

INTERORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION IN UNCERTAIN ENVIRONMENTS:
THE CASE OF FOOD AID MANAGEMENT

By

HAROLD D. GREEN, JR.

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2003

Copyright 2003

by

Harold D. Green, Jr.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) International, who funded this dissertation research through their constituency-building budget. The generous support of Milo Stanojevich, Bob Bell, Eric Dupree-Walker, and Jeanne Downen made this project possible. I would also like to thank the staff Food Aid Management (FAM), (Mara Russell, Steve Zodrow and Trisha Schmirler) for their assistance. Without their help I would never have been able to complete this work. The FAM Steering Committee and all FAM member organization representatives endured my presence at many meetings where sensitive information was discussed; and graciously completed my questionnaire despite their busy schedules. I gratefully acknowledge their kind assistance.

I would like to thank my Advisory Committee (Dr. H. Russell Bernard, Dr. Christopher McCarty, Dr. Della McMillan-Wilson and Dr. Henry Tosi) whose guidance on this project was indispensable. My colleagues at the University of Florida Department of Anthropology and at the National Science Foundation Summer Institute for Research Design in Cultural Anthropology have also been very supportive. Their advice ensured that I could explain the rich tapestry of Title II food aid organizations in a way that was understandable, even if it was too verbose.

My family and friends around the world also deserve acknowledgement for their support over the past six years; particularly during my fieldwork in Washington DC. They kept me safe and sane while buildings were falling down around my ears.

PREFACE

THE GREENING OF GREEN

Working in the international development community for the past year and a half has changed my anthropological perspective. At the beginning of this research, I was convinced that NGOs aroused such a strong individual commitment in their employees that all other concerns paled in comparison. After several months immersed in financial reports for these nonprofit organizations and learning that some of their budgets near the one-billion-dollar mark, my views on the way development organizations operate have changed drastically. Ideology has been eclipsed by economy. I have come to realize that development organizations might have motivations other than a commitment to collectivism. I am not arguing that development organizations are identical to businesses. Nor am I arguing that development organizations are doing anything wrong. I am noting that the need to be financially viable and fiscally sound in the world economy accompanies their commitment to doing good works. An organization that wants to feed seven million people in Burkina Faso cannot do it by thinking good thoughts. An organization requires vast human, technical, financial, and commodity resources to complete that kind of project.

It is necessary to understand my preconceived views and motivations to gauge their impact on my interpretation of interactions among the organizations that I studied. Working in an interorganizational collective gave me an interesting perspective. In the context of collaboration, it is easy to see how differing organizational goals and philosophies affect how people interact. It is also easier to observe the diversity in individual motivation among development workers. One colleague in the development world once explained to me that managing nonprofit collaboration was like herding cats. At first I thought the statement was just a humorous way to understand

organizational diversity. The more experience I had, the more I realized that the simile was much stronger than that. Like cats, nonprofits are incredibly complex and come to cooperate for a number of reasons. Some may have an affinity for each other. Some may want to improve their capabilities in some area. Others may want to keep an eye on the competition. Also like cats, nonprofits may suddenly choose not to cooperate. The number of reasons why these organizations cooperate or not is almost as large as the number of organizations that exist, perhaps even as large as the number of individuals working for those organizations.

I now realize that cooperation and collaboration are often motivated by pragmatism more than idealism. This is not to say that these organizations are cutthroat. I do not believe that these organizations want to eliminate all the competition and dominate the development industry. I simply mean that development organizations are more likely to cooperate if they can see a direct impact of that cooperation on their programming, their resource base, or their technical skills. Cooperation still exists. Cooperation still results in excellent products. Cooperation has likely been motivated by the same pragmatism for years. I just did not realize it until I had the opportunity to live it.

My research focuses on headquarters-level collaboration. My experience is with individuals working in offices in the US whose programs affect thousands of field programs around the world. While the individuals I interacted with on a daily basis had extensive field experience, I had little experience with development work in the field. What little I had was restricted to a few months interviewing development workers in Port-au-Prince. My knowledge of field realities is too limited for me to even pretend to understand how they might differ from headquarters realities. My findings should not be considered applicable to field-level collaboration. By the same token, if you ask any field-level employees they will agree that what happens at headquarters affects them and the way they conduct their business, whether that effect is for better or worse.

A lot happened to me in a year. My belief that idealism motivated nonprofit activities was deeply affected by my research. In the place of my old perspective was a new, more complex understanding of the factors that might lead to organizational collaboration. I had to come to terms with this new perspective and how it affected my worldview. I am still committed to collective action. I still think that collaboration can often achieve better results than competition. I still believe that collectivism does exist in the world. I am just less inclined to try and force my experiences to fit that perspective, and infinitely less inclined to assume that anyone else shares my motivations.

No matter how objective social scientists aim to be, their footprints still show in the work they do. Careful reading of any research reveals biases, interests, and assumptions that announce a scientist's presence. My work is no different. When you read this document, you will find me in the pages. This dissertation is not just about how FAM and its member organizations have worked and changed in the past year. It is also about how I have worked and changed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
PREFACE	iv
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.....	xiv
ABSTRACT.....	xvii
CHAPTER	
1 COLLECTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF FOOD AID MANAGEMENT	1
Background.....	2
Theoretical Significance	3
Social Network Significance.....	6
Applied Significance.....	8
Structure of the Dissertation	9
2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	10
Introduction.....	10
Theory of the Organization.....	12
Rothschild-Whitt’s Collectivist Type	14
Collectivist Organizational Analysis	16
Structure.....	18
Environment.....	19
Institutional Values	19
Hypotheses.....	20
Conclusion	21

3	METHODS	23
	Phase One.....	23
	Phase Two.....	25
	Analysis.....	30
4	THE CONTEXT OF TITLE II FOOD AID PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION....	33
	Introduction.....	33
	Background.....	33
	International Food Aid Legislation and Policy.....	38
	National Food Aid Legislation and Policy.....	41
	Stakeholders.....	45
	Organizational Environment.....	50
	Organizational Adaptations	55
5	A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON FOOD AID MANAGEMENT	61
	Introduction.....	61
	Background.....	62
	Interactive Highlights.....	64
	Document Highlights	68
	Institutional Highlights	71
	Conclusions.....	76
6	FOOD AID MANAGEMENT CONSTITUENCY-BUILDING AND COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES.....	80
	Introduction.....	80
	Steering Committee	81
	Working Groups.....	82
	Meetings (Brown Bags and General Meetings).....	83
	Products (Manuals and Toolkits).....	84
	Workshops	85
	Listservs	86
	Food Security Resource Center	89
	Acquisitions	91
	Requests.....	93
	Food Forum.....	95
	Subscriptions.....	96
	Contributions.....	99
	Website	101
	Visits	102
	Links	103

	Interactions.....	106
	General Activities	108
	Steering Committee Activities.....	108
	Monitoring and Evaluation Working Group.....	109
	Monetization Working Group.....	110
	Local Capacity Building Working Group.....	111
	Environmental Working Group	111
	Advice, Formal and Informal Ties, Non-Title II Ties	112
	Evaluations.....	117
	Conclusions.....	119
7	RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	126
	Introduction.....	126
	Organizational Theory	127
	Structure.....	128
	Environment.....	128
	Individualism and Collectivism	129
	Hypothesis Tests	131
	Theoretical Discussion.....	132
	Implications for Social Network Analysis.....	135
	Applications	137
	Environment.....	137
	Individualism and Collectivism	138
	FAM Activities	139
	Interactions.....	140
	Extension.....	141
	Conclusion	144
8	CONCLUSION.....	145
	Introduction.....	145
	Food Aid Context.....	145
	Historical Perspective	146
	Food Aid Management Collectivist Activities	148
	Research Findings.....	150
	Theoretical	150
	Methodological	150
	Practical.....	151
	Conclusion	152

APPENDIX

A	FOOD AID MANAGEMENT MEMBER PROFILES	154
	Introduction.....	154
	Agricultural Cooperative Development International/Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (ACDI/VOCA).....	155
	Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA)	156
	Africare	158
	American Red Cross International (ARC).....	159
	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE).....	162
	Catholic Relief Services (CRS)	163
	Counterpart International (CNTPT).....	165
	Feed the Hungry International (FHI)	167
	International Relief and Development (IRD)	168
	Mercy Corps (MC).....	169
	Opportunities Industrialization Centers International (OICI).....	171
	Project Concern International (PCI)	173
	Save the Children (SAVE).....	174
	TechnoServe (TNS)	175
	World Vision (WV)	177
	World Self Help and Relief Exchange (SHARE).....	178
B	QUESTIONNAIRES AND RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS	181
	Questionnaire One: Title II Food Aid Context	181
	Questionnaire Two: FAM History	181
	Questionnaire Three: FAM Evaluations, Uncertainty Scale, Collectivism Scales, and Network Elicitation.....	182
	Basis for Questionnaires and Scales	186
C	SCOPE OF WORK.....	188
	FAM Background	188
	Building a Diverse Constituency Dedicated to Ending Poverty.....	189
	Goal of the Study	191
	Study Objectives and Methodology.....	191
	Time Schedule and Deliverables	195
	REFERENCES CITED.....	197
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	214

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>page</u>
3-1 Phase One methods summary and response rates.....	25
3-2 Phase Two methods summary and response rates.....	30
4-1 Summary of domestic and international food aid policy and legislation.....	44
5-1 Timeline of major FAM events	75
6-1 Steering Committee membership during current ISA	82
6-2 Documents, manuals and toolkits.....	85
6-3 Listserv memberships for first quarter FY2002, increase from previous quarter.....	88
6-4 Statistical analysis of listserv membership data.	89
6-5 Recent acquisitions for FSRC.....	91
6-6 Percentages for FSRC acquisitions.....	92
6-7 Chi-Squared values for FSRC acquisitions by source and by format.....	92
6-8 Recent FSRC requests	93
6-9 Categorical distribution of FSRC requests by frequency	94
6-10 Trends in FSRC requests since 1997 and associated p-values	95
6-11 Governmental <i>Food Forum</i> subscriptions.....	97
6-12 International <i>Food Forum</i> subscriptions	97
6-13 Categorical distribution of <i>Food Forum</i> subscription with frequencies and odds.....	97
6-14 <i>Food Forum</i> subscription rates and Z-scores for headquarters and field offices	98
6-15 Categorical distribution of <i>Food Forum</i> contributions and associated Z-scores.....	100
6-16 Trends for popular pages	104
6-17 Z-scores for popular pages	104

6-18	Categorical distribution and odds ratios for online documents and links.....	105
6-19	Multiple regression statistics for centrality.....	107
6-20	General interactions.....	109
6-21	Steering Committee interactions.....	109
6-22	Monitoring and evaluation interactions.....	110
6-23	Monetization interactions	110
6-24	Local Capacity Building Working Group interactions	112
6-25	Environmental Working Group interactions	112
6-26	Advice network interactions.....	113
6-27	Formal interactions	113
6-28	Informal Title II interactions	114
6-29	Non-Title II interactions	114
6-30	Centralization measures and Z-scores based on sample mean	116
6-31	Centralization descriptive statistics	116
6-32	Network correlations for similar networks.....	117
6-33	Collaborative activity ratings and ranks	118
7-1	Centrality descriptive statistics.....	128
7-2	Uncertainty descriptive statistics.....	128
7-3	Individualism/Collectivism scale ranks.....	130
7-4	Wagner descriptive statistics	131
7-5	Earley descriptive statistics	131
7-6	Parametric pairwise correlations.....	131
7-7	Nonparametric measures of association	132
7-8	Correlation coefficients for QAP analyses of FAM interactions.....	136
A-1	Organizational demographics	180

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>page</u>
6-1 General FAM interaction network.....	121
6-2 Steering Committee interaction network.....	121
6-3 Monitoring and Evaluation Working Group interaction network	122
6-4 Monetization Working Group interaction network	122
6-5 Local Capacity Building Working Group interaction network	123
6-6 Environmental Working Group interaction network.....	123
6-7 Title II advice-seeking interaction network.....	124
6-8 Formal Title II agreement interaction network.....	124
6-9 Informal Title II interaction network.....	125
6-10 Non-Title II interaction network.....	125

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

ACDI/VOCA	Agriculture Cooperative Development International/ Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance
ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AED	Academy for Educational Development
AID	Agency for International Development
ARC	American Red Cross International Services
BHR	Bureau of Humanitarian Response
BWI	Bread for the World Institute
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CCC	Commodity Credit Corporation
CFGB	Canadian Food Grains Bank
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CNTPT	Counterpart International
COMM	Commodity Listserv
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CS	Cooperating Sponsor
DAP	Development Activity Proposal
EDM	Environmental Documentation Manual
EWG	Environmental Working Group
EU	European Union
FAC	Food Aid Convention
FAFSPP	Food Aid and Food Security Policy Paper

FAM	Food Aid Management
FANTA	Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance
FARM	Food Aid Resource Materials
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FFP	Food for Peace
FHI	Feed the Hungry, International
FSRC	Food Security Resource Center
FY	Fiscal Year
GACAP	Generally Accepted Commodity Accounting Principles
GAO	General Accounting Office
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
HQ	Headquarters
I/C	Individualism/Collectivism
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IR	Intermediate Result
IRD	International Relief and Development
ISA	Institutional Support Agreement
ISG	Institutional Support Grant
LCB	Local Capacity Building
LDFIC	Less Developed Food Importing Countries
LIFDC	Low Income Food Deficit Country
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MC	Mercy Corps
MMT	Million Metric Tons
MNTZ	Monetization

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUT	Nutrition Listserv
OICI	Opportunities Industrialization Centers International
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
PCI	Project Concern International
PEU	Perceived Environmental Uncertainty
PL480	Public Law 480
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
SAVE	Save the Children
SC	Steering Committee
SHARE	World Self Help and Resource Exchange
SO	Strategic Objective
TII	Title II
TNS	TechnoServe
UN	United Nations
USG	United States Government
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
WFP	World Food Program
WFS	World Food Summit
WTO	World Trade Organization
WG	Working Group
WV	World Vision

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

INTERORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION IN UNCERTAIN ENVIRONMENTS
THE CASE OF FOOD AID MANAGEMENT

By

Harold D. Green, Jr.

May 2003

Chair: Dr. H. Russell Bernard
Major Department: Anthropology

Food Aid Management (FAM) is a collective of private voluntary organizations that receive American commodities for international development activities around the world. The member organizations cooperate to solve common problems associated with commodity management, commodity sales, monitoring, evaluation, and compliance with government regulations. Research suggests that FAM's organizational environment, structure, and culture may be understood from the theoretical perspective of the collectivist organizational type described by Rothschild-Whitt. During 2002, qualitative and quantitative social research methods were used to gather information from FAM member organizations to test the collectivist model. Parametric, nonparametric, and Boolean analyses of the data provided no quantitative support for the model. Social network techniques revealed the structure of inter-organizational interactions in the FAM context. Further analysis suggests that network elicitation prompts significantly impact associated network structures. Research findings support the use of social network methods to monitor collaborative activity. Changes in organizational structure and behavior to realign FAM

with their collectivist mission and their collectivist outlook are also recommended based on the findings of this research.

CHAPTER 1 COLLECTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF FOOD AID MANAGEMENT

Private voluntary organizations and nongovernmental organizations (PVOs and NGOs), are the primary organizations that make up the not-for-profit sector. These organizations play an increasingly important role in the delivery of services across the world—health care, shelter, schooling, food, and more. In 1977 nonprofits were estimated to employ more than 6% of the American workforce, about 6 million people (Mirvis and Hackett 1983). That number has grown at a rate of 5.1% annually; in 2000 an estimated 10.9 million individuals worked in 1.2 million nonprofit organizations in the United States (Independent Sector 2002). The number of people whose lives are affected by the work of nonprofits in the US and across the world probably runs to the tens of millions (Mirvis and Hackett 1983).

Most current organizational research focuses on organizations with hierarchical structures based on legal authority and on maximizing profit—bureaucracies and market organizations. In nonprofit PVOs and NGOs, authority is thought to derive from commitment to a common value system rather than from commitment to legal rules or the making of a profit. The relationships between organizational environments, social structure, and organizational values have been extensively investigated for economic organizations. Less is known about the interaction of these factors for nonprofits, particularly NGOs and PVOs.

In this dissertation, I examine the relationships among organizational structure, environment, and organizational values for Food Aid Management (FAM), an interorganizational network of 16 PVOs. All FAM members are dedicated to improving international development activities supported in part by Title II commodities provided by the United States

Agency for International Development (USAID) office of Food for Peace (FFP) under the United States' Public Law 480 (PL480). There are three primary goals of this research:

- To verify the collectivist model for international development organizations.
- To explore the utility of social network techniques for measuring collaborative capacity.
- To provide FAM with recommended changes to improve its activities.

Background

In 1989 five US PVOs created FAM to promote the efficient and effective use of food aid resources to help alleviate hunger and contribute to food security. In September 1998, a five-year Institutional Support Agreement (ISA) between the USAID office of FFP and the Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), the grant holder, was awarded for FAM to continue coordinating and assisting PL480 Title II-funded Cooperating Sponsors (CSs) in their existing or planned institutional development activities. FAM was created to be a forum in which Title II PVOs could collaborate and exchange food aid and food security program information. Sixteen American PVOs were FAM members in 2002. FAM works with these 16 CSs to achieve these three objectives:

- Facilitating and promoting the development of food aid standards.
- Promoting the food aid and food security knowledge base of PVOs, USAID staff, and other collaborators through information exchange and coordination.
- Facilitating collaboration between PVOs, USAID, and appropriate development and humanitarian professionals by organizing forums for discussion.

As the coordinators of an interorganizational collective, the FAM staff work with member organizations to define activities and monitor member organizations' achievement of agreed-upon goals. One of FAM's activities is coordinating working groups (WGs) for common topics that are programmatic priorities for members, namely, monitoring and evaluation (M&E WG), monetization (MNTZ WG), local capacity building (LCB WG), and the environment (E WG). FAM also manages the Food Security Resource Center (FSRC), publishes the quarterly

Food Forum bulletin, maintains an active website, and implements other food security information sharing activities including interorganizational workshops and trainings.

FAM does not implement PL480 Title II food programs; its CS members do. The objectives and activities of FAM support the USAID FFP office's Strategic Objective 2: "Increased effectiveness of FFP's Partners in carrying out Title II development activities with measurable results related to food security with a primary focus on household nutrition and agricultural productivity." FAM accomplishes its goals while focusing its efforts on activities that support the achievement of FFP's Intermediate Result 1: "Strengthened capabilities of PVOs, USAID Missions, and FFP to design, monitor, and support programs" (USAID/BHR/FFP 2001, USAID Office of Procurement 1998).

As a nonimplementing, information-sharing, coordinating body, FAM's efficiency depends on consistently monitoring activities directly related to FAM objectives. In the case of the FAM workshops, publications, and website, FAM has mechanisms to track how information is being disseminated, used, and potentially revised. By encouraging, managing and monitoring collaboration and information exchange among its 16 PVO members, FAM makes a unique contribution to Title II programming. The FAM members perceive the collective as a valuable means for exchanging new tools and best practices in an unstable resource environment.

Theoretical Significance

Marx (1973) stated that almost every aspect of modern life is affected by complex formal organizations. Government bureaus, churches, manufacturing firms, hospitals, schools, and restaurants are all examples of complex formal organizations that individuals come in contact with daily. The works of Etzioni (1961, 1964, 1968, 1972), Marx (1973, 1977, 1994, 2002), and Weber (1958, 1968), cornerstones of social science, were based on investigating how individuals form complex organizations and how those organizations affect human lives.

One of the theoretical foundations of organizational science is Weber's concept of organizational authority (Mouzelis, 1967; Scott 1998). Weber defined authority as the power to command. In his conceptualization, there are four kinds of authority:

- Charismatic, based on leadership of a strong personality.
- Traditional, based on leadership through historical or religious bases.
- Legal-rational, based on leadership under the legal contract.
- Value-rational, based on leadership through a shared belief system.

Weber argued that these four kinds of authority give rise to four ideal organizational forms or types. The charismatic, traditional, and bureaucratic organizational forms have been the focus of most organizational science because they have been most prevalent in modern society (Rothschild-Whitt 1979, Satow 1975). The collectivist, value-rational organizational type, based on a shared belief system, is investigated less often, likely because there have been so few. Indeed, the collectivist organizational type has been dubbed Weber's "missing type" (Rothschild-Whitt 1979, Satow 1975). Statistics show that the frequency of collectivist organizations has been increasing in the United States and abroad, however, leading to greater interest in studying collectivist organizations (Independent Sector 2002).

The classic organizational type is the bureaucracy, which has hierarchical social structure based on rules made by leaders who have legal-rational authority over subordinate workers. These rules are created to facilitate efficient production of outputs or completion of tasks. Organizations are part of a money economy in this line of reasoning (Scott, 1998). Most bureaucracies share other common characteristics including high levels of specialization, impersonal relationships among members of the organizations, recruitment of officials on the basis of ability and technical knowledge, and separation of private and official profits.

One of Weber's critics, Nicos Mouzelis (1967:39), noted that there is one "common, all pervasive element" that unites all the characteristics of bureaucracies. It is "the existence of a system of control based on rational rules, rules which try to regulate the whole organizational structure and process on the basis of technical knowledge and with the aim of maximum

efficiency.” Mouzelis also observed that while an organization may be based on legal-rational rules, there is no implication that it will yield maximum efficiency. This possibility for inefficiency, argues Mouzelis, is evidence of a weakness in Weber’s scheme of ideal types that opens the field for alternative organizational types that are equally efficient but based on principles other than maximizing economic profit.

One of these new types, the collectivist organization, was most clearly defined by Joyce Rothschild-Whitt (1979). Rothschild-Whitt’s model of collectivist organizations differs from Weber’s model of bureaucratic organizations in several ways. First, the decisions of collective organizations are premised on the logic of substantive rationality rather than formal rationality. Thus, the sense of the law is followed, rather than the letter of the law. Second, the collective organization has a value-rational basis of authority. The ability to command is derived from a collective decision. Third, the structure of collectivist organizations is less hierarchical or centralized than the structure of bureaucratic organizations. The underlying factor in this conceptualization of organizations is that a value-based (moral or ethical) belief system motivates authority and compliance and provides the basis for organizational goals and structure (Astley and Van de Ven, 1983).

