "idea" because they may be directly affected by its implementation.

Clues as to how implementation takes place are provided by Loumann and Pappi (1976) in their study of how collective decisions were taken in several cities in Germany. They found that the principle of *sector differentiation*—that is, determining the interorganizational relationships of the relevant order of community organizations—is more important in structuring group space than is the relative positioning of individual community elites in their personal networks.

Loumann and Pappi conducted a network analysis in which they identified

sets of principal organizations, the social structures, and the underlying processes of the organization decision-making network. It was, in effect, a study of the differentiation and integration of large-scale, complex social systems. Using Parsons' (1960) paradigm of money, power, influence, and commitment as the integrative mechanisms of complex society, they viewed an organization as an input-output system in which transactions between systems are consequential in the internal maintenance of the system as well as in changing the internal components. Structural differentiation of social systems over time leads to subsystems in which organizations take on functionally more specialized roles that are essential to the operation of the larger system. The interchange between these subsystem organizations serves to regulate the levels of activities among and between them. This specialization results in a higher level of selective dependency among organizations in a community setting.

According to Loumann and Pappi, "large-scale systems are usually differentiated around at least two axes or dimensions":

The *Adaptive Axis:* The extent and character of the division of labor of the system—i.e., differentiation—resulting in a number of population groups differing significantly from each other in work activities, and in rewards and privileges associated with these activities. For this work, differentiation of relevant order organizations occurs based on claims for scarce goods, service facilities, etc. Differentiation is based on each organization's unique contribution necessary to the adoption of an innovative idea at the community level.

The *Pattern-Maintenance Axis:* The differentiation of the population into subgroups holding distinctive social values regarding the desirable or ideal state of the system. For this work, differentiation based on evaluative standards depends on values used in setting priorities among organizational goals by each organization in the relevant order.

The following postulates represent reformulations of Loumann and Pappi's work.

Postulate I, *Relationship-Specific Structures:* In any community there exist a multiplicity of social structures that give rise to many types of social relationships linking one structure (suborganization) to another.

Postulate II, *Distance-Generating Mechanisms:* For any given relationship-specific structure, there exists a principle of systematic bias in channeling the formation of, or in making more likely, the relationship between certain kinds of structures and the avoidance of such relationships among others.

Postulate III, *Structural Contradictions:* Given the plurality of relationship-specific structures predicated on different principles of organization, structural contradictions are likely features of any community.

Their work, as do Etzioni's (1975) and mine, suggests at least three concepts of integration of community organizations that account for how the interorganizational phenomenon of community decision making occurs. They are summarized as follows:

The Administrative Concept of Integration. On the grounds of "functional necessity," some specialized subset of actors representing the relevant order in the system assumes responsibility for coordinating or managing the diverse, functionally differentiated activities of its components, in order to achieve system goals. This is a highly intense, centralized, and, when necessary, forceful implementation of the integrative process. It may be viewed as an impersonal, ordered, compliance concept.

The Utilitarian Tradition Concept of Integration is based on an economic model in which functions serve as an integrative or collective decision-making mechanism. An example would be the competitive interaction of many organizations in the market place. Their producing, buying, and selling actions bring about an equilibrium between levels of production and consumption. This tends to be an impersonal, economic, market force concept.

The Social Choice Concept of Integration assumes higher moral values on the part of component actors and organizations in an effort to influence collective decisions. It is a system in which component actors and organizations have greater or lesser impact in determining the outcomes of particular collective decisions based on the dominant values employed. It assumes the willingness of some component actors and organizations to act in concert to influence the decision outcome. Again this is an impersonal—this time represented as a basic cultural—bargaining, or political action concept.

The Adoption of an Innovative Idea at the Community Level

Organizational behavior that is supported by a society or by a community is not easily changed. In a very real sense, this represents a condition of "if it's not broken, don't fix it." Organizations in such a position are unlikely to sense a need for change, least of all innovative change; if such change threatens the possible loss of social support the organization will avoid it. In addition, organizational change is resisted when it is perceived as an imposition of values foreign to the community and culture (Burns and Stalker, 1961; Kanter, 1983).

According to Kelman and Warwick (1973), adoption of new patterns requires unfreezing existing patterns and overcoming resistance either by challenging or undermining social support for existing patterns, or by minimizing or removing the perceived threat such a change poses for the existing support patterns. Organizations expose themselves to communications about new ideas only to the extent that change is perceived as relevant to the achievement of their

more important goals and purposes. But organizations active in a social environment cannot entirely avoid exposure to societal communications and ideas, new or old, supportive of or critical to the organization's place in its environment. Ideas abound, and organizations are bombarded from within by members, from without by individuals and organizations who are dependent users of the organization's products, from both enemies and friendly cohorts, and from individuals and other organizations that are not even aware of the organization's existence.