The collectivist model is useful for understanding social service organizations, charities, PVOs and NGOs (Astley and Van de Ven, 1983, DiMaggio and Anheier 1990, Goodman 1999, Hasenfeld and Gidron 1993, Satow 1975). The new analysis enabled by recognizing these alternative organizational types is not constrained by the assumption that organizations are striving for improved economic efficiency or that organizations are hierarchically structured around legal-rational authority structures. The collectivist organizational model may better explain why nonprofit organizations survive in the face of uncertainty in the organizational environment. Based on Rothschild-Whitt’s description and on other organizational scientists’ work on collectivist organizations (Baker 1982, Goodman 1999, Hasenfeld and Gidron 1993, Heydebrand 1989, Lois 1999, Schifflet and Zey 1990, Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986, Torrez et

al. 1991, Waters 1993, Wells 1981), the idea arises that those individuals who believe they work in an unstable environment are likely to have a particular commitment to collaboration and their organizations are likely to encourage decentralized organizational and interorganizational activities, and to have a particular position within a network structure.

Researchers have related organizational structure to noneconomic aspects of organizational life. Boje and Whetten (1981), Ibarra and Andrews (1993), and Krakhardt (1990) investigated the relationships between structure and perceived power. Burns and Stalker (1994) and Strang and Tuma (1993) studied how structure affects diffusion of information. These studies measure perceptions *in* and the movement of information *through* organizations. The research I describe in this dissertation explores a group of relationships among environmental factors, interorganizational structures, and institutionalized values. I also explore the possible influence of those factors on perceptions of performance (based on work by Katz 1950, 1975, 1978, 1980), linking organization demographics to measures of organizational performance.

Limited international development resources in a climate of political, environmental and social instability should mean heightened competition and more aggressive measures to control scarce resources. It is true that these PVOs are often in competition for scarce development resources; however, FAM member organizations continue to share information and resources. Because FAM organizations cooperate, they may not conform to traditional organizational models, particularly the bureaucratic model that is the foundation of most traditional organizational analysis. The collectivist model might be a better framework for understanding FAM organizations.

Social Network Significance

The Title II resource environment is volatile, with uncertain events making organizational flexibility very important. Emery and Trist (1965) call these organizational environments “turbulent fields” and suggest that organizations can survive these environmental conditions by relying on “values that have overriding significance for all members of the field” (1965:28). An

organization, they argue, will attempt to change its activities, its values, or its structure to control environmental uncertainty and/or volatility. The environment, then, in addition to affecting organizational culture and organizational behavior, also affects intra- and interorganizational structure (Dill 1958, Emery and Trist 1965). Social network research shows that individuals use their networks for social support in unstable environments (Dershem and Gzirishvili 1998; Walker, Wasserman and Wellman 1994). Social networks often mitigate the effects and perceptions of that uncertain environment. A person who has a strong network of social ties is less likely to feel the changes and turbulence of the environment and is more likely to be resilient to those changes. Other research has shown that a person's position within a network affects that person's perceptions of the environment (Boje and Whetten 1981; Boster, Johnson and Weller 1987; Freeman 1978/1979; Walker, Wasserman and Wellman 1994). I believe that this is also the case for organizations, particularly for organizations that cooperate in the face of uncertainty (Baker 1982, Barnett and Carroll 1987, Heydebrand 1989, Lois 1999).

My field research suggests that FAM was founded to help the member agencies gain control over an organizational environment that was changing as rapidly as USAID, the primary donor, was changing. The FAM network provided information about the activities of other organizations. Members shared information about the international development environment and, over time, made resources once only available to larger PVOs available to other member agencies. Collective action by the member agencies may have led to more political power and may have helped lessen some organizational stresses that member agencies faced when working independently. Collectivism also implies adherence to decentralized structures and activities, key for the success of this kind of organizational network.

Organizational collaboration in this context is about developing relationships and making connections. In this research, I examine FAM's primary activities and how those activities contribute to interorganizational network formation. I also investigate how FAM networks and their associated organizational interactions affect those primary activities. I use social network

techniques here to determine the structure of organizational interactions in the context of FAM's primary activities. These techniques provide estimates of how centralized and hierarchical each of the networks is. Because I investigated all of FAM collaborative activities, I incorporated ten different network elicitation questions. The responses to those questions led to ten different interorganizational network structures. The differences in structure highlight the importance of choosing the appropriate network elicitation question and the prudence of incorporating multiple questions into the network research as validity checks.

Applied Significance

This research was completed at the request of FAM. As their ISA came to a close, FAM administrators were interested in learning how successful they had been in encouraging collaborative activity in the Title II community. The goal of this study was to document, reflect on, and learn from FAM's experience coordinating collaborative activities both in the past and in the present, with an eye toward strengthening those activities in the future. Since FAM's current funding would be ending, the output of this study informed the FAM's strategic planning process for the next round of ISA funding proposals.

FAM wanted qualitative information about how FAM had affected cooperation in the past and how FAM was currently affecting cooperation. They wanted to know who they were serving and how often their services were being used. FAM also wanted quantitative support so that they could provide USAID with data that monitored and evaluated the impact of their collaborative activities.

FAM's framework for understanding these collaborative activities was called constituency building. By that, they mean increasing the depth and breadth of the constituency of individuals and organizations they are serving. I designed the research to answer FAM's questions about constituency building while simultaneously investigating my theoretical and methodological questions. In doing that, my research moved out of the realm of theory and into the real world.

Structure of the Dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation reports findings from the two phases of the project. First I outline the organizational theory I used to frame my research. Then, I explain how I conceptualized this research in a short methods chapter. In Chapter 4, I describe the Title II food aid environment, framing my description with the organizational theory concept of a turbulent field. In Chapter 5, I present a history of FAM's collaborative activities to situate FAM in its operational and historical context. A profile of FAM's current activities that incorporates representatives' evaluations of FAM's activities and describes organizational interactions using social network approaches follows in Chapter 6. Diagrams of the relevant FAM organizational networks are presented at the end of this chapter. The seventh chapter restates my original hypotheses and presents the results of hypothesis tests. This chapter includes results from the modified Miles and Snow Perceived Environmental Uncertainty Scale and the results of the Wagner and Earley scales of Individualism and Collectivism (Earley 1994, Miles and Snow 1978, Wagner 1995). The discussion sections of this chapter also explain not only how the information gained from research with FAM informs organizational theory but also how organizational theory was applied in the research context and led to specific recommendations for organizational change. Chapter 8 provides a concise summary of the major research findings.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

In 1977, nonprofits employed over 6 million individuals in the American work force, a number that has steadily risen over time (Mirvis and Hackett 1983). More than 10.9 million Americans now work in the nonprofit sector (Independent Sector 2002). The growth of these organizations in the United States is paralleled by a worldwide proliferation of similar organizations (Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986, Rothschild-Whitt 1979, Independent Sector 2002). With increasing globalization and international activity, the number of people employed by or receiving the services of volunteer and nongovernmental organizations is much larger. Because they differ from market organizations and governmental agencies, these organizations are called the independent, third sector of the economy (Mirvis and Hackett 1983, Lewis 1999). Third-sector organizations are less confined by traditional organizational parameters, allowing new approaches to organizational structure and behavior. Often in third sector organizations, new forms of organizational activity replace traditional forms. Cooperation may replace competition or collectivity may replace bureaucracy.

Waters (1993) suggests that new organizational types are emerging in this “post-Weberian” era and organizational scientists have developed theoretical frameworks to identify and explain new organizational forms (Heydebrand 1989). The most divergent new organizations are network or virtual organizations, whose structure and operations exploit new niches in the ecology of the global economy. Whether they are groups of individuals or groups of organizations, network structures display strong formal and informal social relationships (Christie and Levary 1998, Voss 1996).

Litwak and Hylton (1962) and Rothschild-Whitt (1979) present theories of a new organizational type related to network and virtual organizations, similarly defined by strong formal and informal social relationships between employees: the collectivist organization. Some restaurant cooperatives, women's groups, and medical service organizations are examples of collectivist organizations that have arisen in the recent past (Baker 1982, Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986, Vanderslice 1988). Often volunteer and not-for-profit organizations are characterized as collectivist (Heydebrand 1989). The growth in number of collectivist, third-sector organizations in the United States and abroad, and the increase in research focusing on these organizations is evidence of rising interest in these groups (Independent Sector 2002).

Weber's body of organizational theory contains a framework for understanding the basic types of organizational authority and the organizations that emerge from each type of authority. Each kind of organizational authority that Weber presents is associated with an organizational type except for value-rational authority, which is considered the base of power in collectivist organizations. Weber's analysis of alternative organizational types (here, alternative means non-bureaucratic or non-market) has been called "fragmentary and unsystematic" leaving consideration of these forms to other organization scientists (Waters 1993). Critiques of Weber's typology (particularly Mouzelis 1967 and Satow 1975) show that there is room for the incorporation of the collectivist type into organizational theory in ways that would supplement Weber's existing typology. Mouzelis's (1967) critique of Weber's typology argues that the framework could be changed to incorporate the new collectivist type. There are two outcomes from incorporating collectivist organizations into the framework: First, organizational theory will provide a set of organizations that have existed for years a unique and less subordinate position in the arena of organizational theory. Second, organizational theorists can begin to test the validity of theoretical constructs related to collectivist organizations, bringing accepted methods and models to bear in new ways for theory and application.

Organizational theorists generate and apply typologies as a means to understand new organizational forms and behaviors (Doty and Glick 1994, Scherer 1988, Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986, Waters 1993). These typologies or classification systems are often too abstract to be experimentally falsified. The theoretical constructions that strive to characterize third-sector organizational forms are no exception. Weick (1974) argues that theoretical organizational concepts should be related to sets of testable assertions to determine the utility and applicability of new organizational typologies and new organizational types. Organizational theories must be moved from the realm of theoretical discussion to the realm of quantitative analysis, pared down into groups of hypotheses and propositions that can be investigated using existing methods (Doty and Glick 1994, Weick 1974). Although observational and empirical evidence support theoretical constructs related to collectivist organizations, some assertions remain to be empirically or experimentally tested using current statistical capabilities.

This research is an attempt to do that in the limited context of international development. In this chapter, I define the collectivist organization in relation to Weber's bureaucratic ideal, use previous organizational research to develop a set of assertions that I believe must be tested to validate the theoretical construction of the collectivist model, and briefly explain how I operationalize the concepts.

Theory of the Organization

Max Weber's concept of the idealized bureaucracy informs much organizational theory (Mouzelis 1967, Weber 1958). One could cast all organizational theory either in agreement with the bureaucratic ideal or in reaction to that ideal. Weber defines bureaucratic organizations as hierarchical social structures organized around rules (usually written) made by leaders who have been given legal-rational authority over a number of subordinate workers. The rules are created to facilitate efficient production of outputs or completion of tasks and comprise classical or formal rationality. To Weber, bureaucratic and market organizations are paramount, with alternative types subordinate because their decision-making procedures are inferior.

One of Weber's strongest critics is Nicos Mouzelis. Mouzelis's critique of Weber's ideal bureaucratic type is important for two reasons. First, Mouzelis summarizes the characteristics of bureaucracy and presents a "common, all pervasive element" (1967: 39) that unites the characteristics. Briefly, the bureaucratic characteristics relevant to Mouzelis are: a high degree of specialization, a hierarchical structure, impersonal relationships between members of the organization, recruitment of officials on the basis of ability and technical knowledge, and the separation of private and official profits. The common factor is "the existence of a system of control based on rational rules, rules which try to regulate the whole organizational structure and process on the basis of technical knowledge and with the aim of maximum efficiency" (1967: 39). These characteristics summarize Weber's bureaucratic type, and serve as points of comparison for other organizational types.

Mouzelis's second point concerns the extent to which an organizational theorist could construct an a priori model to generate the maximum degree of productive efficiency. Ketchen et al. (1993) use a similar approach in their configurational analyses of the hospital industry. In the case of Weber, the a priori organization would be founded on the idea of technical or functional rationality, in which a series of well-defined actions is designed to lead to one and only one goal. Unfortunately, maximum efficiency is not always the outcome of an organization built from rational rules (Mannheim 1950). Mouzelis argues that if more than one theoretical organization can be designed to yield maximum productive efficiency or, if an organization can be created that fails to reach maximum efficiency, then Weber's ideal bureaucratic type is weakened. This opens organizational analysis based on Weber's typology to other organizational types that are equally efficient but whose efficiency is based on tenets other than technical rationality. This means that the collectivist type can be incorporated without damaging the theoretical underpinnings of Weber's typology or of the collectivist type.

Rothschild-Whitt's Collectivist Type

Organizational theorists have characterized organizations based on rules other than technical rationality that yield maximum productive efficiency or that maximize some other measure of success (Lewis 1999, Litwak and Hylton 1962, Mirvis and Hackett 1983, Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986, Waters 1993). The most apparent of these new organizations are nonprofit and volunteer service organizations, including NGOs and PVOs. These service-based organizations are active in many areas of the economy from national and international development to consumer information services and health care provision. Observations of service-based organizations, and in particular cooperative organizations, led Rothschild-Whitt to characterize an organizational type for those third-sector organizations that compliments Weber's seemingly incomplete and asymmetric taxonomy of organizations (Baker 1982, Waters 1993). Following Mouzelis's critique, Rothschild-Whitt's type may be better suited for use as the basis for micro-level organizational analysis of volunteer and not-for-profit organizations.

Rothschild-Whitt's model differs from Weber's bureaucracy in several ways. First, the decisions of collective organizations are premised on the logic of substantive rationality rather than formal rationality defined in the previous section. Substantive rationality, also known as value-rationality, is marked by a "belief in the value for its own sake, independent of its prospects of success" (Weber 1968:24). In international development, this is surely the case, as organizations choose to provide relief and assistance or establish projects in areas where there is the highest need but often the least possibility for success. Second, the collective organization uses value-rationality as the basis of authority rather than technical or functional rationality. This is also true in international development organizations, where commitment to the cause is more likely to be considered the prime motivator than salary or other, more formal motivators.

The collectivist type, or at least an organizational type with a value-rational basis of authority is considered Weber's missing type and is being used increasingly in the analysis of social service organizations (Astley and Van de Ven 1983, Goodman 1999, Satow 1975,

Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986, Waters 1993). The underlying factor in the conceptualization of collectivist organizations is that a value-based (moral or ethical) belief system motivates authority and compliance and provides the basis for organizational goals and structure (Astley and Van de Ven, 1988, Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986). My observations of international development NGOs corroborate the work of these organization scientists.

The eight defining characteristics of the collectivist organization oppose the characteristics of the ideal bureaucratic model: Authority rests in the collectivity rather than in an individual. There is a minimum of rational rules. Social control is value and moral based. Relations are not minimized as in the bureaucratic form. Employment is based on interest and dedication rather than on skill. Incentives for participation are normative and value based. The organization is egalitarian. There is a minimal division of labor. Mirvis and Hackett's (1983) analysis of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey supports Rothschild-Whitt's collectivist organizational type, not just for volunteer service organizations, but for most third sector organizations. My fieldwork with 16 international development organizations and a number of international development collectives also supports this theoretical framework for defining the value-rational collectivist organization.

Value-rational authority is the focus of studies by Fernandez (1991), Vanderslice (1988), Srivastva and Cooperrider (1986), and Baker (1982). Fernandez (1991) finds that leadership, or authority, in organizations is associated with both formal and informal structural ties. The amount that leadership is based in the two kinds of ties is related to the type of organization and to institutionalized values, which are both related to the changing organizational environment, as will be discussed later in the paper. Vanderslice (1988), investigating the Moosewood collective, found that successful "leaderless" leadership depends on structure, environment and institutionalized values as well, though she believes that horizontal structure and collective rationality are less necessary than would be expected from Rothschild-Whitt's schema. Srivastva and Cooperrider find that leadership in a "world-renowned" medical practice is based on an

authority analogous to value rationality that “transcends instrumental or techno-economic rationality as a basis for collective action” (1986:683). The transcendent rationality is correlated with a collectivist organizational ideology and with the open, vertical structure of the group. Collective social movement groups, particularly the lesbian-feminist organizations studied by Baker (1982), seem to have a value rational basis for authority, but Baker believes that pressure to conform to organizational and cultural norms is more powerful than individual commitment in developing that authority. Each of these authors arrives at a different conclusion about the degree of value rationality in collective organizations. The authors also differ in opinion about the relationship between the development of value rationality and an individual’s commitment to institutional values, the organizational environment and organizational structure.

The differences of opinion lead me to believe that these theories may benefit from confirmatory research to verify theories generated from exploratory observational studies. Organization scientists much generate grounded assertions as Weick (1974) suggested, to test hypotheses about the interrelation between environment, values and organizational structures (or positions within collective structures) simultaneously.

Collectivist Organizational Analysis

The collectivist organization enables a new kind of organizational analysis. The new analysis is not constrained by the assumption that organizations are striving for improved productive efficiency or that organizations are arranged hierarchically around legal-rational authority structures, theoretical assumptions that may not resemble the reality for nonprofit organizations. The collectivist type may better explain why an organization can survive in the face of extreme economic distress. Economic or market success is not most important in these organizations, and dedication to the cause can lead to an organization’s survival in an unstable organizational environment that may not support other organizations.

Mouzelis (1967) believes that the basis of organizational analysis should be developing ways to classify organizations according to how strongly they reflect the characteristics of an

ideal type. The empirical framework for collectivist organizations I present here builds on Mouzelis's comments. Rothschild-Whitt's definition of the collectivist organization points out the intersection of environmental, structural and institutional factors for nonprofit organizations, particularly those where decentralization is present or encouraged. There are several assumptions made about the interaction of these factors that must be accepted if one considers the collectivist organization a valid theoretical construction. The assumptions that underlie Rothschild-Whitt's (1979) collectivist conceptualization, supported by Mirvis and Hackett (1983), Waters (1993), and others, are:

- An organizational environment that is highly unstable or volatile in any way is best survived with a decentralized, non-hierarchical structure.
- Commitment to a particular ideal, coupled with commitment to a collectivist organizational ideology will lead to a decentralized organizational structure.
- As the organizational environment becomes unstable, organizational participants will be pushed to rely on value-rationality as the basis for authority and motivation in the absence of economic rewards.

These assertions were formulated from qualitative organizational fieldwork, and remain to be operationalized and empirically tested to determine their validity and their wider applicability. The assertions specify relationships between the three interconnected variables: an organization's structure (and/or position within a decentralized collective), environmental instability, and institutionalized collectivist values¹. The following section elucidates those interconnections more fully, summarizing research relevant to the various assumptions and presenting testable hypotheses that emerge from these assertions. The theoretical discussion follows the arrangement of most organizational theory texts, beginning with structural variables considered in classical formal organizational analysis. Then, environmental aspects studied in

¹ Because competition, power brokering, and information control are widespread in organizations, Rothschild-Whitt's collectivist ideal may not exist in practice. The possibility for competition exists as a function of the organization or collective's decentralized structure. Loose organizational structure may allow for too much divergence in organizational behavior and institutional belief. This divergence may lead to competition for resources, differential access to and control of information, or differential power relationships between employees.

organizational ecology are presented. Finally, institutional and social-psychological variables of individualism and collectivism, germane to open systems organizational research are incorporated into the discussion (Scott 1998).

Structure

Social network research shows that individuals form networks for social support in an unstable environment to mitigate environmental effects (Dershem and Gzirishvili 1998, Walker, Wasserman and Wellman 1994). A person who is more deeply embedded in a network of social ties is less likely to notice the changes and turbulence of the environment and is more likely to be resilient to those changes. An individual's position within a network affects his or her perceptions (Boje and Whetten 1981; Boster, Johnson, and Weller 1987; Freeman 1978/1979; Walker, Wasserman and Wellman 1994). Similarly, collectivist organizations are more likely to cooperate in the face of uncertainty (Baker 1982, Barnett and Carroll 1987, Heydebrand 1989, Lois 1999).

The collectivist organization described by Rothschild-Whitt (1979), Waters (1993), Mirvis and Hackett (1983), Heydebrand (1989) has a horizontal, non-hierarchical structure that correlates with its ascribed egalitarian ideology. Archival data and organizational charts can help determine how hierarchical an organization is (Bedeian 1980, Evan 1993, Scott 1998). Formal structure often exists in tandem with an informal structure, particularly in new organizational forms (Heydebrand 1989, Voss 1996). Interviews, documents, and logs of communication can be used with social network analysis techniques to reconstruct formal and informal organizational structures (Freeman, White, and Romney 1989). In some cases, and particularly for the collectivist organization, the informal structure may be more important than the formal structure (Baker 1982). To determine the validity of the theoretical construction, I elucidated and compared both formal and informal structures in FAM analyses.

Environment

Barnett and Carroll (1987) have related competition and cooperation to the organizational environment using the case of early telephone industries. Working with an organizational ecology framework, they found that similar organizations in different geographic locations were in competition, while different but related organizations in similar geographic regions cooperated. Barnett and Carroll's cases show that environmental conditions mediate organizational activities. Formal and informal structures in these new organizations are also related to the organizational environment (Emery and Trist 1965). Litwak and Hylton (1962), support this position. They argue that agencies cooperate based on a number of characteristics including organizational interdependence and access to resources in the organizational environment. Hasenfeld and Gidron (1993) also point out that organizations cooperate or compete based on environmental factors, and Heydebrand argues that many new organizational forms result directly from "environmental turbulence, rapid change, increasing complexity and uncertainty" (1989:323). Usually, if the organizational environment is unstable, organizations cooperate (Emery and Trist 1965, Rothschild-Whitt 1979, Waters 1993). Unfortunately, individuals' perceptions of the environment may differ from each other as well as from archival measures of environmental uncertainty (Boyd et al. 1993, Duncan 1972). However, individuals' current perceptions of the organizational environment are most likely to affect behaviors and attitudes. Thus, those perceptions are considered in later analyses.

Institutional Values

Dill (1958) and Haverman (1993) propose that the organizational environment affects individuals' and organizations' adherence to institutionalized values. In this analysis, the institutionalized values of individualism and collectivism are most salient. The source of authority for these new organizations is hypothesized to be value rationality, based on a collectivist ideal. Collectivism is strongly encouraged in many new organizations as a means to

bolster formal authority or in lieu of rational or technical authority. Lois (1999) reports that new members of a volunteer search and rescue group undergo a long socialization process to determine if they display collectivist ideals. Baker's (1982) research with radical feminist groups corroborates Lois, and confirms that informal social ties and socialization to normative values encourages individuals with collectivist ideals to remain with the organizations. Both Lois and Baker's research show that unstable environments (protests, natural disasters) are associated with collectivism and with horizontal social structures as suggested by the collectivist construction. Collectivist individuals feel that their sense of self is connected to in-groups, their priorities are to reach group goals, their emphasis is on roles and norms to guide behavior and their relationships are maintained out of sense of connection and obligation (Grimm et al. 1999). For collectivist organizations, particularly international development organizations, roles and norms emerge from the social service value system that the groups espouse (Waters 1993).

Social research in anthropology and in organizational science has shown that cultures vary along a number of individualist/collectivist vectors, as do different employment sectors and careers within those sectors. (Earley and Gibson 1998; Grimm et al. 1999; Hui 1988; Kim et al. 1994; Lois 1999; Triandis 1989, 1993, 1995; Triandis et al. 1993; Triandis and Singelis 1998; Wagner 1995) The result is that a very individualist man or woman may be employed in a collectivist career, and may evince collectivist ideals at work while holding very individualist personal views. Because it is rather abstract, this concept is difficult to quantify. Organizational researchers have been working to refine scale instruments to reflect the complexity and diversity of the concept (Earley 1994, Earley and Gibson 1998, Hui 1988, Wagner and Moch 1986, Wagner 1995).

Hypotheses

The relationships between environment, structure, and collectivism summarized in the above sections led me to the following hypotheses that test the validity of the collectivist model:

H1: Because perceptions of increasing environmental uncertainty are linked to increased commitment to cooperation and collectivism, measures of environmental uncertainty in individuals will be positively correlated with measures of workplace collectivism in individuals.

H2: Because perceptions of increasing environmental uncertainty have been associated with the development of social networks, and because perceptions of uncertainty are affected by position within a network, measures of environmental uncertainty will be negatively correlated with measures of centrality in the FAM organizational network.

H3: Because commitment to cooperation is linked to structural measures that imply lower hierarchical organization, measures of individual workplace collectivism will be negatively correlated with measures of centrality in an organizational network. Being located at the periphery of a network structure is associated with collectivism as a means to gain control in an uncertain environment. Being located at the hierarchical core of a network is associated with less reliance on collectivist ideals.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued for a revision of Weber's classic organizational typology, long used to understand questions of organizational theory. Though the classic Weberian typology used as the basis for most organizational theory includes a discussion of value-rational authority on which collectivist organizations are based, there is no extension of that discussion to a particular organizational type. Contemporary organizational theorists and critics have suggested that this is a flaw that must be corrected; an organizational analysis scheme that is broad enough to include new organizational forms must be developed. That scheme must be developed from grounded, empirical research rather than from theoretical speculation. Nonprofit and collectivist organizations have proliferated since the end of World War II, and old schemes seem unprepared to consider these new organizational types.

Rothschild-Whitt and others have developed a framework for understanding a new (or at least increasingly frequent) organizational form: collectivist organizations. This organizational form should be incorporated into the overall organizational framework. Structural aspects, social psychological aspects and environmental instability are all important in empirical research on collectivist organizations. In particular, research shows that structure is intercorrelated with

individual and organizational commitment to collectivist ideals and with uncertainty and instability in the organizational environment. This combination of organizational characteristics provides a framework that may help researchers understand collectivist organizations better.

A theory-based approach is important in this organizational research for three reasons. First, organizational theory led to hypotheses that test the validity of the collectivist model. Second, I chose research methods and measurement techniques based on my understanding of organizational theory and its application. Third, theory grounded my interpretation of quantitative results and made the recommendations that emerged from those results more relevant. There is another important crosscutting benefit: Theory focused my gaze on aspects of organizational structure and behavior that may not have caught my attention otherwise. An understanding of theory gave me a different perspective on FAM activities and made me less a participant and more a participant-observer. Theory was relevant not only to the obvious theoretical aspects of this research, but also to the methodological and practical aspects.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

Anthropological studies of organizations are usually based on ethnography, or on a combination of ethnography and limited survey data (Bate 1997, DiMaggio and Anheier 1990, Hamada 1999, Lewis 1999). I combine these methods with other structured interview tasks (including free lists, ratings and rankings), direct observation, archival research, and network analysis (Bernard 1995, Weller and Romney 1988). Bamberger (2000) argues that integrating qualitative and quantitative research in international development projects improves their validity and increases the project's chances for success. This research strategy supports practical applications of theory and methods. From September 2001 to September 2002, I worked as an independent consultant for FAM, supported by a grant from CARE's constituency-building budget. The approved scope-of-work provides more detail and is included in Appendix C.

Phase One

Table 3-1 shows the primary tasks for Phase One, along with response rates. Phase One of the project was exploratory, focused on gathering information to understand FAM's history and current activities and situate those activities in the international development context (Marshall 1999). I augmented my profile of FAM's activities by reviewing literature on the political, economic, agro-industrial, and policy background for Title II activities, bringing FAM's uncertain and turbulent organizational environment into better focus. Archival research provided qualitative and quantitative data for ethnographic description of FAM's activities and for later analyses. I reviewed archival documents including ISA proposals, performance reports, detailed implementation plans, annual operating plans, FAM's website, FSRC documents, M&E data,

website tracking reports, WG meeting minutes, and other information that indicated or recorded organizations and on FAM from these sources.

While working as an independent consultant to FAM, I attended working group meetings, Steering Committee (SC) meetings, FAM annual meetings, and other general interest meetings. Participation in FAM activities provided me with first-hand knowledge of organizational activities and validated data gathered from archival sources. In addition, direct observation of current activities provided me with clues to how FAM's activities have changed over time. Participation in workshops and seminars helped me understand FAM in light of food security projects and the larger context of international development. Use of the FAM FSRC provided hands-on experience and helped me understand how organizations might gather technical information about Title II food aid.

Open-ended interviews with Title II experts provided information about FAM's history and gave me the opportunity to collect background information about member organizations. The interviews also provided information on current organizational activity within FAM and within FAM's various members. The eleven Title II experts tapped for in-depth interviews in Phase One were determined by polling the FAM constituency, including FAM members, USAID representatives, university academics, consultants, and field staff. Members of the FAM constituency were asked to list those individuals they believed to be the most knowledgeable about FAM's historical and current context and activities. More than half of FAM's member organizations responded. From the aggregated responses, I identified the individuals I would interview. Almost 80% of Title II experts came from FAM organizations. Just over 70% of experts on FAM's history came from FAM member organizations. The rest were once employees of FAM member organizations. Incorporating the input of those experts who have direct knowledge of Title II work improved the internal validity and relevance of this research. Choosing key informants systematically limited subjectivity and made data collection more efficient and rigorous than, say, a snowball sample.

Table 3-1: Phase One methods summary and response rates

Qualitative Phase	NGOs Contacted	NGOs Responding	Response Rate	Time Frame
Identify TII Experts	16	8 (14 indiv.)	0.50	1 week
Interview TII Experts	9	6	0.66	2 weeks
Identify FAM Experts	16	8 (14 indiv.)	0.50	1 week
Interview FAM Experts	7	6	0.86	2 weeks
Archival Research	1	1	1.00	3 months
Annual Report Review	16	16	1.00	1 month
Organizational Profiles	16	15	0.94	1 month

Phase Two

Semistructured interviews, implemented in the second half of the project, produced the majority of quantitative data in this project. These interviews provided the opportunity to collect any demographic or organizational data that were not evident in archival sources. Ratings, rankings, social network elicitation, and other organizational behavior tests generated data for statistical analyses. This portion of the research was designed to capture information about which organizations were considered more active, where organizations were situated in the organizational network relative to each other, and how member organizations' representatives perceived FAM's performance within this organizational network. I also collected data on individuals' adherence to individualism or collectivism and on their perceptions of environmental uncertainty and volatility in the international development context.

Individual FAM participants were profiled using questions drawn from Card 19 of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey administered by the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research (See Appendix B). FAM member organizations were profiled in terms of age, size, and resource base diversity. I gathered data on these variables for the 16 organizations, treating each organization as a unit of analysis (Boje and Whetten 1981, Galaskiewicz 1979, Lincoln 1979, McNeil and Thompson 1971, Perrow 1967, and Pfeffer 1983 are all examples of research using demographic variables at the organization level.).

Data on organizational structure, organizational value systems and perceived environmental uncertainty were collected using a standard questionnaire format composed of

previously validated scale instruments, explained below and reprinted in Appendix B. My goal was to generate data to determine how emergent network structure is related to perceptions of the environment and to organizational value systems and attitudes. That is, how social structure is related to the culture of the member organizations. Individual responses were aggregated to create organization-level measures for interaction, evaluation, collaboration and uncertainty scales.

There are some experiment-wide assumptions. The first assumption is that variation across a number of different organizations will reveal changes similar to those that the study of one organization over time would reveal. A second assumption is that an individual's perceptions of the various phenomena (like environmental uncertainty) are reliable and, when aggregated, adequately represent reality (Weller and Romney 1988). Additional assumptions regarding the reliability of the various measures and statistical tests will be discussed in the relevant subsections.

Environmental uncertainty. To understand which factors might be driving individuals' perceptions of the Title II environment, I asked PVO respondents to reply to a perceived environmental uncertainty (PEU) scale modified from Miles and Snow's previously developed scale (1978). The scale Miles and Snow developed, which remains one of the most widely used scales to measure this concept (Boyd et al. 1993, Buchko 1994, Downey 1975, Williams 2000), was primarily for manufacturing firms, and had to be adjusted for organizations in the Title II food aid environment. The modifications were based on experts' responses to questions I asked in Phase One of the research. The new scale measures uncertainty across six primary subject areas: commodities, other PVOs, food aid recipients, funding, government policy, and the respondent's own PVO. The scale reveals variation among the FAM member organizations with respect to their perceptions of the Title II food aid environment.

Value system. FAM's activities are based entirely on collaborative activity and information exchange. Therefore, FAM relies almost completely on individuals who participate

in collective activities for successful completion of tasks set in annual operating plans. Collective activities are seen pragmatically as a means to an end, rather than being merely the end itself. Organizational collaboration is a social tool designed to overcome environmental conditions. FAM participants expect collaborative activities to help improve Title II programming activities. FAM participants also believe that collaboration has larger, un-measurable impacts on the Title II environment as a whole. It follows that it would benefit FAM if those individuals who participate in FAM activities were committed to collective activity and scored high on a collectivity scale.

Social psychologists have done the majority of work on Individualism/Collectivism (I/C) dichotomy, and have developed a number of scales that can be administered to organizational employees to generate measures of collectivism. Grimm et al. (1999), Earley and Gibson (1998), and Hui (1988) all provide frameworks and methods for administering these scales in organizations. The most widely known scales of individualism and collectivism are the scales Wagner (1995) and Earley (1994) developed. Wagner's scale deals primarily with actual collaboration in the workplace, while Earley's scale seeks to measure an individual's overall ideological tendency toward collectivity. These scales have some items in common, so I presented them to respondents in one standard, randomized questionnaire. After data collection, I differentiated the responses into the two scales and computed individuals' scores. Individual scores were used to determine if there was any relationship between I/C, PEU, and position in the FAM constituency.

Social structure. I used social network analysis techniques to visualize and analyze FAM's network structure and determine the interorganizational relationships among members of the FAM constituency. Applied researchers often use exploratory social network approaches in this capacity (Hasenfeld and Gidron 1993, Kwait et al. 2001, Litwak and Hylton 1962, Pennings 1981). The questions I asked to generate network structures affected the structures that are generated, so I developed the network questions based on information gathered in Phase One. Formal and informal connections were investigated, along with organizational interaction outside

of FAM but within the publicly funded Title II context. I presented each respondent with ten questions, and then asked them to mark which organizations their particular organization interacted with. Because an individual respondent acts as a representative of his or her organization, and because individual respondents are not always completely aware of all interactions, I aggregated individual responses into organizational responses. If any organizational representative noted an organizational interaction, I retained it in the dichotomous organization-by-organization matrix. To compensate for organizational response rates, I transformed the data with maximum symmetrizing algorithm (replace both values X_{ij} and X_{ji} with $\max[X_{ij}, X_{ji}]$). This means that the mention of organization A by organization B signifies a tie from A to B *and* from B to A. I completed these data transformations, standard in network analyses where data is often sparse, for all ten raw interaction matrices (Marsden 1990).

I generated measures and graphs of social structure for the FAM network with two programs, UCINET and Pajek, respectively. Measures of social structure (particularly centrality scores, centralization, and core/periphery scores) reveal variation in the FAM network relative to interorganizational structure and position within a social support network. There are a few assumptions that accompany the use of social network variables like centrality for these analyses. First, just as I aggregated organizational representatives' responses to determine organization-level measures for responses earlier in this dissertation, here I ascribe organization-level measures of centrality to all relevant organizational representatives. For example, I ascribed all representatives from CARE the centrality score computed for that particular organization. I made this assumption because individuals are organizational agents and carry out different organizational activities just as hands and feet carry out different activities of the same body.

Centrality measures, specifically closeness, reveal how tightly an organization is linked to other organizations within the network, indicating how organizations perceive a particular set of social interactions. The most central organizations are perceived to be most important, powerful, effective, knowledgeable, or involved in a specified set of activities (Boje and Whetten

1981; Boster, Johnson and Weller 1987; Ibarra and Andrews 1993, Michaelson and Contractor 1992; Mizruchi and Potts 1998; Yamagishi, Gilmore and Cook 1988).

Core/periphery analysis is also based on the original interaction matrices. The rows and columns are rearranged while maintaining internal matrix structure to determine areas of most relationship density. The organizations with most relationship density are core organizations. The organizations with lower relationship density are peripheral organizations. Core organizations are usually older, more active, more experienced, more conservative, and house the majority of institutional memory within a network. Periphery organizations are smaller, younger, more likely to be innovative, and generally originate new ideas, procedures and policies within a network. (For more theoretical discussion of social network methods and application, see Bonacich 1987, Burt 1992, Freeman 1978/1979, Freeman et al. 1979/1980, Mizruchi and Potts 1998, Scott 1991 and Wasserman and Faust 1994.)

Core and periphery decisions are based on a suggested and somewhat arbitrary cutoff, and should not be interpreted as strict divisions between groups. Rather, a continuum exists along which the organizations are distributed. Core/periphery analyses are based on perceptions and serve only as indicators of relative position within a network at *one point in time*. Networks are changing constantly and can be significantly affected by directed activity. However, these network analyses *do* indicate which organizations are likely to be expert in a particular area of interaction and indicate where an organization might like to target or concentrate improvements. For example, if an organization in the periphery chose to become more active or renowned within an area (perhaps by applying new creative ideas or practices), it might enter a mentoring agreement with a core organization or choose to take a leadership role in that realm of interaction.

For the purposes of this study, centrality (and its dichotomous analog core/periphery) is a proxy for hierarchical embeddedness in an organizational network structure. The more connected an organization is in the core of a network, the more constrained and conservative. If an

organization actively pursues centrality and control in a network, then that organization is less inclined to be collectivist.

Evaluation. I asked FAM participants to provide ratings of FAM's success with respect to its various constituency-building activities (Boruch 1997). I wanted to determine if there was any relationship between perceptions of the organizational environment, individual activity, position within the FAM constituency, personal attributes, and measures of FAM's success (Sciulli 1998). There is organizational research that investigates links between organizational demographic characteristics and perceptions of success (Pfeffer 1983) or position within a social network (Freeman 1978/1979 and Freeman et al. 1979/1980), but less research that links an organization's emergent network attributes to perceptions of success (Katz 1950, 1975, 1978, 1980; Sciulli 1998) In this particular research, I focused on the relationship between an organization's emergent network position (centrality and core/periphery status) and organizational representatives' perceptions of FAM's success in coordinating the interorganizational network.

Table 3-2: Phase Two methods summary and response rates

Quantitative Phase	NGOs Contacted	NGOs Responding	Response Rate	Individual Response	Individual Response w/Turnover	Time Frame
FAM Evaluation	16 (79 indiv)	13 (40 indiv)	0.81	0.51	0.78	1 month
Collectivity Scales	16 (79 indiv)	13 (40 indiv)	0.81	0.51	0.78	1 month
Environmental Scales	16 (79 indiv)	13 (40 indiv)	0.81	0.51	0.78	1 month
Interaction Questions	16 (79 indiv)	13 (40 indiv)	0.81	0.51	0.78	2 months

The four primary tasks associated with the quantitative phase of this research are presented in Table 3-2, along with their associated response rates. In this table I present two response rates, a raw rate and one that incorporates organizational turnover among the FAM organizations over the year of my research.

Analysis

My Initial analysis of the narrative and archival data was qualitative, providing background information, prompting additional questions and leading to systematic investigation

of those questions. Qualitative analysis of this qualitative data also provided a basis for valid and reliable interpretation of quantitative results. Quantitative analysis of qualitative data included evaluation of questionnaire responses and statistical analyses of nominal and categorical data, like ratings and rankings (Agresti 1996, Daniel 1990, Hair 1995, Hollander and Wolfe 1999). Because most sample sizes were small, I used nonparametric statistical tests along with univariate, multivariate and categorical data analysis to provide the most power in determining results of the various quantitative tests. Analysis of social network data involved traditional matrix algebra approaches and multivariate statistics to determine both the structure and content of the networks. I used correlation analyses to determine whether the three measures—structure, uncertainty and collectivism—varied in the hypothesized directions. I also used Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to evaluate the theoretical hypotheses. Additional information about analysis is presented in the sections that report specific quantitative results in Chapters Six and Seven.

Individual Respondent Profile

I contacted individuals for Phase Two according to the following protocol: I reviewed all (paper and electronic) meeting minutes from the time period covering FAM's current ISA (1998-2003). I included minutes from all Steering Committee, Working Group, Workshop, and Brown Bag activities. I placed any individual whose name was reported as a participant on a master list, along with the organization that he or she belonged to. This list represented the universe of individuals associated with FAM activities, and who would therefore be contacted. Since FAM's collaborative activities are directed primarily at the member PVOs, government officials, consultants, and individuals who were not employed by FAM member organizations were not included.

The total number of individuals listed was 87. The number of FAM member participants was 79. Forty questionnaires were returned, for a 50% response rate. This is to be expected with the high turnover rate I observed for the FAM member PVOs. About 20% of PVO employees in the sample underwent some type of occupational change during the year of this project, including

11.5% who moved from one PVO to another or into a government position within the food aid environment. All of the individuals who changed jobs or positions were contacted but few returned questionnaires, likely the result of new job responsibilities taking precedence. Roughly 9.2% of individuals moved out of the food aid environment and were unreachable. Among those who remained in the organization during this study, the response rate was 78%. These rates are summarized in Table 3-2.

The typical respondent for this survey, based on aggregated characteristics, is a female with graduate-level education who has been employed at a food aid PVO for 5.7 years. These individuals rate their participation with FAM at (modal) 4 on a scale of 1 to 5, implying that their participation is high and therefore their responses are well informed and valid. The average age of respondents was 38, though many individuals felt age was not a relevant profile characteristic. The 1977 Quality of Employment survey reported that the typical PVO employee was female, with graduate education, and job tenure in the range of 5 to 10 years (Mirvis and Hackett 1983; Quinn and Staines 2000). The correspondence between my sample and the survey assessment suggests that FAM respondents are representative of the nonprofit community as a whole.

CHAPTER 4 THE CONTEXT OF TITLE II FOOD AID PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the context in which CSs operate, focusing first on the international and domestic legislation that affects Title II food aid. Next, I outline the food aid system for distribution and monetization projects, noting the primary stakeholders, and pointing out instability and uncertainty in the system. Finally, I summarize ways in which instability in an organizational environment has been controlled in the past, drawing on research from organizational theory and from the current activities of FAM and FAM members. Information for this report is drawn primarily from review of international policy, domestic legislation, domestic policy and other relevant materials. Data gathered in interviews with food aid experts chosen by the FAM constituency validates documentary data from archival research.

Background

People once believed that fighting hunger meant making sure that there was ample food produced and available for people around the world. If there were enough access to food, then people would not be hungry or malnourished; people would have food security. The 1974 World Food Summit codified that definition. Food security was considered “the physical availability of food supplies in the event of widespread crop failure” (Institute for Development Studies 1991). Food security experts now know that crop failures are only a partial explanation for widespread food shortages. Ecologists, taking a broader view, predicted that population growth would outpace agricultural production and the earth would overreach its carrying capacity. As time passed, food aid professionals and agricultural specialists (particularly those with the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Bank) realized that improvements in agricultural

technology sharply reduced the possibility of a predicted global food shortage. However, local access to food was and would remain limited in many places (USAID 2000). International development organizations and government agencies around the world moved to add the concept of food access to the concept of availability in the definition of food security. Both of these primary concepts are incorporated into the United Nations definition of food security, adopted by the majority of national and international food security interests including the US (Sphere Project 1998).

Definition of food aid. Food and resource economists learned that even when access to food is adequate, it is often not used in ways that combat hunger and undernourishment. The United States retooled its definition of food security in the 1990 Farm Bill (USAID 1992a), and the definition has been further refined in USAID's Food Aid and Food Security Policy Paper (USAID 1995), and the US Position Paper for the World Food Summit (World Food Summit 1996). The new definition incorporates nutritional policy aspects, particularly the appropriate utilization of food. While opinions may differ on technical aspects of food security programs, US specialists agree that food security encompasses availability, access *and* appropriate utilization to decrease hunger and malnutrition (Clay and Stokke 2000a, Institute for Development Studies 1991, USAID 1992a). This broad definition guides all US food security programs around the world.

Extent of the problem. Ensuring household and individual food security is the primary concern for many organizations working in the developing world. In 2000, there were approximately 828 million chronically undernourished people in the world, mostly women and children. A large majority of these undernourished people live in one of the 87 Low Income Food Deficit Countries (LIFDCs). Forty-one of those LIFDCs are in sub-Saharan Africa, and most of the remainder are in South and East Asia (USAID 2000). Ferguson argues that, "it is in the low income developing countries where rates of absolute population growth are highest that the need to increase food production is greatest" (Ferguson 1990: 2). As local populations increase and

regional food production is challenged to accommodate those increases, the food security crisis in those areas will only become more acute.

Causes of food insecurity. Research agencies like the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and other governmental and nongovernmental interests seek to understand the reasons why individuals have limited access to food. The Bread for the World Institute (BWI 1994) has hypothesized seven causes of hunger, broad enough to encompass the diversity of unique local causes. Political powerlessness may lead to an inability to gain necessary food resources. Violence, militarism or civil unrest may disrupt the supply chain or may lead to political, ethnic or religious groups being denied access to food (see also Kracht 2000, Shoham, et al. 2000). Inability to participate in the global economy may also lead to food shortages, if local agricultural production is less than local food needs. Increasing populations, more food consumption and environmental changes may also lead to hunger, particularly if environmental changes (like droughts) in areas of population increase lead to decreased agricultural production (see also Buckland et al. 2000). Undercutting all of these areas, those with limited abilities (the very old or very young, for example) are often more likely to have less access to food no matter the circumstances (BWI 1994).

In a position paper prepared for the World Food Summit in 1996, representatives of the US suggest that food insecurity has multiple causes, most of which are congruent with those suggested by BWI. The causes were divided into these broad categories: natural disasters, war and civil strife, inappropriate national policies, poverty, barriers to trade, environmental degradation, excessive population growth, gender inequality, poor health, and inadequate development, dissemination, adaptation, and adoption of agricultural and other research and technology (USGAO 1996). The causes of hunger will not be geographically constrained, but will deal the most crushing blows to countries where agricultural production has been low, and where economic purchasing power is not strong enough to combat the problems. This situation is predicted to become more of a dilemma for low-income countries as the Uruguay Round

decisions and the World Trade Organization become operational and global trade is liberalized (Shaw and Singer 1995, Helmar 1994).