When innovative ideas are called to the organization's attention, they must be dealt with. Figure 1 provides a general model of how innovative ideas are dealt with by organizations within a community setting.

Coupling of Interests

The adoption of an innovative idea at the community level is not only an organizational phenomenon, it is interorganizational in character. A sufficient number of organizations from the relevant order unilaterally may find the idea meritorious of adoption; however, no one organization alone can implement the idea, however worthy it is. Implementation requires the *coupling*, the coming together and sharing resources, by a number of independent organizations with distinctly different values, purposes, structures, and resource bases.

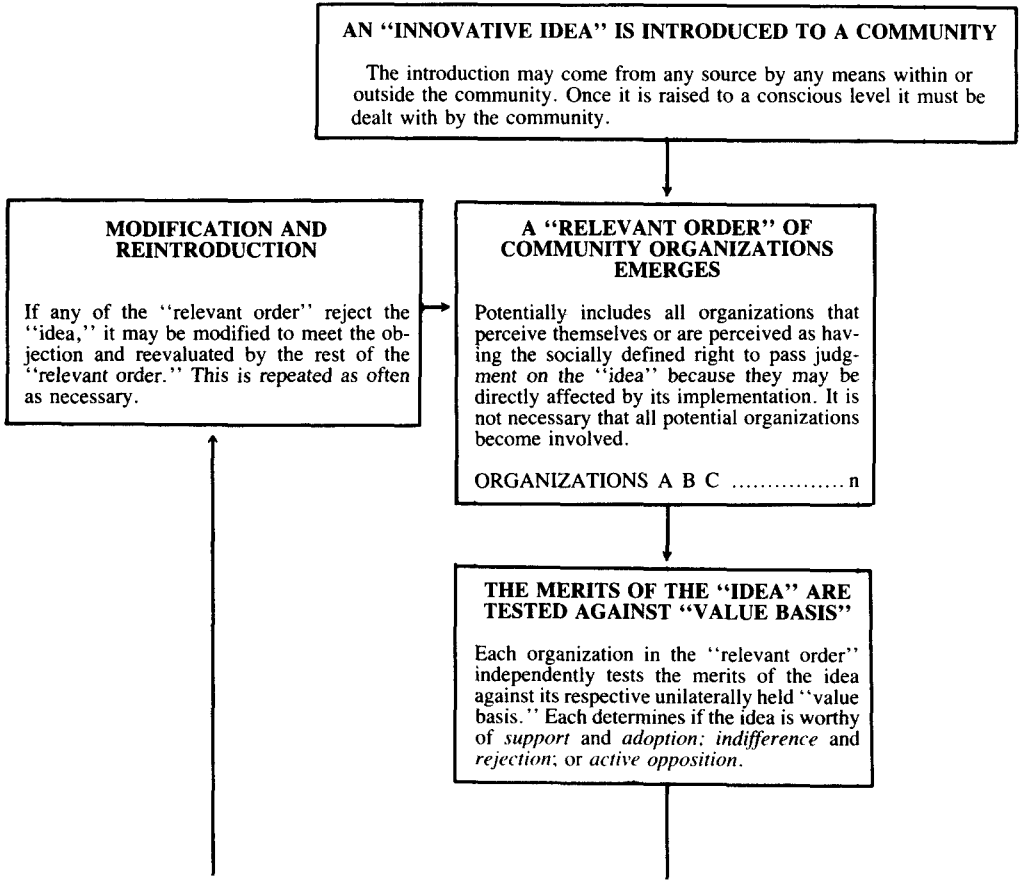
These different kinds of organizations, in effect, represent centers of knowledge specialization necessary to implement the idea. The coupling process is similar in its operation to the coupling of knowledge that Morton (1971) describes in his study of innovation within the Bell system.