There may be differences of opinion on how to classify the causes of food insecurity; and interpretation and determination of those causes may lead researchers to different theoretical conclusions. There is no question, however, that availability, access and, often, utilization of food supplies is problematic in many areas of the world. Many people remain hungry or malnourished. Forecasters suggest that the world's population will continue to increase, doubling in the next forty years. Per capita incomes will rise, and rural to urban migration will continue. These conditions will likely lead to food scarcity in some regions of the world (USAID 1992b). As mentioned before, many World Bank and FAO analysts believe that food production worldwide will continue to increase at a rate to provide food for all, but local supplies may not fare so well. In addition, emergency food needs are increasing at an alarming rate (likely to double in the next ten years) increasing overall worldwide food needs (USAID 2001).

US food aid. In 1954, the US began providing international food relief to combat hunger, malnutrition and food insecurity. In the past, US food aid was considered a way to dispose of commodity surpluses that there was little or no demand for in the United States. Surplus goods were transferred in addition to financial development aid (Saran and Konandreas 1991). Changes in legislation have affected the kinds and amounts of food earmarked for international aid, but the US has remained the largest donor among the primary food aid contributors: the EU, Canada, Japan, and Australia (USAID 2000, 2001). Tightening world markets have led to declining commodity surpluses and questions about the long-term viability of food aid (Pillai 2000, Saran and Konandreas 1991). Nevertheless, agricultural commodities remain a dominant source of development program support worldwide, both for the US and for other international donors, who consider food aid both economical and ethical. In fiscal year (FY) 2000 the US provided about ten million metric tons (MMT) of grains and other commodities, valued at more than 2.4 billion

dollars, to meet food aid goals in 82 developing and reindustrializing countries around the world (USAID 2000).

The five primary goals for U.S. food aid were first formulated in 1954's Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (PL480). They are: to combat hunger worldwide; to promote sustainable development, including agricultural development; to expand international trade; to develop and expand export markets for US agricultural commodities; and to foster and encourage development of private enterprise and democratic participation in developing countries. American food aid has a strong strategic component; humanitarian assistance is "tempered by the realization that such concern can be effectively expressed only by maintaining US strength and global leadership" (USAID 1998a).

Modes of food aid. There are two primary modes of food aid: distribution, where food is delivered to targeted populations, and monetization, where food is sold in local markets and the cash generated is used for development projects. Food aid distribution projects run the gamut from maternal and child feeding programs in Kenya (Teller and Owuor-Omondi 1991) to support for agricultural development projects in Guatemala, where local farmers are provided with food to help them transition from local crops to more lucrative crops like spices (This CARE-supported project is reported in Garst and Barry 1990). Food aid monetization projects range from Agriculture Cooperative Development International/Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (ACDI/VOCA) rural credit programs supporting food producers and processors in Russia (ACDI/VOCA annual report 2000) to Catholic Relief Services' primary education programs in India (CRS 2001).

Through PVO CSs and the World Food Program (WFP), USAID manages the bulk of US food aid projects, which range from emergency relief in countries damaged by war or natural disasters (Mercy Corps 1999, Cohen 2000) to development assistance in countries struggling to privatize or diversify agricultural industries (Garst and Barry 1990). The majority of US food aid

is funded through PL480 Title II programs that provide commodities for distribution, emergency feeding, and monetization projects targeted at international development (Von Braun 1992).

International Food Aid Legislation and Policy

Food Aid Convention. The Food Aid Convention (FAC) provides a minimum operational framework for international food aid. At the 1995 convention, clear determinations were made as to what types of transfers could be considered food aid, what commodities were acceptable as food aid, and what minimum annual contributions would be for the ensuing years. The total minimum amount of food aid for donations from Argentina, Australia, Canada, the EU, Japan, Norway, Switzerland and the US was approximately 5.5 MMT, of which the US provided 2.5 MMT (UNFAC 1995). The 1999 FAC reset minimum annual contributions, decreasing the total to approximately 4.9 MMT. The decreases are primarily in the annual contributions of Australia and the EU, with Canada and Norway increasing their minimum annual contributions (UNFAC 1999). Analysts believe that these amounts are far below actual food needs in LIFDCs (Benson 2000). Fortunately, in the years since the 1995 FAC, donor contributions have been far above the minimum requirements and will probably remain so (Clay and Stokke 2000a).

World Food Summit. The driving force in international food aid policy is the 1996 World Food Summit (Clay and Stokke 2000b). International representatives agreed to attempts to reduce by half the number of chronically malnourished by 2015 (USGAO 1996). At the summit, the first called by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) since 1974, heads of state committed to a broad range of measures to reduce hunger and increase food security. These include ensuring an enabling political, economic and social environment for eradicating poverty; implementing policies aimed at eradicating poverty; and pursuing participatory and sustainable development policies aimed at increasing food supplies and eradicating poverty. Heads of state further committed to meet emergency food needs caused by natural disasters and crises; combat poverty and food insecurity by supporting effective and efficient use of public and private investments; and establish free trade policies that foster food security. These commitments are

elaborated in a plan of action to be implemented, monitored and reviewed by the international community (World Food Summit 1996).

Uruguay Round. The Uruguay Round of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was a series of world commodity trade decisions involving agricultural and governmental sectors in 117 nations. The goal was to ensure that free trade policies and trade liberalization would increase world trade overall, while controlling variation for individual countries and particular commodities. Decision makers believe that net trade increases will make the Uruguay Round decisions worthwhile for all involved. Unfortunately, income growth will offset higher world prices only in countries with industries that benefit from the Uruguay Round.

The trade decisions may have a negative impact on the balance of trade in the least developed countries, increasing imports and decreasing exports (Pandya-Lorch 2000). In the worst case scenario, those countries that do not benefit directly from the Uruguay Round may be unable to import necessary quantities of food leading to national-level food insecurity (Helmar 1994). Early research has shown that the Round *has* led to higher world market prices (Konandreas et al. 2000). There is the possibility that these higher world prices will affect price variability, local domestic prices, and food import bills. All of these factors will hinder the ability of developing countries to secure enough food to meet their needs and will leave those countries that benefit most from the GATT agreements facing some serious questions regarding support for the countries most impacted by the trade decisions (Shaw and Singer 1995).

As a way to combat the negative effect on trade and on food availability in some countries, the Marrakech decision was included as part of the Final Act of the trade negotiations (Konandreas et al. 2000). The Final Act explains the agreed upon response should the Uruguay Round have negative effects on trade for LIFDCs. There are two major food aid provisions included in the Final Act: food aid levels will meet the needs of LIFDCs, and food aid will not be used to circumvent the GATT trade decisions (Shaw and Singer 1995). During a period of review focusing on the effects of the Uruguay Round, food aid donors will be called on to evaluate the

aid levels determined under the FAC and establish new levels that are sufficient to meet the needs of the countries affected by the trade reforms. Decisions made regarding food aid will be reviewed by the WTO's ministerial conference every two years, and may lead to increases in the level of food aid determined under the Food Aid Convention (FAC).

The FAC will face problems of its own regarding food aid. Trade restrictions and adjustments that liberalize international markets directly affect how food aid is considered on national and international tally sheets. Demand for food aid, both emergency and program aid, will increase, partly due to the effects of the Uruguay Round and partly due to the continuing pressures of population growth, globalization, development, climatic change and environmental emergencies. Emergency food aid, in some respects, has a higher profile in the world's eye, is seen as a more ethical and, therefore, a more valid use of food aid commodities and may also lead to the preferential choice of emergency aid over program food aid. Because emergency and program food aid are not distinguished in the FAC documents, food aid will be dominated by demands for emergency food aid, leaving little room for program aid, which has the highest long-term likelihood of helping developing countries manage the effects of Uruguay Round trade liberalization. In addition, trade changes may decrease the amount of food available for donor countries to give as aid. Heightened restrictions on surplus disposal may limit food aid amounts even more.

Importance of food aid. International agreements from the Cairns Group, the EU, and several other developing countries point out the importance of clarifying and reinforcing the international commitment to providing food aid for LIFDCs during the years following the implementation of Uruguay Round decisions. A new food aid regime should loosen restrictions on the kinds of food aid considered acceptable and allow for more multilateral food aid programs, which may follow the structure established by the WFP (Shaw and Singer 1995). The presence of the WFP in the international food aid arena should not be downplayed. The WFP now implements the majority of emergency food aid programs, many of which have evolved into

long-term humanitarian assistance projects with the general aim of providing a food safety net. As a result, WFP has access to a large share of US development dollars, increasingly spent on emergency relief over development project aid, which means fewer cash resources for other PVOs participating in international development activities. Table 4-1 summarizes the major international policy documents relevant for food aid and food security programming.

National Food Aid Legislation and Policy

The shift in development dollars from program aid to emergency relief is a global phenomenon, reflected in international agreements and therefore US food aid legislation. All food aid professionals interviewed for this project agree that United States food aid is driven not only by these international agreements but also by domestic legislation and, most strongly, by domestic policy. The United States has consistently incorporated international decisions regarding operational and policy aspects of food aid into their domestic legislation. The original policy statements and guidelines were set forth in the 1954 Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, known as PL480. The first three titles of PL480 set the various ways in which US commodities can be used for international aid. (Marine Overseas Services n.d., USDA 1996)

PL480. Title I programs, which were once much larger, authorize the sale of commodities to governments and foreign interests with low-interest loans, effectively giving food to countries for payment at a later time. Title II, which covers the largest amount of food aid, provides for emergency and development assistance to countries in need with the cooperation of PVOs, NGOs and, increasingly, the WFP. The goals for Title II projects are to address famine or other extraordinary relief requirements, combat malnutrition, attempt to alleviate causes of hunger, promote economic and community development, promote sound environmental practices, and carry out feeding programs. The organizations that implement these programs are often supported through Section 202(e) of PL480, which makes monies available for establishing new programs, meeting costs for program administration, and ensuring that commodities are used effectively and efficiently. Title III, originally much larger but now the smallest of the US food

aid programs, allows for government to government donations, and is the most strongly linked to US foreign policy and strategy (FAM 1993). Section 203 of PL480 allows for the sale of certain amounts of commodities to provide cash resources for transportation, storage, distribution and administration of Title II food aid programs, or to implement other community development programs that will combat the sources of hunger and poverty. Sections 204 and 206 set minimum levels of assistance (in metric tons) and maximum levels of expenditures to support these projects (in dollars).

Food aid shipments began in 1955, and tonnages increased from 3.4 MMT in 1955 to 14 MMT in 1957, primarily as a means to support US farm incomes. In the 1966 Food for Peace Act, food aid policy perspectives moved away from considering food aid as surplus disposal and toward food aid as a planned response to predicted world food needs. The 1974 Foreign Assistance Act further strengthened the humanitarian emphasis of food aid programs, mandating that the majority of food aid be donated to countries determined by the UN to be “most seriously affected” by food shortages. In 1975, strict limitations were built into PL480 food aid, motivated primarily by the World Food Conference and predicted food shortages.

By 1977, resource economists’ and agronomists’ threats of serious food shortages were past, and the US directed food aid at promoting foreign policy concerns such as increasing human rights and meeting basic human needs. Minimum tonnages were increased, and the Title II budget was increased to \$750 million. To minimize the disincentive effects of large food aid shipments on local economies, the Bellmon Amendment was passed, requiring all Title II programs to provide an analysis of local storage capabilities and local market impact of food shipments (USAID/FFP/PVA 1985). Bellmon analyses are still a major part of any Title II program, required unequivocally for all programs whose food amounts approximate ten percent of local staple food consumption and for all projects that include monetizations (which is, in effect, all Title II programs worldwide). Critics of food aid argue that such large inflows of commodities depress local prices and lead to inadequate agricultural policies in host countries. Those critics

argue further that regardless of Bellmon Analysis results, US food undercuts local market prices and limits the ability of the local farmer or entrepreneur to participate (USAID/FFP/PVA 1985). To combat this problem, many monetizations target the small-lot buyer, improving access to commodities and increasing market participation.

In the Eighties, PL480 was maintained, commodity amounts were increased according to US production, and emergency commodity stockpiles like the Wheat Reserve were created. The 1990 Farm Bill was the next major revision of PL480, highlighting the five major directives for US food aid presented originally in 1954, and reorganizing US food aid under its six Titles (Marine Overseas Services, n.d.). This legislation is revised every five years; the most recent legislation that is supported by US policy is the Federal Agricultural Improvement and Reform Act, referred to as the 1996 Farm Bill. The 2002 Farm Bill, while passed, has not been incorporated fully into US policy.

A 1996 US Department of Agriculture (USDA 1996) Summary of the Farm Bill shows United States' policy growing to accommodate international policy. Title I commodity loan restrictions were lessened, allowing for loans to private entities rather than to government interests, and loan repayment options were broadened. Title II food aid support (in dollars) was more than doubled to \$28 million, and the World Food Program and other intergovernmental entities were deemed acceptable avenues for food aid. Monetization was further institutionalized in the legislation, and third-party monetization was allowed. The minimum percentage of commodities to be sold in the local markets was increased, allowing organizations to recoup shipping, handling and administrative costs. Title IV amendments broadened the range of commodities available for programming under PL480, allowed for greater program flexibility, and provided support for improving operation and administration of US food aid programs. Other amendments allowed Congress to reappropriate available commodities between the various PL480 titles, depending on the most urgent international need.

The 1996 Farm Bill incorporates World Food Summit policy by establishing a procedure for emergency commodity release in the event of serious, unanticipated need. To provide commodities in case of such an emergency, food banks are established where grains will be stockpiled. Uruguay Round and GATT provisions are also incorporated into the 1996 Farm Bill, which provides for monitoring and evaluation of other GATT signatories and provides for Uruguay Round contingencies.

Table 4-1: Summary of domestic and international food aid policy and legislation

International Policy	National Policy	National Legislation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Food Aid Convention ▪ Title 10 of GATT ▪ Uruguay Round of GATT, incl. Ministerial Decision on LIFDCs ▪ Current Department of Agriculture Platform on trade negotiations ▪ FAO surplus commodity disposal committee usual marketing requirement determinations ▪ UNWFP and its policies, specifically its agreement with US ▪ World Food Summit 1996 documentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDA regulations for food aid programs 7CFR210 ▪ 'Regulation 11' for AID programs ▪ 'Regulation 14' for shipping ▪ USDA policy/ guidelines ▪ USAID policy/guidelines incl. MNTZ manual, FY and DAP guidance ▪ FFP policy letters ▪ Other regulations in federal register ▪ Commodity reference guides ▪ FAFSPP ▪ ISA guidance ▪ OMB circulars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PL480 ▪ Agricultural Trade and Development Assistance Act of 1954, as amended ▪ Section 416 of Agriculture Act 1949 ▪ CCC Charter Act ▪ Merchant Marine Act of 1936, cargo preference sections ▪ Section 110 of Food Security Act of 1985 (food for progress) ▪ Each FYs agriculture conference report and annual Appropriations reports

Policy clauses that support international law exist alongside clauses that support US agricultural interests, US strategic objectives and US export and trade interests. The US has incorporated the international interests for a number of reasons. First, it is considered good foreign policy. Second, in many ways, providing commodities for international needs supports domestic agricultural production, US shipping interests, and US trade interests, which stimulates the US economy. Third, as mentioned before, international emergency and development relief is a highly visible activity that many US citizens consider to be the ethical, humanitarian thing to do, improving the profile of the US government both domestically and internationally. Some food aid specialists believe that the levels set in international congresses are too broad to be useful,

allowing domestic legislation to be equally flexible, and leaving the majority of programming and operational details to be determined through policy decisions and interpretations. This makes policy decisions the most important factors to consider when designing food aid programs.

In 2002, the Congress passed a new Farm Bill, which affected food aid policy, strategy, and project implementation for the United States. The Food Aid Consultative Group, which in 1996 was broadened to include agricultural and commercial interests, worked actively to ensure that the new bill satisfied all stakeholders. Debates centered on the importance and appropriateness of commodity monetization for development programming. A recent General Accounting Office paper suggested that the costs of monetization outweighed the benefits, concluding that the 2002 Farm Bill should reduce a PVO's ability to sell commodities for local currency (USOMB 2001:Section 13). Other food aid specialists believe that the impact of monetized commodities can be shown to be greater in assisting sustainable development than is simple food distribution (FAM 1999a). Whichever the case, as development dollars become increasingly scarce, and as more of those scarce dollars are allocated to emergency relief (through agencies such as the WFP), the percentage of PVO projects that must monetize for cash to run programs is increasing, making the monetization debate critical. The debate is ongoing, and contributes a large amount of uncertainty into the food aid arena, in the legislature, at the PVO headquarters level and at the field level where projects are implemented. Table 4-1 summarizes the important national policy and legislation for food aid activities.

Stakeholders

While Title I and Title III food aid programs are important, the focus for this report is Title II programs because they comprise the majority of US food aid and focus on the types of projects that taxpayers see as US humanitarian aid. They involve the US government, PVO CSs, local governments, local populations, American farmers, and many other stakeholders concerned with getting commodities from US farms to families in need in LIFDCs. Konandreas (1987) argues that food aid flows are influenced by a number of factors, including level of commodities

in donor countries, world commodity prices, donor country commitments, development objectives for donor countries, and humanitarian considerations in donor countries. Underlying all of these factors are uncontrollable environmental concerns that introduce uncertainty into the world commodities market. The relative importance of these factors varies from country to country and from year to year. In this section, I outline how food aid distribution and monetization programs happen, elaborating a little on each major player.

Title II, administered by USAID, is now generally seen as the flagship of food aid, managing the largest amount of commodities and dollars in cooperation with a number of American and International NGOs and PVOs (USAID 2000). The process by which commodities are moved from US farmers' land to, for example, a maternal and child feeding program in Africa is, Konandreas argues, "an increasingly complex international food aid system...both in logistics and institutions involved" (1987: 91). Delivering food assistance requires coordination among commodity suppliers, package manufacturers, domestic transportation and ocean carriers, input from PVOs, the WFP (Faaland et al. 2000), Cooperating Sponsors and foreign governments (CCC 1996). Rather than describe the system in the traditional, top-down manner, I begin with the recipients, who are often considered last in a discussion of food aid project implementation (Doornbos 2000).

Recipients. Food aid recipients are as varied as the organizations that administer the programs and the farmers that provide the commodities. They live in 82 countries around the world, primarily in Sub-Saharan Africa, South and East Asia, Latin America and European and Newly Independent Countries. They may be women and infants, school age children, the elderly, political refugees, or survivors of natural disasters (CARE 2001, Mercy Corps 1999, PCI 2001). These individuals might be undernourished. The food provided will act directly to improve their diets is best considered nutritional support. Sometimes the food provided might be more effectively considered an income transfer, allowing individuals to free household capital for other activities or for other necessities that the food itself could not provide. More often, recipients

benefit from agriculture or health and nutrition projects completed with funds from monetized food aid, while enjoying lower market prices for commodities. Further, recipients of Title II programs in which commodities are totally monetized may see no direct benefits from their projects, particularly those targeting agricultural change or public health campaigns, but may receive indirect benefits that improve overall quality of life.

Host countries. In any project, PVOs attempt to meet the needs of an underserved area where a host government's resources or a nation's economic activities have difficulty reaching. Usually these plans are built into the organization's strategic objectives. In some cases, PVOs enter areas without invitation from host governments. In other cases, PVOs will only enter areas at the request of the host government or of the local population. A targeted area's needs are assessed and the site provides the impetus for the particular program to be designed. After the framework of the project is created, the rest of the details are negotiated with governmental interests, local community members, and USAID missions. Often other multinational interests are consulted, and their input is considered in the design of the development activity. Each stakeholder has their own goals for the project, and the idea is to meet as many of those as possible with one project design. Project design, too, must consider the technical expertise of the particular PVO and what technical activities must be contracted out to ensure success. It seems simple to design a project that meets the needs of an area with development resources, but when the desires of the stakeholders do not coincide, the problems may overcome any activity, no matter how strong the desire on all parts to do good work. Balancing the interests of donors, programming organizations and local communities may prove too complex.

Food aid organizations. There are thirty or more organizations that implement Title II programs in 56 countries and three regions around the world (USAID 2000). Each Title II organization must submit a Development Activity Proposal (DAP) for approval to USAID (USAID/BHR/FFP 2001). The majority of these organizations are PVOs that work in cooperation with the US government and sometimes with the governments of recipient countries to transport,

store, and distribute food aid. In addition, these organizations are charged with conducting baseline surveys, monitoring the progress of the projects and evaluating them at their completion, to determine whether the programs affected the targeted group. In many ways Cooperating Sponsor employees must be skilled in a number of tasks including commodities exchange, shipping and receiving, nutritional analysis, anthropometric data collection and analysis, social project implementation, agricultural and small enterprise development, and often political lobbying (USAID Office of Procurement 1998; Checchi-Louis Berger 1999).

US government. Food Aid programs revolve around what one food aid specialist calls an axis of “legislation, regulation, policy and personality.” Congress is responsible for setting US food aid policy, incorporating international policy decisions and allocating monies earmarked yearly to buy US commodities for food aid. Title II organizations must remain aware of and lobby for appropriate developments in the legislature, primarily because legislation is the only part of the procedural axis that *must* be followed. After legislative concerns are past, Title II organizations must follow USAID and USDA policy decisions about which commodities will be available for food aid. Title II organizations must submit proposals for their various development activities around the world, which are reviewed and approved by officers at FFP (USAID 2001).

The FFP office is the most direct link between the government and the PVOs that oversee food aid programs.² The FFP officers are responsible for handling increasing numbers of food aid proposals with decreasing numbers of employees (and fewer technical experts with less knowledge of field realities) and in an environment of drastic change (Checchi-Louis Berger 1999). FFP determines how many tons of commodities each organization receives for each country to be assisted, provides the appropriated funds to the USDA for commodity purchases and manages Title II development projects for results, including review of monitoring and evaluation data from the projects to determine any measurable change. More than half of the PVO

² As part of a larger re-engineering program for the federal government, FFP has been decreasing the number of employees and managing for results.

representatives contacted agree that the five-year time frame built into development activities is too short to see any significant change. They also agree that the management and monitoring burden on PVOs requires the expenditure of time and resources that should be dedicated to program strategy, implementation and improvement.