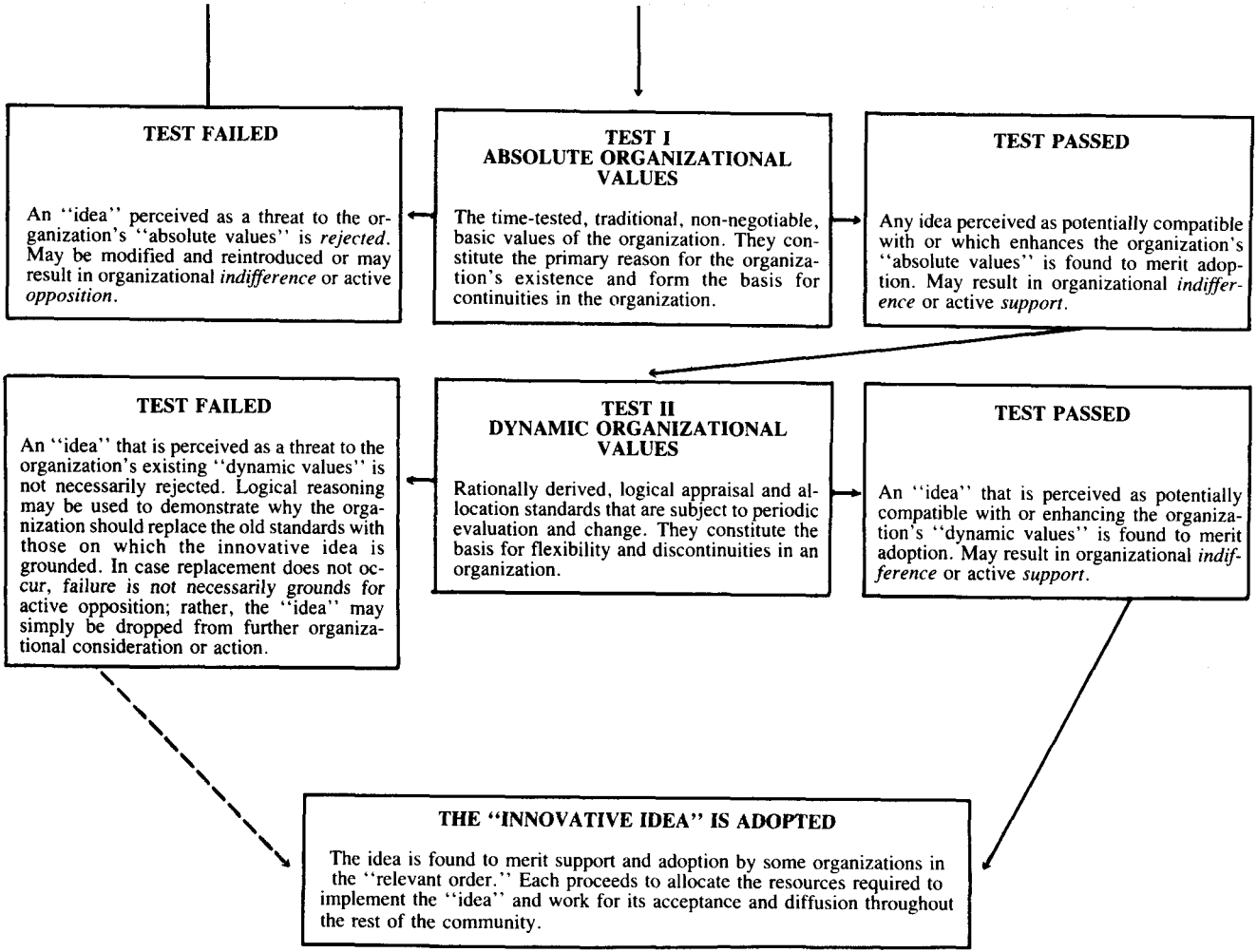
Normally a large number of organizations of the relevant order are exposed to an innovative idea and, as a consequence, must unilaterally determine the significance of the idea for their operations as well as for the community at large. Out of these determinations some type of interorganizational action invariably occurs.

Studies of development efforts in Michigan's Upper Peninsula provide empirical evidence that interorganizational coupling does occur in very systematic ways both within and across social, economic, political, and geographic interest sectors (Anderson, 1963, 1976). Sociometric findings showed the existence of 21 constellation sets—highly selective groups of organizations expressing reciprocal dependency relationships—within 11 economic interest sectors in 14 geographic regions.

Organization goals and goal structures are obvious critical factors accounting for why organizations normally interact with each other. This seems to be particularly true when it comes to the adoption of innovative ideas. To test this notion the sociometric data were reexamined using Etzioni's (1975) organization goal classification typology. All of the 61 organizations representing 11 different