Distribution projects. In a distribution project, the US government buys commodities from large agro-industries such as Cargill, which likewise buys commodities from farmers across the United States. Marketing specialists with the USDA maintain purchase announcements and lists of vendors who provide food for humanitarian aid, and ensure competitive prices for food aid commodities. At this stage nutritional content, packaging, and transport are considered to ensure that the commodities delivered meet local needs (both in quality and in quantity). The commodities purchased are not earmarked for export or for domestic use and are often subject to the changes brought about by vagaries in the growing season, changes in commercial uses, and the domestic and international market systems (Lee 1999). Generally the commodities used in Title II aid are rice, wheat, corn, soybeans, sunflowers, beans, peas, and lentils (USAID 2000).

When a PVO calls forward an allotment (called a tranche) of commodities, USDA specialists review the documentation and determine the validity of the request. USAID is contacted to ensure that there are funds available for the purchase. If the commodity is available, or can be procured, an invitation for bids is issued. This invitation outlines the specific needs of the PVO for the particular project, and result in sealed bids from the vendors. The bids are reviewed and contracting officers make decisions regarding who will be chosen to provide, process and transport the needed commodities. After the award has been made, vendors begin producing the commodities. This may include cleaning, sorting, packing and shipping for items such as dried beans, and may also include milling and blending with powdered milk or other enrichment additives for items such as corn-soy blend. After the commodities are processed and packaged, they are transferred to the port, loaded onto shipping vessels, shipped and received at the recipient port, unloaded into storage facilities, inspected, and protected from pests, vandals

and thieves. For a distribution, the food will be transported to the target location and distributed to the appropriate section of the population.

Monetization projects. Monetization is different. According to a Food Aid Management monetization workshop for PVO headquarters staff, selling American commodities in the markets of developing areas adds a number of unique tasks to commodity management. The outcome of the procedure changes from making sure that food reaches the desired targets to making sure that the food is sold and the money collected is used for a particular project and that the project reaches the target population. Not only must the commodities be packed, transported, loaded, shipped, offloaded, stored, and dispersed but the commodities must be put up for sale by tender or negotiation, the sales must be monitored, monies must be collected and handled in foreign currencies using foreign banks, legal sales contracts must be written and signed, and bank transfers of money must be made. In addition, monetization projects must satisfy USAID's regulations for environmental impact and storage capabilities, for monitoring and evaluation and commodity management, as well as for financial transparency, cost recovery, benchmark policy, market impact and legality. The reporting requirements alone make a monetization project much more work intensive than a traditional distribution, evidenced by the existence of both an USAID Monetization field manual (1998b) and a FAM Monetization manual (1999a) to provide guidance (not to mention monetization manuals for individual organizations). Both in process and in outcome, a monetization project is an entirely different entity; both projects have their respective places in the food aid and food security context, requiring their own unique (and often mutually exclusive) skill sets.

Organizational Environment

In even the simplest system, uncertainty must be considered. In the complex system of Title II food aid, there is a large possibility for uncertainty or at least for instability, volatility and change. This does not seem unusual, given the large number of system inputs, the number of stakeholders, the multiplicity of locations in which events take place, the amount of reporting,

monitoring and evaluation that must occur, and the vast number of transactions involved, particularly in a project that includes monetization. Lee alludes to the complexity of the process (1999), as does the Commodity Credit Corporation (1996), Garst and Barry (1990), and Smelser (1997). Some experts interviewed consider the food aid environment to be a punctuated equilibrium, with periods of stability interrupted at critical points by extreme volatility. However, this is only at the policy level. At the procedural level, there is unanimous agreement among food aid experts that there is constant change.

In this section, I review a few sources of that instability, looking later at ways in which Title II organizations may work to overcome them. I have limited my discussion of environmental uncertainty to those areas that I believe are most relevant to Title II organizations. While it is true that an unstable organizational and institutional environment affects government agencies, local governments and recipients, consideration of all of the stakeholders is beyond the scope of this report.

At the most basic level, the earth's environment introduces a large amount of uncertainty. Climatic changes and natural disasters affect the amount of food available for food aid worldwide, as well as the amount of emergency food aid needed around the world (Buckland et al. 2000). Shortages in European countries may change levels of American exports, leading to less available commodities for food aid. A particularly active hurricane season may drastically increase the emergency food aid needs of Latin American and Caribbean countries (Pandya-Lorch 2000). The same hurricane season may affect American harvests leading to a sharp decline in the amount of grains available to send to needy countries.

Since emergency food aid is considered most important, levels are adjusted accordingly. Therefore, in Title II programs where aid amounts are capped, project food aid to PVOs is decreased in times of larger emergency food aid need when most development dollars and commodities go to the WFP (Shaw and Singer 1995). In addition, American food aid levels are

linked to the amount of commodities that the European community can and will provide for food aid, likewise linked to economic and environmental factors (Thirion 2000).

At the level of Title II recipients, the possibilities of civil unrest or war also affect emergency food aid needs (Kracht 2000). Frankenburger argues that conflict, or general political instability, underlies most food insecurity because an unstable country or geographical area is unable to provide for other types of emergencies. And just as environmental crises are often unpredictable, so are ethnic, religious, or political uprisings. There are some early warning systems, but the threat of uprising may remain stable for years and then suddenly change. In fact, any of the causes of hunger presented in the introductory section may affect food aid recipients, and, since many of them are unpredictable, they also contribute to an unstable food aid environment.

Focusing on Title II organizations themselves, there are a number of reasons why the food environment is unstable. Nelson suggests that “the problems encountered in such operations can be truly enormous: for example, complicated negotiations and ordering, international transport lags and bottlenecks, pressures on limited domestic infrastructure capacity, and stock management difficulties” (1981: 6). These problems arise on the ground, where there are often limited possibilities for complete success. Most organizations feel satisfied with a limited statement of success, meaning sometimes that food was distributed and that there are some indicators of improved household nutrition, but there may not be statistically significant results (Smelser 1997). The limited possibility for unequivocal success in these projects is related to a vast number of variables, many of which are unidentifiable at the inception of a Title II project, and many are unforeseeable, making many Title II projects very difficult tasks (Raikes 1988). Interviews with Title II area experts corroborate this opinion, many of them arguing that the operational demands alone are often far beyond the abilities of some organizations new to Title II programs. The existence of USAID’s Institutional Support Agreements also supports this position (USAID Office of Procurement 1998).

Monetization leads to more concern over how projects are implemented on the ground. Monetization adds an entirely new set of procedures to an already complex development activity, and those procedures must be completed successfully before the development program can begin at all. Since monetization is relatively new in the history of food aid and is growing in its relative frequency in international development activities, codified procedures continue to evolve and there is uncertainty introduced to the completion of development programs on the ground. As previously discussed, there are also debates over the use of monetization as an end itself to assist in developing markets in particular areas. With the debates over the impact of monetization as heated as they are currently, additional uncertainty exists for development programmers who must contend with monetization's uncertain future as an acceptable source for cash in food aid programming.

At PVO headquarters' offices, there are whole new classes of problems associated with the implementation and backstopping of food aid projects. Many problems regarding administration and interaction with other organizations and governmental agencies are dealt with at this level. One food aid specialist argues that the large majority of problems and uncertainties in food aid programs come from the diversity of tasks PVOs are expected to perform coupled with inefficiencies and lack of technical experts on staff to guide strategy and implementation. Another specialist argues that the amount of monitoring paperwork required in such a short time frame hinders food aid specialists from completing projects because time must be dedicated to completing necessary reports rather than to the project at hand. Delay resulting from lags in document review may lead to breaks in implementation and may have serious programmatic repercussions for PVOs.

Even if the project is perfectly designed and has no possibility for failure, it may be that legislative whims or changes in commodity allocations affect the project. A multiyear project may have its operating tonnages cut midproject as a result of decisions made at governmental or agency levels. There is precedent for this in the drastic reduction in aid tonnages in 1996/1997,

which had a profound affect on the provision of food aid world wide and affected the ability of Title II organizations to execute their projects effectively. Issues regarding the sale of commodities in a monetization project, particularly relative to expected market price and actual market price, introduce uncertainty to headquarters operations. If commodity sales will not provide sufficient resources for a development program, headquarters offices must react quickly to remedy the situation.

There are other problems with workload, technical expertise, staff turnover, extensive travel, and problems of implementation that I have been unable to discuss in this section that only serve to exacerbate the instability of the environment. However, this summary of the ways in which the Title II organizational environment is uncertain, has been building to a point. Title II organizations (and probably many other PVOs working in food aid) must be flexible to accommodate changes, and must implement a number of measures to achieve that flexibility. It is not unusual to find that coping with environmental uncertainty is necessary for organizational viability (Duncan 1972, Hirsch 1998). Most food aid experts would agree with the comment made by one senior headquarters employee: a volatile work environment is the nature of the beast.

What becomes problematic is determining the kind of environment in which an organization operates and what variables best act as parameters for that environment (Duncan, 1972). The problem intensifies for nonprofit organizations simply because much of the theoretical research that could be used to generate frameworks for understanding (and thereby controlling) the environment fails to consider nonprofit-specific or service-based activities. Nevertheless, Duncan's framework of factors and components that comprise an organization's internal and external environment including organizational personnel, organizational structure, organizational goals and objectives, technological concerns, customer concerns, supplier and competitor concerns, as well as the sociopolitical environment is useful (1972). Even the most cursory review of PVO Title II activities provides a curious observer with enough examples of

uncertainty in each of these components to agree that the PVO environment is unstable. PVO experts have difficulty defining exactly which parameters within the environment are most volatile or unstable, though research has shown that organizational environments have certain characteristics that are ‘drivers’ of organizational change (Boyd et al. 1993, Dill 1958, Downey 1975, Duncan 1972, Emery and Trist 1965, Lorenzi et al. 1981, Miles and Snow 1978, Milliken 1987, Williams 2000). What aspects are most unstable remain to be shown with quantitative measures.

Emery and Trist (1965) would call the type of environment in which Title II PVOs work a “turbulent field.” Turbulent fields are dynamic and volatile environments where changes arise not only from within the organization but also from the environment. Dill (1958) argues that unstable environments and the ability of managers to gather information about those environments directly affect management behaviors. I believe that not only are management behaviors affected, but also organizational structure, institutional beliefs, and organizational behaviors. I also believe that the complexity of organizational environments and their link to organizational behaviors have only increased in the years since Dill’s paper was published. In the next section, I review relevant organizational literature and present characteristics common to organizations working in the presence of uncertainty from many different sources.

Organizational Adaptations

Research focusing on nonprofit, voluntary and collective organizations suggests that there may be organizational responses to uncertain environments that help mitigate the circumstances. These responses might include confining organizational activities to a particular niche within an organizational environment, structuring organizations in ways that accommodate environmental change, encouraging employee flexibility and role generalization within organizations, collaboration between similar organizations, and in some cases, resource sharing. In this section, I review some of the literature on this topic, incorporating examples of the various types of behavior from the activities of FAM and FAM members. The point here is to show how

Title II CSs have responded to changes in the environment and how their responses compare and contrast with other organizational responses reported in the organizational literature.

One way to confine environmental uncertainty is to limit operations to a very small, more controllable area. Similar to a biological species choosing a particular niche (such as nocturnal hunting), these behaviors move organizations from a generalist perspective into a specialist perspective. With less of the uncertain environment to handle, threats to organizational survival are limited, and organizational members can focus on refining a limited number of skills, rather than collecting a large number of general skills. Hannan and Freeman (1977) argue that even though generalist organizations are often optimal for uncertain environments, when environments change rapidly and drastically, specialist organizations are most successful, a point that is seconded by Heydebrand (1989).

If a nonprofit organization chooses not to limit itself to a particular niche, one of the most important ways to address uncertainty is to structure organizations to accommodate changes easily. Basically, this means relying on organizational structures that are less hierarchical and/or that contain subunits that are somewhat independent. This allows for more ease in decision-making and shortens response times for changes that must be dealt with quickly. Schiflett and Zey (1990) argue that many nonprofit organizations exhibit a decentralized distribution of power with multiple power bases and loosely coupled processes. Many Title II CSs adopt this structure at the ground level, where food is shipped, received, monetized and distributed. Others incorporate this strategy all the way through headquarters level.

Moving from organizational structures to organizational behaviors that moderate the environment, the behavioral equivalent of semiautonomous, non-hierarchical structure is role generalization. Role generalization means that many different employees have the skills to perform a wide number of tasks that may arise in the course of a particular project. Employees have a number of skill sets that overlap, so that if the occasion arises there are a number of individuals who may be able to handle a crisis or solve a 'pop-up' problem. Mirvis and Hackett

argue that compared to government and for-profit employees, nonprofit employees feel “less fettered by centralization and controls, have more autonomy in doing their jobs” (1983, 8). Contact with the human resources departments of FAM member organizations supports this assertion, with many departments able to determine the number of employees working in a particular geographical area, but few able to determine those who work within a particular programmatic area. While this may not be the most efficient or rational way to structure a business or market organization, research has shown this type of behavior to be very effective for organizations where things happen unexpectedly.

Another way to limit risk in an uncertain environment is to share resources with other organizations. Scarce resources still lead to competition, though there is institutional pressure toward cooperation in the nonprofit world, when it is appropriate. For many nonprofits sharing resources and dividing tasks means limited resources are used as effectively as possible for group success rather than individual success. Often there are group goals that must be met in a particular area (such as the development of rigorous monitoring and evaluation measures for Title II projects), and sharing of resources helps to meet the group goals more quickly. The new atmosphere of cooperation among Title II PVOs means that organizations have access to more technical information than ever before, as a result of increased communication between organizations at all levels, particularly between employees who have the same job. Organizational representatives interviewed for this report agreed that this was indeed evident in FAM activities and useful for development project implementation.

Hasenfeld and Gidron (1993), studying self-help groups and human service organizations, found that if situations arise in which organizations depend on each other or a common third party (USAID) for resources and the organizations share similar domains, missions and structures, cooperation may arise in the form of coordinated action or coalition building. Here, resources are shared and collective action is chosen as a means to achieve organizational goals. This mode of action is the most collectivist of all the organizational behaviors considered

here and requires the largest amount of investment on the part of each of the organizations. Organizations agree not only to share resources but also employees and time to solve a problem of mutual concern. FAM's activities fall into this category. The collaborative approach is often considered most risky because there may not be any direct or measurable improvement for an individual organization, though an increased measure of environmental control may be the outcome. Collective action is highly uncertain and often is very political. Because the investment of time, resources and employees is not directly related, this type of response is the most likely to be cut if other situations arise.

One way to ensure that collaboration continues is to create ways in which collaboration is formalized. Peter Holm argues that formalized cooperative agreements emerge as a way for organizations in unstable environments to "reconcile the inherent contradiction between individual and collective interests" (1998, 322). Many organizational collectives have been created to do just that, a point made by Litwak and Hylton in their analysis of coordinating agencies (1962). InterAction, for one, manages a collective of organizations that share a common outlook on operations (InterAction 1995). The CORE group is a similar collective of child survival organizations. And FAM, funded through an ISA (formerly ISG) agreement, has been coordinating and supporting the collective activities of Title II organizations for more than twelve years (Mason 2001). When collective action is formalized, there are means to monitor and evaluate that collaboration, well-defined avenues for collaboration, and defined roles for each player in the collective. Until collaboration becomes systematic and institutionalized, this is the most successful means of ensuring cooperation, given the high rate of turnover in the PVO community and the variability of personal commitment to collaboration.

In development circles, Title II food aid is a very valuable resource that can be used to keep operating costs down for many PVOs, operating costs being defined as all of the costs associated with a development program, from headquarters administration to field-level distribution. Nonprofit organizations must constantly justify overhead expenses, and must find

ways to make their operations effective and cost efficient. Food aid commodities can be a way for organizations to increase the total amount of income that the organization can use for its activities, leading to increased competition for food aid commodity resources. This competition often prohibited interaction and led to the doubling of efforts and the inefficient and ineffective use of resources provided for development projects. FAM activities introduce a cooperative spirit to the development organizational environment. This cooperative spirit is encouraged by activities that provide the structural and behavioral opportunity for organizations to work together on activities where positive change can occur, increasing capacity to work together to solve common problems. As mentioned by a number of Title II experts, the process itself leads to the institutionalization of cooperative activity, while the products of the interactions improve FAM member organizations' ability to design and implement food aid programming. FAM works to encourage friendly competition for resources while stressing the importance of collaborative action, since both build the capacity of member organizations.

Coordinated action between organizations in a turbulent environment leads to a number of outcomes. One of the primary ones is the convergence of values and beliefs among organizations and organizational employees, leading organizations to become even more similar than they were before (Emery and Trist 1965, Hasenfeld and Gidron 1993, Holm 1998, Pennings 1981). Interviews with organizational representative suggest that this may be true in terms of operational and policy activities but not in terms of organizational philosophies, which are often drastically different. Collective action also leads to organizational learning and consensus building in other areas of organizational activity and organizational behavior (Kelleher 1996). For example, FAM member organizations have worked together on creating a monetization handbook and providing subsequent training workshops using that handbook, which help to routinize a procedure that was once highly variable. The adoption of these new procedures by member organizations also makes them appear more similar to each other. These activities bring a measure of control into the environment and help stabilize the organizations (Emery and Trist

1965). The organizations that participate in collective activities can also identify which organizations are similar to themselves, and which organizations would be the best to start relationships with (CARE 2001).

One food aid professional argues that without FAM's influence over the years providing the coordination and the structure for collaboration on common operational problems, any move toward that end would be merely talk. Larry Greiner (1972) argues in the Harvard Business Review that the history of an organization is important to consider as an organization grows and changes successfully. It is to FAM's history that I turn next, focusing on how changes in the Title II environment have been confronted by FAM. The goal is to highlight important moments in FAM's history paying special attention to how FAM has continued to support and encourage collective action and has stabilized an unstable environment.

CHAPTER 5 A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON FOOD AID MANAGEMENT

Introduction

This chapter outlines trends and accomplishments in FAM's history to situate FAM in the context of Title II food aid programs. All of FAM's accomplishments have been collaborative, their execution impossible without the involvement of each member organization. Some of these accomplishments relate to organizational interaction, like the four worldwide monetization workshops, or the cooperative child survival and nutrition workshop. Some of these accomplishments are material, like the *Monetization Manual* (1999a), the *Generally Accepted Commodity Accounting Principles* (1995a), and the *Environmental Documentation Manual* (1998, 1999b). These documents are the result of FAM's collaborative activities. Others accomplishments are institutional, by which I mean collections of activities that have led to structural and behavioral changes in the Title II milieu that encourage cooperation in ways that might not have occurred without the presence of FAM.

After a background section describing the circumstances that led to FAM's initial grant, I outline how FAM's collaborative workshops led to the coalescence of opinion and policy on subjects germane to Title II activities like food aid standards and monetization. The second section notes key documentary products of interorganizational collaboration, most of them directly or indirectly related to the workshops and other activities FAM has supported since 1989. The final section approaches FAM's history from a broader perspective, explaining how FAM's work has provided opportunities for collaboration that were previously nonexistent and has encouraged collaboration spirit in the face of competition for increasingly scarce development resources. The last section stands as the most important, because activities associated with

creating an institutional environment of cooperation are most relevant to understanding the development of a collective with a common outlook.

I based this report on FAM archival materials and interviews with those individuals identified by the FAM membership as expert in FAM's history. I reviewed minutes from membership meetings and steering committee meetings, grant proposals, communications with USAID, FFP, midterm and final evaluations, and other relevant archival documents (FAM Archive Binders 1–4, FAM Archive Box 1, FAM Meeting Minutes Binders 1–3, Mason 2001). There are places in FAM's history where archival documentation is sparse, because of organizational changes or times when other activities took higher priority. I supplemented documentary accounts of these time periods with interviews with FAM history experts. Editorial input from the FAM membership on early drafts of this report ensured that this history points out the events, documents and ongoing activities that reflect the collective idea of FAM's development. Major FAM events are summarized in Table 5-1.

Background

The mid-Eighties were volatile times for US-based international development activities. The famine in Ethiopia brought relief and development agencies into the spotlight. American development organizations were pushed to increase transparency and accountability in their programs while those programs increased in number and in complexity. The government began to stress monitoring and evaluation procedures to show the impact of development projects and food aid. Monetization activities were approved and implemented for the first time. Instead of maintaining large, long-standing agreements with a small number of aid organizations, USAID began entering into agreements with smaller and younger organizations. The proliferation of new organizations, activities, policies and mandates led to an environment of great change for the Title II community. USAID, particularly the office of FFP, recognized how complex the new requirements pressed on the community were and realized they would require a host of new

activities. Members of USAID were also aware that many PVOs simply did not have the capacity to perform all of the new tasks effectively (FAM Archive Binder 1; FAM 1989).

USAID proposed a series of grants to help Title II organizations improve project design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Most of these grants were awarded to individual organizations. However, budget concerns led to cutbacks in the resources available for capacity building grants. To increase the impact of limited resources, USAID encouraged the formation of consortia of Title II food aid organizations. USAID could then support a consortium's activities and thus support multiple organizations (FAM Archive Binder 1). USAID's policy on Title II program activities encouraged collaboration and requested more streamlined standards, procedures, policies, and reporting for accountability reasons.

The CSs at the time believed that there were topics of interest to the whole food aid community that could be best addressed through interactive and collaborative means, saving resources and reducing the duplication of efforts that had become characteristic of many food aid activities. In the initial proposal (FAM Archive Binder 1, FAM 1989), Tom Zopf explained that food aid was "a complex undertaking with responsibilities shared among a number of governmental and private entities" (FAM 1989), revealing the need for a collaborative consortium to solve common problems. These became the primary motivations behind FAM's original USAID proposal in 1989 (FAM Archive Binder 1). FAM's proposed activities would serve needs expressed by FAM members and USAID, focusing on the development of technical information and procedures specific to Title II organizations.

In 1989, USAID granted five Title II PVOs support for collaborative activities aimed at systematizing and codifying knowledge, practice and policy relating to emergency food aid and development assistance. The grant provided the seed money for FAM, a consortium of organizations whose staff facilitates collaboration and dissemination of information about management and operation of food aid programs.

The founding members of FAM were the five largest food aid programmers at the time: CARE, Save the Children (SAVE), Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), World Vision (WV), and Catholic Relief Services (CRS). The initial proposal explained that new accountability requirements led to confusion concerning roles in establishing policies, guidelines and procedures. FAM could target and explore issues of mutual concern in a collaborative manner, helping PVOs gain experience with policy, accountability and procedure development (FAM 1989). In 2002, FAM had 16 PVO members involved in Title II programming (FAM 2002). Experts in FAM's history and current activity agree that through collaborative activities, this interorganizational cooperative has helped streamline food aid policy and procedure in an area where diversity management styles and organizational philosophies likely would have hindered positive change. Instead, FAM members contribute their time and expertise for the development of documents and procedures that conserve institutional memory in the Title II context.