Figure 1
A Model for the Adoption of an Innovative Idea in a Community




TEST FAILED
An "idea" perceived as a threat to the organization's "absolute values" is *rejected*. May be modified and reintroduced or may result in organizational *indifference* or active *opposition*.
TEST I
ABSOLUTE ORGANIZATIONAL VALUES
The time-tested, traditional, non-negotiable, basic values of the organization. They constitute the primary reason for the organization's existence and form the basis for continuities in the organization.
TEST PASSED
Any idea perceived as potentially compatible with or which enhances the organization's "absolute values" is found to merit adoption. May result in organizational *indifference* or active *support*.
TEST FAILED
An "idea" that is perceived as a threat to the organization's existing "dynamic values" is not necessarily rejected. Logical reasoning may be used to demonstrate why the organization should replace the old standards with those on which the innovative idea is grounded. In case replacement does not occur, failure is not necessarily grounds for active opposition; rather, the "idea" may simply be dropped from further organizational consideration or action.
TEST II
DYNAMIC ORGANIZATIONAL VALUES
Rationally derived, logical appraisal and allocation standards that are subject to periodic evaluation and change. They constitute the basis for flexibility and discontinuities in an organization.
TEST PASSED
An "idea" that is perceived as potentially compatible with or enhancing the organization's "dynamic values" is found to merit adoption. May result in organizational *indifference* or active *support*.
THE "INNOVATIVE IDEA" IS ADOPTED
The idea is found to merit support and adoption by some organizations in the "relevant order." Each proceeds to allocate the resources required to implement the "idea" and work for its acceptance and diffusion throughout the rest of the community.

economic interest sectors could be easily classified using this system. Under this system, an *Organization Goal* is a state of affairs the organization is attempting to realize. It is an image of a future state of the organization (Parsons, 1937). It is an organizational variable that can be empirically determined and as such is subject to systematic classification. The three types of organizational goals used to classify all organizations are defined as follows:

1. Organizations with *ordered goals* attempt to prevent the occurrence of specific events and to ensure the occurrence of other goals which are considered normative to the larger system. Their mission is to control actors (organizations as well as individuals) who are perceived as deviants by society at large.
2. Organizations with *economic goals* attempt to produce or to make available commodities and services for rent or sale to other organizations or individuals within the society at large on a nonprofit as well as a profit basis.
3. Organizations with *cultural goals* attempt to institutionalize conditions necessary for the creation, application, and preservation of symbolic objects, belief systems, and value orientations within society at large.

While every organization may, at one time or another, exhibit all these goal characteristics when classified in relation to a specific idea, the goal state of highest priority for each organization should determine what classification is assigned to it.

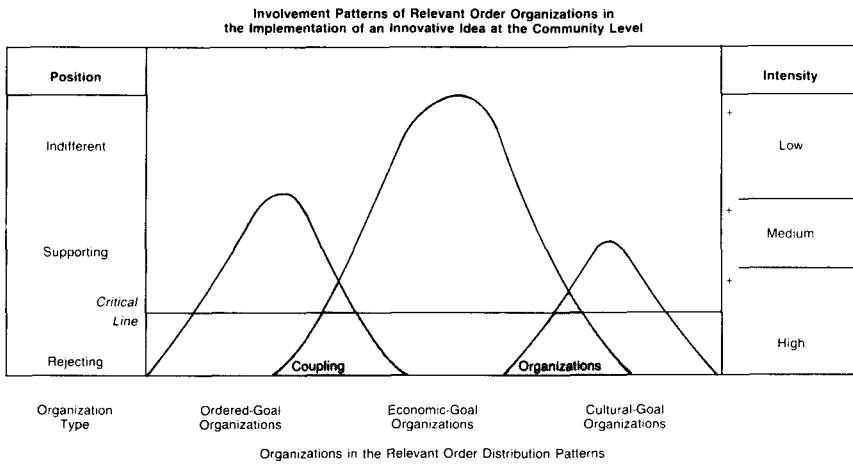
The sociometric data from the Upper Peninsula study clearly identified organizations within given coalition sets from each of the three goal classification categories. Such findings not only lend credence to the utility of the goal classification scheme, they also provide evidence in support of the following hypothesis on how innovative ideas are implemented at the community level, for the organizations in this study were identified both by reputation and actual events as major forces in the economic development of Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Anderson, 1963, 1976).

> HYPOTHESIS: for an innovative idea to be implemented at the community level, at least three organizations from the relevant order, with at least one from each of the three kinds of community organizations—ordered, economic, and cultural—must couple and jointly commit their independent organizational resources to support the idea before it will be implemented at the community level.

Failure to meet this minimum requirement leads to the following alternatives:

1. The rejection and abandonment of the idea.
2. The modification of the idea in a manner to merit support and adoption by

Figure 2



sufficient numbers of organizations from the relevant order to implement the idea. This process may be repeated several times before adoption occurs.

3. A differentiation of the community structure and the emergence of a community conflict situation. The outcome may be: the adoption of the idea, modification of the idea and its adoption, or the rejection of the idea.

Despite these seemingly impossible conditions, only a few organizations in the relevant order need to adopt and commit resources in support of the idea for the innovation to be implemented. When implemented, it becomes part of the normative structure of the community to which all other organizational members of the community accommodate.

Figure 2 illustrates the configuration of organizations making up the relevant order for a given innovative idea. They are shown as distributions of organizations as classified by Etzioni's goal typology (defined above). Note that in any given situation the largest number of organizations will be classified as economic goal-type organizations, a smaller number as ordered goal-type organizations, and cultural goal-type organizations will make up the smallest group. All organizations in the relevant order unilaterally determine the merit of the idea. Each organization, given its economic, political, and social situation at the time, will make a judgment about the idea in terms of positives or negatives with intensities ranging from low to high. The judgment determines the position each organization will take with respect to the idea. They will support or reject it depending upon the value and intensity of their judgment.

A few organizations at the high-intensity level will actively commit resources either in support of (a positive value) or in opposition to (a negative

value) implementation efforts. In most cases, however, a large majority of all organizations within the relevant order will take a position of indifference to the idea; they will not commit resources either in support of or in opposition to the idea. Rather they will accommodate and use the idea after the early adopters have demonstrated its merits. Note the small number of organizations in the shaded areas of Figure 2. These are the organizations that, because of the high intensity related to their judgment of the idea, engage in coupling activities with other organizations either to fight or support the implementation of the idea at the community level.

The coupling organizations above the critical line in Figure 2 represent a sufficient and necessary population to cause the implementation of the innovative idea, provided that in their ranks there is at least one ordered organization, one economic organization, and one cultural organization in the distribution. Coupling organizations in the shaded area below the critical line represent a sufficient but not necessary population to cause nonimplementation of the idea regardless of their goal typology. Noncoupling organizations, represented in the unshaded area of the figure, will no doubt adopt the innovation once it has been successfully implemented by the early adopting organizations.

The *coupling process* is a dynamic succession or series of interorganizational communications at the community level in which the purpose, content, and structure required for implementation of an idea are proposed, tested, adjusted, and negotiated until convergence and agreement toward the end purpose of the process is reached. Coupling organizations are drawn into this communication stage through many and varied mechanisms. Individuals may initiate the process, an organization or individual may refer the idea to others, organizations may seek each other out as a result of newspaper, radio, or TV coverage of the idea. However this happens, the coupling and communication process takes place at the community level at the time the idea emerges within the community. For the most part, participants meet and engage each other on the battlefield as the struggle to implement the idea takes place.

The implementation of the innovative idea in the community is achieved when sufficient interorganizational links are in place, coupled, and tied together to overcome the resistance of opposing organizations.

A Case in Point

In December 1985, the City Council of East Lansing, Michigan, passed an ordinance banning smoking in public places. This ordinance is used to illustrate that the coupling of organized interests does happen when innovative change occurs at the community level. It serves as a case study that lends support to the hypotheses of the number and kinds of organizations needed to secure the adoption of an innovative idea.

In this instance, the city council, an *ordered goal-type organization*, after much tugging and hauling, passed a "no smoking in public places" ordinance with relatively strong enforcement provisions.

Travel, retail sales, restaurant and bar establishments, representing the *economic goal-type organizations* of the city, split badly on the issue. Most committed resources to defeat the proposed ordinance, as they believed it would do serious harm to their business and was a violation of the rights of customers and employees who smoke. However, one or two commercial organizations did support the nonsmoking ordinance and committed resources to that support.

Cultural goal-type organizations, such as the American Lung Association, the American Heart Association, the American Cancer Society, the county medical society, the state, regional, and local chambers of commerce, the Tobacco Trade Association of Michigan, and the American Tobacco Institute also became very involved in the process. The health-related organizations committed resources in support of the innovation. The chambers of commerce considered the idea to be frivolous and hoped it would go away, but offered no serious resistance. The tobacco institute spent much effort to discredit and defeat the ordinance with the argument that it was an "unwarranted intrusion in the workplace."

In this case, more than 35 committed organizations, at least one representing each of the three kinds of community organizations—ordered, economic, and cultural goal types—did couple and commit their respective organizational resources in support of an ordinance prohibiting smoking in public places in the city of East Lansing. They achieved an innovative change in the way business will be carried out in the city.

Obviously, time and contemporary conditions impinge on each organization that becomes drawn into such interorganizational activities. It is useful in the understanding and use of the theory to examine how individual organizations are likely to react when faced with a situation in which they may or may not become actively involved in support of the adoption of an innovative idea at the community level.