Interactive Highlights

One of FAM's primary functions is facilitating collaboration between Title II CSs on topics relevant to improving food aid activities. Activities vary from large, multi-organizational conferences to quarterly meetings and brown bag talks, with subjects ranging from the development of common food aid standards to the use of genetically modified commodities in food aid programs (FAM 2001a). These meetings serve a number of purposes. The first is the dissemination of technical information so that FAM members can work more efficiently and effectively. Rather than each organization locating, synthesizing and communicating new developments, the organizations work together through FAM to achieve this common goal. Food aid experts and FAM experts agree that these shared activities allow more relevant work to be done with fewer resources, important in a time of declining dollar support for development work.

FAM meetings provide the opportunity for employees with the same position or job duties from different organizations to meet and interact. For example, monetization officers at

Africare have the opportunity to interact with monetization officers at WV or ADRA. Individuals who do the same job in their respective organizations can share information and develop personal relationships. The impact of these opportunities for formal and informal interaction cannot be underestimated. They standardize the Title II environment at the headquarters level. All FAM experts interviewed agreed that these interactions have led to a more casual atmosphere and to willingness for cooperation that was previously not apparent and that is now considered a great benefit to PVO employees.

Originally, the FAM SC and the general membership were the same; each FAM meeting was a meeting of both bodies. Meetings covered FAM's administrative activities, management issues, work plan reviews and any other items relevant to FAM's general operation. Then, attention turned to an agreed on topic for discussion. The topical sessions focused on providing technical information on monetization, on the impact of the Farm Bill or on providing accountability information required by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) circular 133 (FAM Meeting Minutes Binder 1–3). Usually, if Congress enacted any legislation regarding food aid or the food aid community, FAM provided a forum for the discussion of the new legislation. On many occasions this led FAM members to develop technical bibliographies or guidelines for dissemination to the member organizations. FAM's first major activity, the accountability task force, came out of one such meeting during which it was decided that the food aid community should respond to increasing audit frequency and detail (FAM Archive Binder 1).

During FAM's early years, funds were also allocated for developing common food aid standards. Many of FAM's primary objectives for the first seven years are the result of a food aid conference held in Cairo in 1990, during which members of the food aid community discussed a the need for common food aid standards, policy and practices (FAM Archive Binder 1). This meeting was notable because members of the PVO community were present (both headquarters and field agents) along with governmental representatives from USAID, USDA, and other involved agencies. Participants' initial response was very positive, based on the support for

collaborative activity and the spirit of interaction that was fostered. Recommendations charging USAID with the responsibility for developing food aid standards and policies, tempered USAID's positive response somewhat, though their support for collaborative activity was still strong (FAM Archive Binder 1).

FAM held other workshops on topics relevant to the current activities of its membership, like nutrition, environmental documentation, monetization, and local capacity building. At these meetings, experts in the various fields presented FAM members with state of the art technical information. When appropriate technical information was not available, FAM spearheaded campaigns to gather, synthesize and disseminate information so member organizations could complete their food aid projects effectively. These workshops and the technical information that has grown out of them are considered FAM's most important physical outputs and form the cornerstone of many Title II programming activities for many FAM member organizations. In fact, all FAM and food aid experts interviewed listed FAM products when asked which policy and procedure documents were integral to the design and implementation of a food aid program. In 1990, the Food Aid Resource Material (FARM) clearinghouse grew out of FAM's information gathering and disseminating activities. The FARM clearinghouse is now called the FSRC, where FAM maintains a highly focused library of food aid and food security resources for its members and for individuals working in the food aid sector (FAM Archive Binder 1).

FAM's working groups are another result of workshops held in which appropriate, comprehensive documentation and tools were not available. FAM took responsibility for coordinating and supporting these groups. Informal working groups began in 1990, but the groups were reorganized and formally recognized in 1998 at the beginning of FAM's current ISA the result of the FAM annual meeting at Coolfont in West Virginia (FAM Archive Binder 3-4, FAM Archive Box 1). These working groups remain one of the most important activities that FAM supports. Current working groups focus on local capacity building, monitoring and evaluation, monetization, and environmental compliance. Responding to needs in the PVO community,

working groups in HIV/AIDS programming, child survival, nutrition, and commodity management have been proposed.

In 1990, FAM also began briefing CSs on the state of food aid, highlighting legislation, policy and guidance from the various governmental agencies. These briefings grew into food aid orientations for organizations new to Title II activities or interested in starting Title II activities (FAM Archive Binder 1). FAM was primary organization providing general information about the mechanics of food assistance managed through USAID (and to some degree through USDA). The Purposes, Responsibilities and Obligations seminars are the most refined version of these introductory briefings, which continued through the mid-Nineties (FAM Archive Binder 1–2).

FAM also acted as a means for CSs to inform each other about internal training classes and workshops open to other FAM member organizations, reducing duplication and encouraging collaboration. An early example of this is FAM members' participation in CARE's commodity storage training program and the adoption of the commodity storage manual by FAM members in 1990 (FAM Archive Binder 1). A training calendar that lists current events and activities remains a part of the FAM website (one of the most popular pages), evidence that FAM member organizations rely on FAM to provide this information (FAM 2001a).

Gradually, the FAM membership grew. General membership continued through 1996, but SC meetings were held separately. Management, working group, and topical meetings were also held separately (FAM Meeting Minutes Binder 1–3). Topical meetings and SC meetings were held across the US, allowing PVOs that were not located on the east coast to participate. The SC began taking more responsibility for FAM's activities, originally left to FAM's director (FAM Archive Binder 1–2).

Since 1997, FAM has come to rely on electronic communication for information exchange (FAM Archive Binder 2-3; Archive Box 1). These listservs provide an efficient and specialized means of disseminating information and questions to selected individuals in the FAM constituency. Unfortunately, FAM's midterm evaluation suggests that some groups did not use

the listservs. New listserv management software was installed in 2001 to remedy the problem. Data collected since the installation show that listserv activity has increased (FAM 2000a, 2001b). The listservs are managed through the FAM website. The FAM website provides links to the websites of each member organizations and to relevant databases, commodity management sites and other technical assets used by the FAM members. The new FAM site has drawn together national and international resources in a more usable interface, and links food aid professionals with food aid resources³. The entire FAM FSRC bibliographic database is online in a searchable format, allowing field and headquarters staff of FAM member organizations to do independent research and submit requests for information on an individual basis (FAM 2000a, 2001b, FAM Archive Binder 4). These electronic resources, though not interactive in the same way that working group meetings are, provide a virtual community for FAM members of FAM. Electronic technology capabilities extend FAM's ability to coordinate collaborative activities.

Document Highlights

The goals of many FAM workshops, as mentioned before, were creating documents useful to the FAM constituency and providing information to help Title II operations run more smoothly. Some workshops ended with final materials collected into binders and disseminated to each organization. Other workshops ended with an acknowledgement that there was not enough information to be used effectively. FAM took responsibility for creating documents in those instances when adequate information did not exist. FAM has taken this approach since 1989, and it remains a primary mode of operation (FAM Archive Box 1, FAM Archive Binder 1–4).

This product-driven approach motivates FAM's WGs, whose topical focuses vary, but whose work plans are similar (FAM Archive Binder 3, Archive Box 1). Some WGs have completed their initial tasks, while others continue to gather information and synthesize their products. WG-created documents are among the most useful in Title II programming. They

³ Some USAID employees use the FAM website to reach information on USAID web pages because navigating the USAID site is difficult. The UN also links to the FAM website.

include FAM's 1995 *Generally Accepted Commodity Accounting Principles* (GACAP), the *FAM Monetization Manual* (1999a), and the *Nutrition and Agriculture Monitoring Toolkit* (FAM 2001c). These documents are the result of collaboration between organizations with a common cause. The documents themselves can disseminate information more easily to FAM members, leading to common schools of thought and common approaches to operational and policy issues.

The first document FAM produced was the GACAP, which is now accepted by the CSs, by USAID, and by the US General Accountability Office (FAM Archive Binder 1). The 1990 GACAP document (revised in 1995) is FAM's first material product, and the procedure by which it was created remains in place. The FAM membership identifies a need for documentation of procedures to improve food aid programs. Then FAM, as the coordinator, arranges for meetings during which the new topic is introduced and discussed. These meetings can be task forces, working groups, workshop sessions or brown bag talks. During the discussion, individuals share experiences and technical knowledge and develop a plan for making the information more widely available, usually in the form of a manual, guidebook, or toolkit. A committee or consultant is chosen to gather information, later compiled and returned to the original committee for comments and review. After initial review, the WG presents the product to the entire FAM membership. Their input is solicited and their comments are incorporated into the final document⁴. (The above section is summarized from working group minutes available at the FAM website, participation in FAM processes, and review of FAM Archive Binder 1-4.)

This procedure has been the general format for the creation of FAM's *PVO Perspective on USAID's Food Aid and Food Security Policy Paper* (1994), the *Monetization Manual* (1999a), the *Nutrition and Agriculture Monitoring Toolkit* (2001c), and the *Environmental Documentation Manual* (EDM) (1998, 1999b). Each document listed above has support from all FAM members and attention from other private interests, government agencies, and development policy and

⁴ FAM and FAM members bear the cost of disseminating new technical documents. Cost recovery programs have been established.

research organizations including the Institute for Development Studies in Sussex, England (FAM Archive Binder 1). Each of these documents is the outcome of a direct need, either legislated by the US Government (as in the GACAP and the EDM) or called for by developments in the implementation of food aid projects around the world (as in the *Monetization Manual* or any of the monitoring toolkits). FAM-supported or FAM CS-supported training workshops familiarize headquarters and field personnel with the new documents, increasing impact among member organizations (FAM 2001a).

FAM encourages member PVOs to share their experiences through its journal, *Food Forum*, which focuses on items of topical interest to those involved in Title II activities. FAM has published nearly sixty issues of *Food Forum* since late 1989, first bimonthly, now quarterly. At first, *Food Forum* was a newsletter, providing updates on FAM activities, calendars of events important to the food aid community, and presenting few field-experience reports. Over time, *Food Forum* began addressing topics of more immediate interest to the Title II community, incorporating more articles from FAM member organizations and fewer articles from external contributors. While the working groups were provided forums for discussion of topics important over the long run, *Food Forum* introduced new topics. *Food Forum* also began presenting technical bibliographies on topics of interest to food aid managers, showcasing the resources available from the FSRC. In 2002, there were over a thousand subscribers to *Food Forum*. Many individuals received electronic copies of *Food Forum* as an easier and faster mode of accessing information they need (*Food Forum Archives Binder 1–2*).

Many of FAM's documents are available to download from FAM's website. Electronic copies of these items allow field officers and headquarters staff to retrieve important information at any time, and in any location. In addition to FAM documents, FAM's electronic collection includes current DAP guidance, government forms, important USAID documents, and other relevant food aid and food security documents (FAM 2001a). Food aid professionals can access these documents through the FAM website and through the online FSRC bibliographic database

mentioned before, which provides hyperlinks to documents housed electronically on FAM's site. This library of electronic documents extends FAM's ability to disseminate food aid information into the field and headquarters offices (FAM 2000a).

Every food aid professional interviewed believes that FAM's ability to provide access to technical information is increasingly important to PVO activities. Many of these experts argue that with staff turnover, and the loss of technical experts in the nonprofit and government sectors, FAM's technical information clearinghouse capabilities are indispensable as a means to storehouse institutional memory relevant to Title II activities. One veteran food aid professional even argued that FAM was providing services that the PVOs were no longer able to provide themselves. This individual was referring to the development and dissemination of new technical information and toolkits, now beyond the reach and outside the realm of normal operation for many PVOs whose time is filled with meeting the daily needs of their programs. Another food aid professional agreed that the PVOs, as a result of increased monitoring, evaluation and reporting requirements, have less time to commit to the development, improvement and dissemination of innovations in any of the technical areas that FAM serves.

In short, FAM's technical information development and dissemination activities are a service that PVOs need but are often unable to provide for themselves. Coordinated actions provide an economy of scale that permits these activities to continue even with minimal resource contributions from the CSs.

Institutional Highlights

FAM's most important contribution is not in meetings, training courses, documentation, or information dissemination. It is fostering collaboration and facilitating that collaboration in the face of increasing pressure for competition. Before FAM, the Title II CSs worked independently, though there were numerous issues of mutual concern. FAM arose as a means to address those concerns through collaborative efforts. Collaboration has now become the expected behavior

when these issues arise, rather than the exception to the rule. FAM strengthened collaboration in two ways: creating structural opportunities for interaction and institutionalizing collaboration.

FAM provides the physical space for interaction to occur, and arranges meetings, projects, brown bags, and workshops that encourage interaction. These opportunities create the structural potential for sharing experiences and knowledge. As shown in the previous section, there are ample opportunities for organizations to interact. Through these meetings, FAM integrates the institutional memory of Title II organizations, compounding the years of experience that can be drawn on by an individual in need of technical assistance. FAM's collaborative activities also mitigate loss of institutional memory for each of the member organizations, and for USAID, by archiving technical information and reports (FAM 201b).

Cooperation and collaboration do not arise simply because the opportunity exists. In an environment where cooperation is not traditionally accepted, it takes work to encourage that kind of interaction. At the outset, FAM's activities were seen as good, but the procedures by which collaborative work was completed were not in place. The creation of the GACAP was fraught with delay and concern for incorporating the interests of all the parties involved, but eventually the document was completed (FAM Archive Binder 1). During that time, it was the dedication of a few individuals who recognized the importance of consensus building that drove the work. From that initial project, each FAM member organization has built its capacity to work toward a common goal and reach consensus quickly. In FY2002, FAM was working on collaborative projects, issuing statements that expressed the opinions of the FAM membership, and standing as one of the major food aid consortia in the US (FAM 2002).

The most striking examples of FAM's contribution to institutionalizing cooperation can be seen in administrative matters. Every member of FAM has provided strong letters of support for FAM over the course of two five-year ISA grants (FAM Archive Binder 3, Archives Box 1). One individual with extensive FAM experience argues that the amount of resources committed by each organization should not be underestimated. Each FAM member organizations wrote letters

of support for FAM to USAID, asking that FAM's budget be removed from the available ISA funds before competition began. In a sense, the member organizations agreed to less support for their own organizations to support FAM. This, coupled with the person hours required to complete FAM's collaborative activities, is a sizeable resource commitment, even from the smallest organizations. Another FAM expert pointed to FAM's value to member organizations, arguing that for a very small investment FAM member organizations (and USAID) receive a large amount of technical support, coordination and information.

Member organizations recognize the importance of FAM's activities, which are inherently collaborative. Would there have been such wholesale support for FAM in 1989? After major cuts to development spending and the restructuring of USAID led to increased accountability and new monitoring and evaluation requirements, it would seem that organizations would prefer to focus on their own activities, conserving resources and employee hours for tasks of integral importance to their own organizations. But FAM gained more support after these organizational changes, possibly due to a realization that collaboration is useful, especially in an uncertain, resource-limited environment (FAM Archive Binder 3-4, Archive Box 1). I believe CSs came to understand the real impact of cooperation through FAM's early activities. The passing years have reinforced those lessons.

Perhaps the most important example of the institutionalization of cooperation and collaboration can be drawn from what might be considered FAM's darkest days, the 1995 reorganization (FAM 1995b). Since 1989, FAM had been operating under the guidance of the director, whose activities were supervised by the SC but who was not managed directly. The original director set out a grand role for FAM, enlarging the scope of FAM's activities to include participation in international food aid consortia and symposia, taking on larger and more policy-related tasks. Concurrently, the US government was pushing for more rigorous accounting, accountability, and monitoring in food aid programs. This was accompanied by reductions in the amount of development funding available for the PVO community, making that funding much

more valuable. In return for development funding, the government began expecting more justification that the money spent was being used effectively and efficiently. This led the PVOs to a similarly increased interest in accounting, accountability, and monitoring. FAM was not immune to these institutional changes; soon the Director's actions and FAM's activities in general came under scrutiny. Because the initial FAM work plan was unclear, monitoring and evaluating the activities of FAM employees were difficult. The SC, under the stress of more requirements and less resources, expected to see more results-oriented, focused work. When this did not appear, and when the Director argued that his management style was inconsistent with the new tenor of development activities, the FAM membership acted quickly and decisively to make structural and organizational changes to bring FAM back into line with the rest of the development community. (This analysis of the situation is based on reviews of FAM's Archives, particularly Binder 1-2, FAM Meeting Minutes Binder 1-3, and on interviews with FAM experts conducted in 2001.)

The implications of this event should not be underestimated. Yes, it was a very difficult time in FAM's history, leading to one of two 100% staff turnovers. However, the rapid and decisive move by the Steering Committee and the FAM membership indicates the development of consensus that is exactly what FAM was aiming to create in 1989. In the years between 1989 and 1995, FAM members developed an increased capacity to build consensus quickly and efficiently (FAM Archive Binder 1-2). The procedure surrounding the development of the GACAP, which took over a year, and the procedure surrounding the FAM reorganization, which took a few months, are essentially the same. The difference is that the reorganization process was more efficient because the system for reaching a consensus was standardized by FAM's encouragement of interaction and communication between organizations.

After the reorganization, FAM became something more than it had been. Many FAM experts believe that most of the important work done by FAM has been completed since the reorganization and restructuring. Previously, FAM was considered something of a folly, an

organization that served a nominal purpose. After the SC took control and the member organizations began to recognize their ownership of FAM, FAM's utility to the members increased.⁵

Table 5-1: Timeline of major FAM events

Year	Funding Source	Organizational Event	Documents Produced
1989	ISG		Food Forum begins
1990		WGs organized	GACAP
1991		FSRC begins	
1992			
1993			Food Aid Lexicon
1994			FAFSPP response
1995		FAM reorganized	
1996			
1997		Listserv, website	
1998	ISA	WGs reorganized	EDM
1999			Monetization Manual
2000		By-laws	H/Nut. Baseline
2001		Website redesign	Nut./Ag. Toolkit
2002			LCB indicators
2003	ISA proposal		

The only major change in operations since the 1995 reorganization relates to the activities of the SC and to how it is formed each year (FAM 2000b). Rather than the previous static committee, the new SC now consists of a rotating group of members from each of the member organizations. The only permanent member is CARE, which holds the grant for FAM; the remaining members cycle through yearly memberships to increase diversity and participation in FAM's administration. These changes were voted into effect in FAM's first set of by-laws at the November 2000 annual meeting (FAM Archive Binder 4). To increase organizational ownership of FAM and to increase the diversity of organizations participating in FAM decision making, the FAM SC wrote by-laws outlining FAM's administrative procedures. This was to clarify that FAM was not merely comprised of those employees hired to coordinate and support the activities, but of all member organizations. These new policies and procedures remove FAM's guidance from the hands of the original five members and allow the other eleven members to determine

⁵ Other than the original alliance of members in 1989, the largest influx of new members has occurred after

FAM's direction. All FAM experts interviewed agree that these activities allow FAM members to feel as if they owned the organization more, as if their suggestions, interests and priorities had more chance to be built into FAM activities. This is an important step for FAM.

Conclusions

This review of FAM's historical documents reveals trends in FAM's history, particularly regarding collaborative activities, pointing out relevant examples of those trends. This is not an exhaustive accounting of each interaction and every decision. The trajectory FAM has taken is the focus, rather than each individual stop along the way. To conclude, I present a few themes I identified through my review of FAM's archives and my interviews with FAM history experts. Most of the topics I discuss are tangentially related to previous sections but did not entirely fit into any one of them. Some of them are more specific, such as FAM's relationship with USAID. Some of them are broader, such as FAM's opportunistic, organic growth.

Dependence on USAID. FAM's activities have been bounded over time by increasing accountability requirements from USAID. USAID's guidance for ISA agreements leads FAM's organizational activities to some degree. This is not likely to change while USAID is the primary source of funding for FAM. FAM must balance the interests of the government agency that provides funding against the interests of the member organizations that provide the ultimate reason for FAM's existence. This puts FAM in a precarious situation because those interests often diverge and reconciling them can be difficult. This is not a new realization. Many FAM members and employees have argued that limited resources have hamstrung FAM and have only increased FAM's aim to satisfy USAID's interests. Less dependence on USAID resources would allow FAM to serve the needs of the membership more easily and would allow FAM to meet those needs without USAID approval. Steering Committee discussions often center around ways to reduce FAM's dependence on USAID, but through 2002, there was no commitment of resources

(through membership fees, cost recovery platforms, etc.) from FAM members to lessen FAM's resource dependence on USAID (FAM Archive Binder 4, FAM Annual Report 2001).

FAM's reactive growth. The changing needs of the FAM membership and the evolving priorities for development activities at USAID have led to a very organic and event-driven evolution for FAM. One PVO representative argues that FAM's growth was reactive, rather than proactive. FAM has merely been responding to current needs instead of developing its own agenda. In the short run, this may seem unfocused and random, leading to a directional uncertainty with respect to FAM's future. In the long run, however, the organizational flexibility FAM enjoys allows for changes that meet members' needs more quickly. However, members must clearly state their desires and needs, because FAM cannot direct its activities without the membership's guidance and participation. Often, this need for participation leads to "meeting mania." This overload of meetings is typical of many nonprofit sectors and is the result of a consensus-driven approach to management. It is one of the prices to pay for a consortium engaged in interorganizational work that must meet the needs of a number of stakeholders.

Limited participation. Another problem that arises from the consensus approach to organizational activity is that some stakeholders take an active role in the decision making process, while others assume a passive role. This is not only a problem with FAM's activities; it has been mentioned with respect to any number of situations in which Title II PVOs must interact. When it falls to the member organizations to keep abreast of the consortium's activities, passive organizations often lose touch. This has been the case with USAID, whose officials have been provided with all of the same opportunities to interact with FAM, and whose staff members are provided with the same avenues to gain information as the FAM members. This has led to a disconnect in the liaison between USAID and FAM. The work FAM has done to create an environment where the possibility for collaborative development programs becomes greater has been overlooked (Mason 2001). Since USAID encourages PVOs to submit collaborative projects, it seems that FAM's collaborative activities would be followed more actively, particularly

because collective proposals from several organizations would decrease the number of proposals to be reviewed, monitored, and evaluated, decreasing USAID/FFP staff workload (FAM Archive Binder 3-4). USAID and FAM continue attempting to increase the frequency and impact of communication and interaction. Evaluations of FAM, USAID and FFP point to staff turnover, organizational restructuring, loss of institutional memory, increased workload, and decreased resources on both sides as root causes of the problem. The burden of reporting falls to FAM and the membership.