The Relationships between Organizations Classified by Goals and Organizational Conditions Favorable for the Adoption of Innovative Ideas

Organizations tend to be more receptive to the adoption of innovative ideas early in their life cycle. This is understandable as innovation is the general reason new organizations are created (Kimberly et al., 1980). But the process of adopting and institutionalizing innovative ideas is an ongoing function in most, if not all, established organizations as well. Organizations of all kinds must deal with ideas that are worthy of adoption and implementation. Conditions favorable for this to occur during an organization's life span may be accounted for on a continuum from a state of irreplaceable loss to a state of surplus energy (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Typologies of Conditions for Organizational Adoption Relationships

Kinds of Organizations Classified by Goals	Conditions Favorable for Adoption		
	Irreplaceable Loss	Planned Change	Surplus Energy
Ordered-goal	type 1 (− −)	type 2 (0 −)	type 3 (0 0)
Economic-goal	type 4 (0 −)	type 5 (0 ±)	type 6 (0 +)
Cultural-goal	type 7 (0 0)	type 8 (0 +)	type 9 (+ +)

0 − = a low-intensity negative condition
− − = an intense negative condition
0 0 = a low-intensity nondirectional condition
0 + = a low-intensity positive condition
+ + = an intense positive condition
0 ± = a low-intensity positive or negative condition

An organization's willingness, and even its perception of the necessity, to adopt innovative ideas is paramount at a time of irreplaceable organizational loss, that is, the loss of familiar attachments and understandings that represent the purposes and meaning in an organization's life (Marris, 1974). Organizations, like individuals, react to a "bereavable" or irreplaceable loss, first with numbness and ambivalence, followed by an impulse to replace and restore the loss in its original form. When replacement is found to be impossible, grief, anger, and internal conflict boil over. An internal crisis of reintegration emerges that must be worked out among the members of that organization alone. At this point, any outside effort to preempt the conflict by minimizing the argument or rational planning can only be abortive. The process of reintegration must allow the impulse of rejection to play itself out.

During the process of organizational grieving, adaptive will and abilities emerge and the organization survives the crisis by accepting the loss and moving forward with innovative accommodation to its new situation. At this point in the life cycle of many organizations, the very survival of the organization depends upon the emergence of such an adaptive condition. An organization in this condition will seek changes that predictably will place it in an environment that is tolerable both internally and socially. Marris has pointed out that "the management of change depends on our ability to articulate the process of grieving. Without this sensitivity to the implications of loss, any conception of change becomes callously destructive" (1974:91).

The continuum of conditions sufficient for an organization to adopt innovative ideas now moves to the concept of *planned change*; that is, the method

by which an organization consciously and experimentally employs knowledge to help solve organizational problems (Bennis et al., 1976). This is obviously a logical rational process based in part on the scientific method, but it is also grounded in philosophical concepts of "goodness" as represented in personal, political, organizational, religious, and cultural values of society. Morton (1971) argues that innovation through the planned change condition is an adaptive change of the existing organization, the means that many organizations use to achieve organizational renewal.

An idea or group of ideas, or knowledge, is an essential ingredient to the planned change process. Our knowledge system is so large and complex today that no one can master the understanding of all levels. To be creative, we must specialize and then, in Morton's terminology, combine knowledge from many sources for understanding and synthesis by the larger system.

The planned change type of innovative process is a repeated application of the scientific method. It is a flexible, adaptive activity in which, for each area of knowledge specialization, forward and feedback communication links within and between organizational units are formed to propose, test, modify, and retest ideas until a concept emerges that is meritorious enough to command support within the organization's decision-making structure.

For planned change types of innovations to occur within an organization, the organization must have and implement an innovation policy. It must have (and most organizations do) organizational strategies for achieving major organizational renewal objectives.

Zaltman et al. (1973) refer to planned change type of innovation as *programmed innovation*; that is, a strategy that provides for advanced scheduling with defined procedures and routines established to evaluate and implement innovative ideas that pass the organizational tests. They note that organizational success in ongoing operations, high-quality managerial expertise, technological know-how, financial, social, structural, and procedural flexibility, and a willingness to take risks are all necessary attributes of an organization before preplanned adoption of an innovative idea can occur.

To program innovation into an organization is to program organizational risk and uncertainty in the belief that such a strategy is necessary for the long-term viability of the organization. The greater the degree of programmed innovation within an organization over time, the less predictable and logical the organizational behavior will be.

Programmed innovation may and does occur within subunits of the organization, within the organization as a whole, and in many cases in cooperation with one or more independent organizations.

Probably the most interesting and theoretically the most ideal period in the life cycle of organizations for the adoption of innovative ideas is the period of *surplus energy*. This condition is often referred to as *organizational slack*, that

is, when resources are relatively unlimited. Slack-type innovations (March and Simon, 1959; Zaltman et al., 1973) are not the result of the need to survive, an irreplaceable loss, or programmed innovation. They are simply serendipitous, the products of affluence.

The invention and adoption of the automobile is an example of surplus energy innovation. No one really wanted the automobile to solve a pressing transportation or, for that matter, any other kind of problem; it didn't replace an irreplaceable loss; it wasn't even a product of a research and development unit. Some tinkerers in the buggy manufacturing business with surplus energy simply put engines on buggies, and, despite the objection of the horses and their owners, the idea caught on. More recently, human exploration on the moon, the celebrated space walks, and inspace satellite repair are a result of national and international slack rather than of basic survival needs. Because of national affluence, it became acceptable to join the dreamers in space.

Slack or nonprogrammed innovations need not resolve the relative merits of subgroup claims or any other claims. The rationalizations or justification for these innovations tend not to be challenged within the organization. Rather, substantial differentiation of organizational goals and structure occurs at no initial threat or expense, perceived or otherwise, to the subgroups of the organization or to other organizations in the larger social order.

Such innovations do, of course, potentially represent substantial risk, uncertainty, and discontinuity to the organization and society at large. But because, at the time, the resource base is unrestricted, the organization can and does afford such risk, and society generally humors and tolerates such innovative efforts.

Within the framework shown in Figure 3, the two variables—the *kinds of goals* an organization has and the *conditions present* that are favorable for the adoption of an innovative idea—constitute the relationships likely to be present when an organization adopts an innovation. That is, an organization with ordered goals is more likely to adopt an innovative idea when it has experienced an irreplaceable loss (type 1). Organizations with utilitarian goals are more likely to adopt innovative ideas emerging from programmed or planned change conditions (type 5). And organizations with predominantly cultural goals are more likely to experience the adoption of innovative ideas under conditions of surplus energy or conditions of organizational slack (type 9).

It is hypothesized that innovation types 1, 5, and 9 will occur most frequently, are theoretically more effective, and, as such, should be considered congruent relationships. Most, if not all, organizations regardless of goal type will at one time or another in their life cycle experience the condition of irreplaceable loss or surplus resources. When in either of those conditions, organizations are more likely to be receptive to the adoption of innovative ideas. Types 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 are considered to be incongruent types; while they

may occur frequently, they are considered to be less effective as a condition for innovation.

As a practical matter, most organizations for most of their life cycle tend to find themselves somewhere between the points of irreplaceable loss or surplus energy. It is not uncommon to find conditions represented in Figure 3 as types 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8, which are considered to be incongruent types. A shift from an incongruent to a congruent situation may be attained either by changing the goals of the organization or the conditions favorable for the adoption of innovations.

The Relationship between Power Used and the Adoption Orientation of Members to Innovative Ideas

Organizations must adopt new ideas continually if they are to survive. This must be done while maintaining a level of traditional operation sufficient to sustain organizational life. Both functions require the exercise of power and orientation toward compliance by organizational members as well as the larger social system to the exercise of this power.

Etzioni (1975) provides a classification scheme useful to the study of the interorganizational variables: organizational power, involvement, and compliance. These theoretical constructs are used here to analyze adoption of innovative ideas by organizations. Power refers to an organization's ability to induce or influence its members to carry out organizational directions and any other norm supported by the organization. Compliance refers both to a relation in which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power and the orientation of the subordinated actor to the power applied.

Within this framework, the two variables—*the kind of power applied by the organization to its members*, and *the orientations of members to the power used to secure implementation of the adopted innovative idea*—structure the compliance relationships likely to occur when innovation is adopted and implemented by the organization. It produces nine types of compliance as shown in Figure 4.

The phrase *adoption orientations* means the evaluative orientation of organization members and subgroups to the adoption by the organization of an innovative idea. The orientations are characterized in terms of intensity and direction (this is similar to Etzioni's definition of involvement). The typology is presented as a continuum with *alienative* designating intense negative orientations, *calculative* designating low-intensity negative or positive orientations, and *moral* designating highly intensive positive orientations of the organization members as they comply and implement the innovative idea as adopted.

The power continuum includes *coercive* power—the threat or actual appli-

Figure 4

Typologies of Compliance Relations of Members to the Adoption of an Innovative Idea

	Kinds of Orientations to Adoption		
Kinds of Power Used	Alienative	Calculative	Moral
Coercive	type 1 (− −)	type 2 (0 −)	type 3 (0 ∪)
Remunerative	type 4 (0 −)	type 5 (0 ±)	type 6 (0 +)
Normative	type 7 (0 0)	type 8 (0 +)	type 9 (+ +)

0 − = a low-intensity negative orientation
− − = intense negative orientation
0 0 = a low-intensity nondirectional orientation
0 + = a low-intensity positive orientation
+ + = intense positive orientation
0 ± = a low-intensity negative or positive orientation

cation of physical sanctions by the organization so as to inflict pain, discomfort, deformity, or death; *remunerative* power—the control and allocation of the organization's material resources, rewards, and sanctions; and *normative* power—the allocation and manipulation by the organization of symbolic rewards and deprivations.