Knowledge of FAM activities. During FAM's earliest history, FAM activities enjoyed the unqualified support of USAID, whose delegates attended meetings diligently (FAM Archive Binder 1-2). Over time, this relationship would experience stresses and strains as each side underwent changes, reorganizations, refocusing, and refinement. This is not unusual for partnerships of this type, particularly for relationships that have lasted as long, and that have been as active. AID has come to depend on FAM to provide support services to the CSs, while FAM has come to depend totally on AID funding. For example, FAM organizes the ISA grant manager's meetings, originally USAID's responsibility (FAM Archive Binder 3-4). Many consider FAM a subunit of USAID, or a subunit of another USAID funded project, FANTA. While the three offices work closely together in an allied manner, they are independent organizations.

Ignorance of FAM's activities and impact is not restricted to AID. There are likely other upper-level PVO administrators who are unaware of the impact of FAM activities on their development and Title II programs. The burden of communication falls to individual organizational representatives to report to their management what value their participation in FAM activities adds to their respective organizations.

What is FAM's value added over the past twelve years? Are management and technical procedures for commodity-related development programs more systematic and streamlined? Are the systems more alike across organizations? Are monitoring and evaluation and accountability

procedures improved? Is there an organizational environment in which these PVOs are more likely to collaborate on problems of mutual concern even in the face of competition for increasingly limited commodity and dollar resources? Are members of FAM more likely to call on the hundreds of years of shared development experience that are stored in FAM's institutional memory (staff turnover and decreasing resources for activity notwithstanding)? All of the food aid and FAM experts interviewed agree that the answer to each of these questions is yes. And that 'yes' implies that FAM has satisfied its primary objective of addressing items of mutual concern for Title II organizations through collective action. The initial investment in FAM by USAID the member organizations has provided returns that justify its existence, not the least of which is building a collaborative constituency in an uncertain organizational environment.

Prior to FAM, PVOs rarely cooperated and the headquarters level, though cooperation sometimes existed at the field level. The results of this were operational competitiveness, lack of common purpose (or lack of institutionalized beliefs), and redundancy of efforts that detracted from the effectiveness of food aid. Now the PVO community has a way to identify common operational standards to be applied, cooperate in programming and management of food commodities, and facilitate open dialogue between PVOs.

CHAPTER 6 FOOD AID MANAGEMENT CONSTITUENCY-BUILDING AND COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES

Introduction

As a consortium, FAM works closely with its members to define activities and promote the progress of those activities to meet agreed-upon goals. As mentioned before, these activities include the implementation of WGs (M&E, MNTZ, LCB, and EWG). FAM also manages the FSRC, publishes *Food Forum*, maintains an active website and implements several other food security information sharing activities including interorganizational workshops and listservs. The FAM members consider FAM, created largely as a forum in which Title II PVOs could collaborate and exchange food aid and food security program information, a valuable venue for exchange of new tools and best practices.

However, FAM's impact reaches beyond the borders of its member organizations to a number of other food security interests. In this sense, FAM provides operational support services not only for the member organizations but also for the broader food aid and food security constituency that includes USAID, USDA, other NGOs, international government interests, university food security projects, and consultants. As the number of individuals participating in or learning from FAM grows, FAM's constituency grows.

The profile presented in this chapter identifies the ways FAM has built a constituency and explores the breadth and depth of that constituency. This report identifies those constituency-building activities that are confined to the member constituency as well as those that reach further abroad. This organizational profile also examines the patterns of interaction within the FAM collective to understand the form and content of those interactions. Within each section, details regarding the rationale and methods used for analyses are presented. FAM coordinates collective

activities and information exchange. Some of that information comes in from the FAM member constituency, while other information comes in from the broader constituency. Likewise, information flows out of FAM, some of it only to the FAM members, the rest to the broader constituency. Increasing the diversity of information flowing into and out of FAM and developing relationships associated with those information flows are integral to building a constituency that is both broad and deep. Here, increasing network breadth means increasing the number of organizations involved with FAM activities. Increasing network depth means increasing the frequency of interactions among those organizations. Detailed information regarding FAM's six primary activities is listed below, beginning with FAM's member-focused activities and moving through those activities involving larger and larger constituencies for input or outflow of information.

Steering Committee

Until 2001, the FAM SC, the governing administrative board for FAM, consisted only of representatives from the five original FAM members: ADRA, CARE, CRS, SAVE and WV. New FAM by-laws, created and implemented in 2000, have changed that (FAM 2000b). Now, each year the available SC seats rotate among the sixteen members. The only permanent member on the committee is CARE, the project holder. The first of the new SCs (2001) had representation from Feed the Hungry International (FHI), CARE, CRS, ADRA, Mercy Corps (MC), Counterpart (CNTPT), and ACDI/VOCA. The 2002 SC members were from CARE, SAVE, Africare, WV, Opportunities Industrialization Centers International (OICI), TechnoServe (TNS), and Project Concern International (PCI). Table 6-1 summarizes this information.

I collected SC membership data for the twelve years that FAM operated between 1989 and 2001. However, until the FAM by-laws were ratified there was no variation in membership. Only the five founding members had positions on the committee. Currently, other than the permanent seat that CARE retains, membership is chosen by lot; membership on the committee is random from year to year. Because of the method of assignment, statistical investigation of that

data would be unlikely to reveal any significant trends. Additionally, with only two instances of unconstrained choice, it would be difficult to show any change over time.

Table 6-1: Steering Committee membership during current ISA

1998-2000	2001	2002
CARE*	CARE	CARE
ADRA	ADRA	Africare*
CRS	ACDI/VOCA	OICI
STC	CRS	PCI
WVRD	Counterpart	STC
	FHI*	TNS
	Mercy Corps	WVRD
*=-committee chair		

Steering Committee meetings bring together a subgroup of FAM member organizations to consider administrative and strategic planning for FAM. As a result, FAM members are afforded the opportunity to meet one-on-one in a very intimate setting. Over the course of a year, relationships are built that may strengthen relationships between member organizations themselves. The rotating membership and chairmanship of the SC means organizational representatives the opportunity to develop leadership skills, building individual and organizational capacity for FAM member PVOs.

Steering Committee members must reach consensus regarding the direction FAM will take during the decision making process. Differing views are expressed and agreement is developed during planning meetings. Steering Committee activities often reach beyond FAM activities into the larger realm of food aid and food security issues. However, SC activities are limited to a few selected individuals each year, and have limited impact on the larger FAM member constituency and even less impact on the broader food security constituency.

Working Groups

FAM coordinates the activities of four WGs that provide the majority of input for developing food aid standards. Working group meetings are open to all FAM members. Generally, WG members meet at least once a quarter to achieve the goals set in annual meetings

and explained in their work plans. Working group chairs are volunteer representatives that manage the WGs activities and keep the groups on task.

There are four working groups for the current ISA agreement: MNTZ, LCB, ENVT, and M&E. The MNTZ group identifies areas of collaborative action to strengthen the capacity of PVOs to design and carry out monetization activities. The LCB WG reviews organizational approaches to local capacity building in food security programs, develops a common understanding of capacity building, develops best practices for capacity building and analyzes the methods, tools and indicators used to measure the impact of capacity building projects. The EWG is a forum where environmental compliance documentation can be developed, training can be planned and executed in a collaborative manner, and PVOs can work together in initiatives that go beyond compliance. The M&E WG oversees the development of a set of robust tools to monitor and evaluate Title II programs and instructs individuals on how to use those tools. The WGs have developed the subject matter for 10 workshops, 19 brown bag talks, and 7 manuals that represent the common food aid standards FAM has developed in these four areas.

Data on the activities and products of the four WGs were collected from archival sources and through direct participation in WG activities. Sparse meeting minutes and few participant rosters from early working group meetings makes examination of constituency building activities difficult. Caps on the number participants from each FAM member organization and caps on total number of participants for workshops also make statistical arguments limited. However, discussion of documentary products and workshops held do provide some insight into the depth and breadth of FAM's constituency.

Meetings (Brown Bags and General Meetings)

At meetings, FAM member representatives discuss specific topics relevant to Title II food aid operations and procedures and reach consensus regarding those issues. The entire FAM member constituency develops relationships and shares institutional knowledge through formal and informal interactions. Attendance is not limited; any organizational representative may

attend. This broadens the scope and impact of these meetings. Topics range from the discussion of toolkits being developed to the logistics of planning a workshop to present the most recent toolkit developed to food aid professionals in a particular region (Southeast Asia) or in a particular group (headquarters staff).

Working group members and other organizational representatives learn about issues of a more current topical interest at brown bag talks. These meetings usually focus on recent changes in legislation, policy, or developments in the food security community regarding issues of mutual concern. FAM's brown bags have covered a diversity of topics from genetically modified organisms to local capacity building activities among the FAM membership. Meetings of this type focus primarily on FAM members. Information may come into the meetings from a number of sources in the broader food security constituency, but the target population is FAM members.

FAM working group meetings and brown bags reach headquarters staff, with some participation from field staff if they happen to be in Washington. Online archives and documentary archives in the FAM offices provide minutes for a majority of meetings but not all, and some of those documents do not report individuals present, making it difficult to note PVO strength-of-presence at the meetings over time. One may conclude from an appraisal of the data that these working group meetings are primarily for FAM members and not the broader food security constituency.

Products (Manuals and Toolkits)

The goals of working group meetings are to explore an item of topical interest, gather the relevant information present in the food aid constituency (usually FAM members and governmental agencies), summarize the information collected, identify gaps in information, find information to fill those gaps, determine what information is most relevant to FAM member organizations, synthesize that information, and present the final product for use in improving the design and implementation of food aid programs. Table 6-2 lists the seven products of this

process through FY2002. Each FAM member organization is provided with copies of these FAM products to disseminate to their headquarters and field offices.

These documents present the FAM member's position on the best way to complete certain operational tasks. The members share these documents and thereby generate common 'best practices' and opinions related to those practices. This increases organizational similarity among Title II organizations. The broader food aid constituency, while not able to contribute to the creation of these documents, uses them freely and incorporates the products of FAM's work into their own activities.

FAM products have an impact in the broader food security constituency because they present solutions to common operational problems and present agreed-upon standards for management. Though created for the FAM membership, the US government and other PVOs recognize these documents as important touchstones for operations. The scope of this project did not allow for tracing the flow of documents through the FAM member organizations and into the field, so depth of penetration is difficult to gauge. Limited data on the use of these documents outside FAM makes breadth of penetration difficult to gauge as well, at least quantitatively. There is anecdotal evidence that organizations' use of FAM products is growing, particularly in the UN and in USAID international mission offices (for the EDM, at least).

Table 6-2: Documents, manuals, and toolkits

Generally Accepted Commodity Accounting Principles
FAM Food Aid Lexicon
FAM Monetization Manual
FAM Environmental Documentation Manual
Health and Nutrition Baseline Research Methods
Agricultural Project Baseline Research Methods
Health and Agriculture Monitoring Toolkit

Workshops

There were ten FAM workshops through the end of FY2002. The workshops are designed to allow exploration and discussion of information contained in the toolkits by an even larger group within the FAM member constituency. In this case, more individuals, not more

organizations, are invited to participate, making FAM's impact deeper within the member constituency rather than broader. Usually, these workshops target particular geographic areas and attempt to achieve the participation of field staff from the member organizations. The rationale is that these workshops bring the new tools and ideas to the field more quickly and with less confusion than if they were to arrive via normal organizational lines of communication. Expert facilitators answer technical questions on the spot and encourage the incorporation of new food aid standards and procedures at the field level.

While previous FAM activities have been open primarily to headquarters staff, FAM workshops are most often open to field representatives. Holding the workshops internationally allows more field representatives to attend than if they were held in the US. To date, workshops have targeted environmental documentation, local capacity building, monetization, data analysis, sampling, monitoring of nutrition and child survival, and health and agriculture monitoring. These workshops have focused on headquarters staff in the US and field staff in Latin America, Asia, West and Central Africa, and East and Southern Africa. Participation in workshops is limited to FAM member organizations and the number of participants is restricted. However, workshops notes and materials are available for members of FAM and the larger food aid constituency on the website.

Listsers

FAM's seven listsers were designed to be rapid means of communicating and disseminating information for FAM members and others interested in food aid programming, implementation and operations. Over time, the listsers grew to encompass topical areas not covered by any FAM WG. The creation of new listsers is one way FAM accommodates the changing needs of the membership and the broader food aid constituency. As of FY2002, FAM, in a mentoring relationship with member organization FHI, managed seven listsers. One is restricted to FAM members and reports announcements and items of general interest for the members. The rest focused on specific topics: commodity management, environment, local

capacity building, monetization, nutrition, and monitoring and evaluation. Membership in these listservs has grown since their inception, sometimes drastically. Most listserv members are representatives from FAM's member organizations. However, individuals from the larger constituency (particularly from USAID, FANTA, and USDA) participate.

Listsers activity data and the analyses presented below show that for the most part, listsers are a limited means of communication between FAM organizational representatives. Messages consist of information regarding working group activities or information regarding meetings and new documents of interest to those particular working groups. However, this is not always the case. The monitoring and evaluation listserv often responds to questions from the field for technical support regarding research methods. This type of exchange is what the listsers are best for. Limited participation from outside organizations may be the result of this limited subject matter or lack of knowledge of the listsers.

Though these listsers began well before FY2001, listserv tracking began in the second quarter of 2001. Tracking data are compiled quarterly, which means that there are only four data points available for membership and use over time. With this data, I investigated the depth and breadth of constituency with respect to the listsers. The limited amount of data made normal statistical tests unreliable. I used nonparametric tests because they return valid, reliable, and non-distribution-dependent results for small data sets. Membership in each listserv is considered independent of membership in any other listserv.

I report data on listserv memberships for the first quarter of FY2002 in Table 6-3 below. Because there is only one variable used to divide the membership (FAM/non-FAM), I computed the odds of an organization being a FAM member or not. I also computed Chi-squared tests of independence. I tested the data against the hypothesis of random assortment, meaning that members would be equally distributed between the two categories. Most p-values were much less than 0.01 implying that there are significantly more FAM members than non-FAM members (or at least more than would be expected if the assortment was random). This was the case for all

listservs except the Nutrition listserv, which was populated under special circumstances. The odds and p-values are presented in Table 6-4. These data provide insight into the breadth of the listserv constituency, which primarily serves the FAM membership.

Data analysis suggests that listserv subscriptions and use are increasing, at least for individuals in FAM member organizations. Limited data made generally accepted trend tests invalid (regression, etc.). A nonparametric test, the Cox-Stuart test, returned probabilities that trends in membership levels over time were approaching significance (p-value =0.25 for all listservs). The limited strength of this test is due primarily to a small data set even for nonparametric tests. Trends in listserv use over time were not investigated because missing data caused by technology problems in the first quarter of FY2002 made nonparametric tests invalid. I cannot determine whether or not the trends reported here are true of the listservs prior to tracking.

Table 6-3: Listserv memberships for first quarter FY2002, increase from previous quarter

Listsers	FAM Members	Broader Constituency	Total	Growth
Commodity Management	26 from 9 orgs.	5 (Undetermined Orgs.)	31	5
Environmental	45 from 12 orgs.	15 (including AID, FANTA, WFP)	60	6
Local Capacity Building	41 from 16 orgs.	15 (including AID, FANTA)	56	1
Monitoring and Evaluation	66 from 15 orgs.	29 (including AID, FANTA, WFP, FAO)	95	15
Monetization	56 from 15 orgs.	12 (including FANTA and USDA)	68	1
Nutrition	34 from 12 orgs.	47 (including AED, AID, FANTA, WFP)	81	40
FAM Members	69 from 16 orgs.	Not Applicable	69	N/A

The largest number of messages sent in the fourth quarter of FY2001 (the most recent data available at the time data were being collected) was 42, from the Environmental listserv. The majority of the remaining listservs marked activity at or near that number. The implication is that the listservs, though incredibly powerful tools for rapid response to information and interaction needs, are underutilized in the FAM context, an opinion that FAM's midterm review supports (Mason 2001). However, there are other opinions regarding the listservs. Some FAM members believe that limited listserv use is a function of the sensitive nature of information communicated, and a result of attempts to limit communication for which organizations might be held liable in

certain situations. Some individuals active in the larger nonprofit world believe that FAM's limited activity is a boon, reducing the amount of listserv messages received in the course of a day, which can sometimes be overwhelming.

Table 6-4: Statistical analysis of listserv membership data

Listserv	Odds	Chi-squared p-value
Commodity Management	5.2	0.000162132
Environmental	3	0.000107511
Local Capacity Building	2.733333333	0.000512005
Monitoring and Evaluation	2.275862069	0.000146978
Monetization	4.666666667	9.51327E-08
Nutrition	0.723404255	0.148614061
FAM Members	N/A	9.84634E-17

Note: Odds represent the chance that a listserv member is from a FAM organization. Chi-squared p-values represent the significance of independent assortment tests.

Listservs are a passive means for FAM to encourage constituency building, with the responsibility falling to the subscribers to make these listservs serve their particular needs. FAM provides the avenue for communication and interaction; individuals must incorporate those avenues for communication into their daily activities for them to be successful. The seven listservs allow for information coming into FAM (primarily from the members, but also from the broader constituency) to move through the organization to pertinent individuals. The depth of interaction with the FAM member constituency could increase if needs for technical information increased and the listservs were seen as an appropriate means for communication of that information. The breadth of listserv interaction might also increase as knowledge of FAM's activities grows due to improved communication technology and/or marketing initiatives.

Food Security Resource Center

The FSRC began in the early Nineties when the USDA Famine Mitigation Activity project ended and donated their considerable collection of resources to the FAM Food Aid Resource Materials (FARM) Clearinghouse. Since that time, the FSRC has grown into a storehouse of resources and institutional knowledge covering a highly specific topical area. The FSRC collections incorporate books, monographs, technical reports, tool kits, and food security

and development journals. Resources are cataloged in an online database available to anyone. The FSRC acquires at least 200 materials each year, attempting to have many of those be electronic submissions available on the FAM website or for download. Backlog due to FAM staff vacancies have led the Technical Information Specialist to limit acquisitions until cataloging can catch up.

FSRC resources are available to the FAM member constituency and the larger food security community, making FSRC a primary tool for increasing the depth and breadth of the FAM constituency. Paper documents are available on a cost recovery basis, and electronic copies of documents are available for download gratis. Future developments for the FSRC may include digitizing the entire library, reducing the space required to house the resources and making every item available for download. This would increase the availability of resources for those unable to visit, and would allow FAM's activities to reach further into the food aid community, particularly into the field where technical information is often needed most.

Analysis of FSRC acquisitions and requests reveals who is putting information into FAM for constituency building activities (much like voicing an opinion in a working group meeting, only more passive) and about who that information is touching through requests satisfied (much like attending a brown bag, only more passive). Analysis of who is providing information to or requesting information from FAM provides insight into the depth and breadth of FAM's constituency. In these activities, FAM can coordinate and control information flowing in and out; but, like the listservs, is unable to control how that information is used after it is incorporated into the FSRC or sent out to the food aid constituency.

The FSRC has been monitoring requests for information since FY1997. Acquisitions have been monitored since the first quarter of FY2001. This data set represents one of the largest and most detailed of all of FAM's archival data sources. Each quarter, an average of 59% of documents came from an average of 19 organizations, 15 of those from the broader food security constituency. Requests came from outside organizations an average of 53% of the time, each

quarter seeing an average of 14 outside requesters. Field requests made up 17% of quarterly requests, on average.

Acquisitions

There was no Technical Information Specialist (TIS) for the majority of fiscal year 2000. As a result, there was little acquisition of new materials. Periodical subscriptions were maintained and donations were accepted, though they added to a considerable backlog for FSRC. Acquisition tracking data for FY2001 and the first quarter of FY2002 are summarized in Table 6-5.

Table 6-5: Recent acquisitions for FSRC

Source	FY01Q1	FY01Q2	FY01Q3	FY01Q4	FY02Q1
FAM Core	14	6	10	11	3
Other PVO	23	28	45	24	11
USAID	4	3	17	16	7
Total Documents	41	37	72	51	21
Total Organizations	21 (4 FAM)	13 (1 FAM)	23 (4 FAM)	28 (7 FAM)	9 (3 FAM)

Note: Data are from the fiscal years noted. Numbers in parentheses represent the number of contributing FAM member organizations.

Because FSRC acquisitions have been capped due to a backlog of materials that must be entered into the online bibliographic database, change over time is limited and likely not to reveal any statistical increase. Investigating the type of organization that produced the documents, however, provides information about the contributors' demographics. Contributions were categorized as FAM, other PVOs, or USAID. Frequencies were computed to determine the likelihood of a document being from a particular source. The results show that on average, 59% of documents acquired since tracking began came from other PVOs rather than from FAM member organizations or USAID, though this number is variable (see Table 6-6). The frequency of electronic acquisitions is also presented, averaging about 3%.

Chi square tests show that for the first three quarters in FY2001 the numbers in each category (organizational or format) differ significantly from the numbers expected from equal, random assortment. However, for the last quarter of FY2001 and the first quarter of FY2002, assortment was not significantly different than would be expected. The p-values from those tests

are presented in Table 6-7. Statistically significant differences in document acquisition are primarily due to higher levels of outside PVO documents and lower levels of USAID documents. For all quarters investigated paper documents were significantly more frequent than electronic documents, as shown by the p-values for those tests. One should be careful in interpreting the results of these tests, because assuming random assortment in these circumstances is suspect, as there is no reason to decide for or against it. Further tests of significance regarding FSRC acquisitions were considered unreliable considering the small data set available for analysis.

Table 6-6: Percentages for FSRC acquisitions

Source	FY01Q1	FY01Q2	FY01Q3	FY01Q4	FY02Q1	Average
FAM Core	0.34146341	0.1621622	0.138889	0.215686	0.142857	0.200212
Other PVO	0.56097561	0.7567568	0.625	0.470588	0.52381	0.587426
USAID	0.09756098	0.0810811	0.236111	0.313725	0.333333	0.212362
Format						
Elec. Docs	0.04878049	0	0.055556	0.019608	0	0.024789
Paper docs	0.95121951	1	0.944444	0.980392	1	0.975211

Table 6-7: Chi-squared values for FSRC acquisitions by source and by format

	FY01Q1	FY01Q2	FY01Q3	FY01Q4	FY02Q1
Source	0.00134716	2.746E-07	6.21E-07	0.079706	0.101701
Format	7.5401E-09	1.181E-09	4.61E-14	4.03E-21	4.59E-06

FSRC acquisitions show that FAM is actively incorporating new and different voices from the larger food aid constituency. Food security interests outside the FAM core constituency published the large majority of new materials. By searching out the best research from a number of organizations, FAM is working to bring the best from the wider food security community to FAM. While the number of outside organizations contacted for materials remained stable, the particular organizations contacted did not. Those organizations included the FAO, the WFP, well-known publishing houses, and smaller consulting firms, allowing FAM to incorporate information that reflects the diversity of the larger food security constituency.