In Figure 4 we see that the use of coercive power by an organization will result in intensely negative member and subgroup orientations to the idea as it is implemented (type 1). Use of remunerative power will result in either low-intensity negative or positive member and subgroup orientations to the implementation of the idea (type 5). The use of normative power will result in positive member and subgroup orientation of high intensity around the implementation of an innovative idea (type 9). Types 1, 5, and 9 occur most frequently and are theoretically more effective uses of power to achieve member compliance to the adoption of an innovative idea. As such, they are considered to be congruent relationships.

Every organization, at one time or another, will use all three kinds of power in various combinations (depending upon the nature of the operation at hand) in order to get member compliance. The other six types will occasionally be used. Because they are theoretically less effective, types 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8 are considered to be incongruent. Since congruent-type compliance relationships are theoretically more effective, they are also more desirable. Congruence may be attained by changing either the kind of power applied by the organization or the orientation of members and subgroups to the innovative idea itself.

Summary and Conclusion

This work has identified organizational and interorganizational factors (i.e., organizational goal types, conditions, and power used to secure member compliance) that account for and help explain the adoption and implementation of innovative ideas at the community level. General models of how innovative ideas are dealt with by organizations and how organizations couple to implement these ideas are presented. The adoption and implementation of innovative ideas were chosen because they represent a much more complex and difficult change process than do other more normative and everyday types of change activities. However, normative planned change activities also are accounted for with this work.

If the theory and models presented here turn out to have validity when submitted to repeated rigorous validation testing, we will have created yet another tool with which to plan and carry out community change activities. When using this tool, community change agents should be in a better position to develop more effective change strategies and procedures by which to make our communities better places in which to live.

This organizational approach to community change should not in any way be perceived as an effort to displace or discredit other more traditional and person-oriented community change models. Rather, it is my hope that what is presented here will serve to supplement and extend the utility of the wide array of community change models that are documented in our political, economic, community development, social work, and sociological literature.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Robert C.
1963 The Perceived Organized Structure of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Sociology, Research Report.
1976 "A sociometric approach to the analysis of interorganizational relations," in William M. Evans, ed., Interorganizational Relations. New York: Penguin.

Anderson, Robert C. and Nancy Gendell.
1981 "Community development as a university outreach function," in Harold W. Stubblefield, ed., New Directions for Continuing Education: Continuing Education for Community Leadership. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Anderson, Robert C. and Christopher Sower.
1964 The Development Organization Concept of Organization for Inventiveness: An Interorganizational Approach to Development. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Sociology, Research Report.

Bennis, Warren G., et al., eds.
1976 The Planning of Change, 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Burns, Tom and G. M. Stalker.
1961 The Management of Innovation. Chicago: Quadrangle.

Etzioni, Amitai.
1975 A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, revised and enlarged ed. New

York: Free Press.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss.
1983 The Change Masters. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Kelman, Herbert C. and Donald P. Warwick.
1973 "Bridging micro and macro approaches to social change: A social-psychological perspective," in Gerald Zaltman, ed., Processes and Phenomena of Social Change. New York: Wiley.

Kimberly, John R., Robert H. Miles and associates.
1980 The Organizational Life Cycle. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Long, Huey B., Robert C. Anderson and Jon A. Blubaugh, eds.
1973 Approaches to Community Development. Iowa City: National University Extension Association and the American College Testing Program.

Loumann, Edward C. and Franz U. Pappi.
1976 Networks of Collective Action. New York: Academic.

March, James G. and Herbert A. Simon.
1959 Organizations. New York: Wiley.

Marris, Peter.
1974 Loss and Change. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Merton, Robert K. et al., eds.
1959 Sociology Today. New York: Basic Books.

Miller, Paul A.
1953 Community Health Action: A Study of Community Contrast. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press.

Morton, J. A.
1971 Organizing for Innovation. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Parsons, Talcott.
1937 The Structure of Social Action. New York: McGraw-Hill.
1960 The Structure and Process in Modern Societies. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Rogers, Everett M.
1975 "Where we are in understanding the diffusion of innovations." Paper presented at the East-West Communication Institute Conference, Communication and Change: Ten Years after Honolulu.
1983 Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd ed. New York: Free Press.

Rogers, Everett M. and Rekha Agarwala-Rogers.
1976 Communications in Organizations, 3rd ed. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Rogers, Everett M. et al.
1969 Diffusion of Innovations, Educational Changes in Thai Government Secondary Schools. East Lansing: Institute for Interrelational Studies in Education and Department of Communications Report.

Sower, Christopher et al.
1967 Community Involvement. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Utterback, James M.
1974 "Innovation in industry and the diffusion of technology," Science 183:620–26.

Zaltman, Gerald et al.
1973 Innovations and Organizations. New York: Wiley.