Less stringent limitations on materials acceded would allow the FSRC to grow into a more formidable resource. As cataloging catches up with acquisitions, the FSRC will likely raise the cap on acquisitions. This will allow a larger diversity of food security voices to be heard;

FAM member organizations will be able to deposit more of their own materials into the FSRC. The FSRC represents the institutional memory for Title II and food security activities. The more materials housed there and the more the PVO community accesses those materials, the more consensus there will be regarding Title II operations and activities.

Requests

Requests for information from the FSRC were the earliest items monitored to track FAM's progress. Information from the previous grant was less organized and not computerized, making analysis difficult; however, it is clear that requests for FSRC resources have grown as the FSRC and its reputation have grown. For comparability, I considered requests rather than the number of documents included in each request for FY2001 and the first quarter of FY2002. Average numbers of requests was stable around 43, and average number of requests from outside organizations was stable around 14. Subject reports show that the diversity of organizations taking advantage of the FSRC has grown. Those outside organizations taking advantage of the FSRC are often different each quarter. US government requests dropped, however, leading to questions of FSRC presence in relevant governmental agencies. This may be because government offices have inadequate knowledge of FSRC activities or may be because government employees prefer not to pay cost recovery fees for FSRC resources. Nevertheless, FSRC request data show that FAM is providing a service that primarily meets the needs of the broader food security constituency for resources created by the FAM member constituency. These data are summarized in Table 6-8.

Table 6-8: Recent FSRC requests

Source	FY01Q1	FY01Q2	FY01Q3	FY01Q4	FY02Q1
FAM Requests	18	21	23	16	10
US Government	7	6	0	2	1
Outside Requests	19	29	25	22	17
Total Requests	46	56	48	40	28
No. Outside Orgs.	11	13	19	14	13
Field Requests	14	9	4	4	6

FSRC requests were limited to the same time periods for which FSRC acquisition monitoring was completed: the current grant period for FAM. Requests were also aggregated quarterly to maintain analogy with acquisition data. The resulting data set provides information regarding the number of requests from FAM members, the US government, outside PVOs, and field requests. The frequency of requests from the various sources are presented in Table 6-9, and show that generally, requests come from outside PVOs (52%) or from FAM members (40%), with requests from the field fluctuating around 17%.

Table 6-9: Categorical distribution of FSRC requests by frequency

Source	FY01Q1	FY01Q2	FY01Q3	FY01Q4	FY02Q1	Average Percent
FAM Requests	0.391304	0.375	0.479167	0.4	0.357143	0.400523
US Government	0.152174	0.107143	0.00	0.05	0.035714	0.069006
Outside Requests	0.413043	0.517857	0.520833	0.55	0.607143	0.521775
Field Requests	0.304348	0.160714	0.083333	0.1	0.214286	0.172536

Restricting the analysis to the current grant provides us with only five time periods for trend analysis, limiting the reliability and validity of statistical investigations. I used nonparametric tests for trends in total requests. They revealed a decreasing trend in total requests though with low statistical significance shown (p-value = 0.25). It seems there is no trend in USAID requests over time, and a significant decrease in FAM member use of the FSRC (a significant decrease, consonant with increasing FSRC use by outside PVOs, for which there is marginal statistical significance). Field requests also show a marginal statistical increase over time. The p-values are presented in Table 6-10. These results are likely due to more online resources, allowing researchers the opportunity to conduct research on their own. Increased marketing presentations may affect this trend, as new employees at FAM member organizations learn about FAM's resources. The new online bibliographic database may also affect this trend, as online researchers find pertinent documents online that must be requested in paper format from the TIS.

Table 6-10: Trends in FSRC requests since 1997 and associated p-values

Requests	P-value	Trend
Total	0.172	Decrease
USAID	0.623	None
FAM	0.055	Decrease
Other	0.377	Increase
Field	0.377	Increase

Food Forum

Food Forum is FAM's quarterly journal targeted at issues of interest to the FAM constituency. Originally this publication was bimonthly, but demands on the time of the FAM staff and increased printing and postage costs have reduced the frequency of issues. *Food Forum* issues have a guest editor chosen from the FAM membership and contain a number of short articles focusing on food security issues. A topical bibliography showcasing FSRC resources or technical reports from FANTA may also be included. There have been 58 issues of *Food Forum* published, containing hundreds of articles. The information contained in those articles reaches scores of organizations and individuals around the world.

As of second quarter 2002, there were just over 700 paper and electronic subscriptions. Analysis of subscriptions and contributions reveals how FAM facilitates the communication of ideas from a number of voices in the food security constituency out to others around the world. Basic subscription data are available only in a cross-sectional format, so changes in subscriptions over time are impossible to determine. However, one can easily determine that a *Food Forum* subscriber is equally likely to be a FAM member or a member of an organization in the broader food security constituency. This means that *Food Forum* is targeting both groups equally well. Contributions are nearly the same; a *Food Forum* article is only 1.7 times more likely to be from the broader food security constituency than from a FAM member organization.

Food Forum provides a very economical way to reach the broad food security constituency. There a number of organizations represented as contributors. There are even more organizations represented as subscribers. This means that *Food Forum*, while meeting the needs

of the FAM membership, is also reaching deep into the food security community for input and is disseminating that input to the broader food security constituency. Electronic submission and access increase FAM's ability to reach a broader audience, both in the United States and internationally. Further analyses of subscription and contribution data are presented below and summarized in Tables 6-11 through 6-15.

Subscriptions

There are 713 organizational and individual subscribers to *Food Forum*, in paper or electronic format. Those subscribers are both domestic and international. Large batches of *Food Forum* issues are sent to 16 organizations in the United States. Seven of those organizations are FAM members or member affiliates and nine are part of the larger food security constituency, including IFPRI and the WFP. There are 263 domestic subscriptions that reach twenty organizations (see Table 6-14); the majority of these subscriptions are for FAM core members. These organizational subscriptions are sent on to their respective field offices through intraorganizational channels after they leave the FAM offices. The remaining ten domestic subscriptions are for four smaller organizations concerned with food security programming or policy: Christian Reformed World Relief Committee (4), Feed The Children (1), IFPRI (3), and Sustain (2). There are also 48 additional subscriptions to individuals and to other associated organizations, most receiving only one copy. Various government bureaus have 82 subscriptions to *Food Forum*. Interestingly, FFP carries 15 of the 35 subscriptions that arrive at USAID Headquarters (see Table 6-11). The USDA has twelve subscriptions in seven different departments. Internationally, 5 major organizations receive *Food Forum* (see Table 6-12). International subscriptions reach field offices, organizations and individuals in nearly 100 countries around the world.

Email subscription capabilities have broadened the impact of *Food Forum* even more. A number of FAM core constituency members choose to receive *Food Forum* electronically, in addition to a large number of individuals and organizations in the broader constituency. More

than 47 organizational representatives and 25 individuals receive *Food Forum* electronically. The largest electronic subscribers are the Red Cross, CARE, ACDI/VOCA, FHI, USDA, and WFP.

Table 6-11: Governmental *Food Forum* subscriptions

Bureau	HQ	Field
State Department	1	0
Senate Agriculture	1	0
USAID	35	30
USDA	12	0
Other	3	0
Total	52	30

Table 6-12: International *Food Forum* subscriptions

International Organization	Copies
WFP	129
CFGB	4
CIDA	4
Emmanuel Int'l.	2
Gorogutu Ag. Dev.	2
Other	59
Total	200

FAM member organizations make up 51% of *Food Forum* subscriptions; USG subscriptions make up 14%, and other international organizations and individuals make up 35%. Because these data are not cross classified, the best way to understand them is via odds ratios. Subscribers are 1.05 times more likely to be FAM members rather than non-FAM members (government or otherwise), which implies an almost equal division. Of the non-FAM members, subscribers are 2.5 times more likely to be from other international organizations or interested individuals than they are to be USG employees. Total subscription numbers and odds ratios are presented in Table 6-13.

Table 6-13: Categorical distribution of *Food Forum* subscription with frequencies and odds

Subscriptions	Total	%	Odds (FAM/non)
FAM	367	0.51	1.05476
Gov't Bureau	100	0.14	Odds (Int/Gov't)
International Orgs	247	0.35	2.47
Total	713	1.00	

Univariate data analyses of FAM member organization subscriptions reveal that the average number of headquarters paper subscriptions is 4, and the average number of paper field subscriptions is 12. Electronic subscriptions for headquarters staff average 4 issues, with an average of 2 electronic subscriptions for the field. Each FAM member organization receives an average of 23 issues. In summary, more paper copies are sent to the field and more electronic

copies reach headquarters offices. This is not unusual given the relevance of *Food Forum* articles for field staff coupled with the technological constraints of field offices.

Table 6-14: *Food Forum* subscription rates and Z-scores for headquarters and field offices

Organization	HQ	Z	Field	Z	eHQ	Z	eField	Z	Totals	Z
ACDI/VOCA	5	0.21	1	-0.51	6	0.365	2	0	14	-0.341
ADRA	4	0	25	0.605	2	-0.365	1	-0.43	32	0.3451
Africare	3	-0.2	14	0.093	1	-0.547	4	0.87	22	-0.036
ARC	1	-0.6	0	-0.56	22	3.285	6	1.73	29	0.2309
CARE	10	1.26	83	3.302	6	0.365	6	1.73	105	3.1261
CRS (12 Caritas)	8	0.84	35	1.07	4	0	6	1.73	53	1.1451
Counterpart	0	-0.8	3	-0.42	1	-0.547	0	-0.87	4	-0.722
FHI	0	-0.8	1	-0.51	11	1.277	1	-0.43	13	-0.379
IRD	0	-0.8	0	-0.56	0	-0.73	0	-0.87	0	-0.874
Mercy Corps	12	1.68	0	-0.56	1	-0.547	0	-0.87	13	-0.379
OICI	1	-0.6	1	-0.51	4	0	3	0.43	9	-0.531
Project Concern	0	-0.8	4	-0.37	2	-0.365	0	-0.87	6	-0.645
SAVE	2	-0.4	15	0.14	5	0.182	2	0	24	0.0404
TechnoServe	2	-0.4	2	-0.47	1	-0.547	0	-0.87	5	-0.683
World Vision	15	2.32	15	0.14	3	-0.182	3	0.43	36	0.4975
World Share	1	-0.6	0	-0.56	1	-0.547	0	-0.87	2	-0.798
Total	64		199		70		34		367	

Note: An 'e' before the HQ or Field designation implies an electronic subscription. Z-scores with an absolute value greater than one are marginally significant, and with an absolute value greater than 2 are very significant.

Further univariate analyses produce Z-scores that identify individual agencies receiving significantly more subscriptions in the various categories. These results are presented in Table 6-14. CARE receives significantly more paper issues at HQ than average. Subscription levels for Mercy Corps and World Vision are marginally greater than average. CARE also receives significantly more than the average number of field paper subscriptions. CRS's field subscription levels are marginally greater than average. Electronic subscriptions to headquarters are a little different. American Red Cross International Services (ARC) is the only organization to receive significantly more than average number of issues this way, though FHI's subscription rate is marginally greater than average. For electronically delivered field subscriptions, only CARE, CRS, and Counterpart's subscription rates are marginally significant. In total, only CARE has subscription rates that are statistically above average. CRS's subscription rate is marginally above average.

The average number of paper subscriptions to USG domestic bureaus is 10.4; paper field subscriptions average 6; electronic headquarters subscriptions average 3.4; electronic field subscriptions are negligible. The average number of paper copies for international organizations is 33; the average number of electronic copies is 8. I did not complete Z-score analyses for USG bureaus or for international organizations because the data sets were too small, the categories were not exclusive (i.e., all USG bureaus were not represented, and all international organizations were not represented). Statistical analysis and interpretation would produce dubious results.

Food Forum's list of subscribers is extensive and reaches hundreds of organizations within the food security constituency. Deepening the contact between FAM and those member organizations may serve to strengthen ties, but I am unsure how the diversity of organizations or the penetration into the field could be any greater, though email subscriptions may help.

Contributions

Food Forum contributors have been and continue to be a very diverse group. In the early years of the journal, the director of FAM actively pursued contributions from food security interests throughout the broader constituency. Since the FAM restructuring in 1995, *Food Forum* submissions have been solicited from the FAM member constituency and closely associated agencies including USAID, USDA, the Coalition for Food Aid, WFP, the UN, and IFPRI. Each FAM member organization has submitted at least one article for *Food Forum*. The leading contributors are among the founding members of FAM, and are among the largest PVOs involved in Title II activities. CARE has submitted the largest number of articles, followed by CRS and closely by Save the Children, World Vision, and the Red Cross. ADRA, FHI, ACDI/VOCA, and TechnoServe are tied for sixth place according to submissions. These ranks often differ only by one submission, with the majority of FAM member organizations submitting articles during the history of *Food Forum*. Surprisingly, FAM itself has submitted very few articles, focusing primarily on bibliographies. FAM's role in *Food Forum* is bringing the experience of members and technical experts to light.

There have been a total of 190 contributors to *Food Forum* since the first issue. The majority of submissions (119) have been from 59 outside organizations, the predominance of those in the early years of *Food Forum*. The breadth of contributors is larger than most of FAM's other activities. However, the depth of contributions is not very great. There is an average of 2 articles per outside organization. The largest contributors outside the FAM constituency are USAID (particularly the office of FFP), the UN (and its many subunits), the World Bank, the Coalition for Food Aid, FANTA, IFPRI, USDA, the WFP, and InterAction. More recently the 16 FAM member organizations have contributed 71 articles for publication, an average of 4 articles per member organization. Hence, it is 1.7 times more likely for an article chosen at random from the *Food Forum* archives to be written by a member of the larger food security constituency than to be written by a FAM member. Since the policy regarding soliciting contributions has changed in recent years these odds are likely stabilize by the end of the current ISA grant. Univariate statistical analyses of contributions for each organization (presented in Table 6-15) show that some organizations have contributed significantly more than the average number of articles to *Food Forum*. Specifically, CARE, CRS, the UN, USAID, FANTA, IFPRI, and marginally FAM, WVRD, WFP, USDA and the Coalition for Food Aid have all submitted more than average numbers of articles for publication.

Table 6-15: Categorical distribution of *Food Forum* contributions and associated Z-scores

Organization	Articles	Z-score
CARE	15	4.186
CRS	13	3.512
UN	11	2.84
USAID	10	2.5
FANTA	8	1.83
IFPRI	8	1.83
SAVE	7	1.49
CFA	6	1.156
FAM	6	1.156
WFP	6	1.156
WV	6	1.15
USDA	5	0.82

Note: A Z-score of 2 or more implies statistical significance.
A Z-score of 1 or more is marginally more than average.

Food Forum provides an efficient means of communicating to a larger audience for both FAM and non-FAM organizations. To strengthen constituency-building activities, FAM might actively pursue submissions from outside sources, particularly those with whom they have already had some contact. However, *Food Forum's* contributors are already the most diverse constituency of all with respect to FAM's activities. FAM might also pursue a broader subscription base. The large majority of issues are currently earmarked for member headquarters and field offices and for government headquarters and field offices. Universities and other food security projects may benefit from the contents of *Food Forum*, which could be supplied on a cost recovery basis.

Website

The FAM website has been operational since the mid-Nineties, but it was not until late in FY1999 that tracking software and an improved format made the site more efficient and effective (www.foodaidmanagement.org). The website enables rapid and continuous dissemination of information from the broader food security constituency out to the broadest constituency possible, including every individual with access to a computer and the Internet. The website's popularity has grown phenomenally in the past two years, with overall visits and total visits from developing countries increasing drastically. The FAM website provides access to documents written by FAM, FAM member organizations, governmental agencies, and outside interests through 12 pages of links accessible from the FAM home page. Those pages also provide links to FAM member websites and to national and international organizations of the larger food security constituency. This is the most open of all FAM's constituency building activities, allowing access to hundreds of resources and organizations for all interested individuals and organizations.

I aggregated tracking data over quarters to make it analogous to other FAM monitoring data, though monthly reports exist and analysis of the monthly data may reveal more significant trends than the quarterly data. The FAM TIS collects monitoring data on visits to the website, number of

visitors from developing countries, visits to particular pages within the FAM website, and presence of links to documents or other organizations' websites. Each data set concerns either the outflow (visits, popular pages, etc.) or input of information (links and documents) via the site.

Visits

Monitoring data for website visits exists for 12 quarters of FAM's history, between the second quarter of FY1999 and the first quarter of FY2002. Using nonparametric tests, I found significant increasing trends for both total visits and actual visits, which is not unusual, considering that they are related variables (p -values = 0.016). These tests reveal that FAM's website is reaching more individuals and organizations each quarter that it exists. Trend tests for increases in the number of developing country domains to visit the site and the raw number of developing country visits are also significant, though less so than the total visits (p -value = 0.08 for both tests), likely the result of limited data caused by technical problems in FY2000.

Visits to the FAM website have increased from 643 in the second quarter of 1999 to 5854 visits in the last quarter of 2001. It is not necessary to do statistical analysis to understand this increase. Even eliminating those individuals that did not stay for more than a few seconds, we see an increase from 443 to 2783, still significant. This increase has been building slowly over time. It is likely the result of improved domestic and international communication technology coupled with increased knowledge of FAM and FAM's information clearinghouse activities. Visits from developing countries have remained constant, estimated at about five percent of total visits. Web tracking software capabilities make exact determination difficult, but extrapolating visits originating from known developing country domains provide a conservative estimate of visits from the field. If percentages have remained around five percent, while total visits have increased, the real number of visits from the field has increased by the same amount that total visits have increased by (a factor of 9, nearly an order of magnitude) in about two years.

Turning to the most popular pages, the TIS has collected data since the redesign of the FAM website in March 2001. The data for March 2001 through September 2002 which are used

in the following analyses. I computed trend tests for increased visits over time for the various pages. Visits to the agriculture, French, Spanish, the monitoring and evaluation, ‘What’s New’, and search pages revealed marginally significant increases in use over time. The p-values for all the trend tests are presented in Table 6-16. Cross-sectional analyses revealed that the following pages exhibited significantly more total visits than average, using Z-scores: Food Aid/Security, Commodity Management, Monitoring and Evaluation, and the Training Calendar. The members’, USAID, Monetization and FSRC pages showed marginally more total visits than average. These pages showed more visits than average likely because they link to FAM documents important in food aid operations, or they link to other important documents or training dates. All working group pages (LCB, MNTZ, EWG, M&E) and the agriculture, periodicals and French pages showed marginally less visits than average, using Z-scores. Interestingly, the agriculture page shows a significant increase in visits over time, but still has less total visits than average. This is likely due to its being added to the FAM site in June 2001, three months after the initial redesign. Z-scores are presented in Table 6-17. To summarize that table, visitors most often browsed the pages of links to USAID, to FAM members, to the FAM training calendar, to monitoring and evaluation links, to commodity management links, and to general food aid/food security links.

Links

The FAM website provides information about FAM’s history and activities and links to documents and organizations that are relevant to the food security constituency. The 12 pages of links are interspersed with other pages on the FAM site, but are accessible directly through the navigation bar that appears at the side of all pages in the FAM site. The primary categories of links are agriculture, commodity management, environment, Spanish documents, French documents, food aid/security, local capacity building, monetization, monitoring and evaluation, nutrition, other periodicals, and USAID. The only links that are not available there are links to the FAM members’ sites, accessible from the very top of all pages on the site. The number of documents and organizations outside the FAM member constituency that FAM maintains links to

under these twelve major categories reveals who FAM relies on for information. No data regarding changes over time were available, but cross-sectional data reveal the breadth and depth of current linkages through the FAM site. Documents are categorized as FAM in-house documents, FAM member documents, USG documents or other PVO's documents. Links are categorized as FAM member links, USG links, university links or other links.

Table 6-16: Trends for popular pages

Web Page	p-value
LCBWG	0.5
MTZNWG	0.875
MNEWG	0.5
Agriculture	0.125
EWG	0.875
French	0.125
Periodicals	0.5
Environment	0.5
Listservs	0.5
LCB	0.5
Spanish	0.125
Food Forum	0.875
Nutrition	0.5
Search	0.125
FSRC	0.875
Monetization	0.5
USAID	0.5
Members	0.5
Training Calendar	0.5
M&E	0.125
Commodity Mgmt	0.875
Food Aid/Security	0.5
What's New	0.125

Table 6-17: Z-scores for popular pages

Web Page	Totals	Z-score
Food Aid/Security	844	1.894211
Commodity Mgmt	815	1.75601
M&E	778	1.579684
Training Calendar	730	1.350936
Members	604	0.750474
USAID	564	0.559851
Monetization	553	0.50743
FSRC	514	0.321573
Nutrition	505	0.278683
Search	494	0.226261
Spanish	480	0.159543
Food Forum	464	0.083294
Environment	378	-0.32655
LCB	362	-0.40279
New	345	-0.48381
Listservs	332	-0.54576
Periodicals	277	-0.80787
French	262	-0.87935
EWG	239	-0.98896
MNEWG	218	-1.08904
Agriculture	202	-1.16529
MTZNWG	158	-1.37497
LCBWG	152	-1.40356

The number of documents and organizations outside the FAM member constituency that FAM maintains links to under these twelve major categories reveals whom FAM relies on for information. All of these areas provide a total of 27 links to FAM documents, 36 links to member documents, 41 links to government documents and 83 links to documents written by other organizations. There are links to 4 FAM member organization documents, 36 links to government agencies, 14 links to universities, and 153 links to other food

security information sources including commodity quotes, food security libraries and translation services. Table 6-18 provides a breakdown according to the various categories. FAM emerges here as an organization that provides accessible and efficient connections to the larger constituency for food aid professionals, development workers (HQ and field), and students.

Table 6-18: Categorical distribution and odds ratios for online documents and links

Section of FAM Website	Online Document Contributors					Links to Other Organizations				
	FAM	Member	Gov't	Other	Total	Member	Gov't	Univ	Other	Total
Members	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	17
Agriculture	1	1	1	9	12	0	1	2	9	12
Commodity management	3	5	1	3	12	0	17*	0	47**	64
Environment	4	4	3	6	17	0	1	1	9	11
Spanish	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	1	2
French	2	2	0	1	5	1	0	0	4	4
Food aid/Security	1	5	0	20	26	2	3	7	40***	52
local capacity	2	9	2	6	19	0	1	0	5	15
Monetization	5	1	9	2	17	0	8	1	0	4
M&E	6	8	5	13	32	0	0	0	15	21
Nutrition	1	0	0	22	23	0	0	2	17	24
Periodicals	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	1
USAID	0	0	18	0	18	0	5	0	0	0
Totals	27	36	41	83	187	4	36	14	153	207
Odds	1	1.3	1.5	3.1		1	9	3.5	38.3	

Note: '*' includes 2 links to USAID and 15 links to USDA. '**' includes links to commodity quotes. '***' includes links to outside food security interests.

Odds ratios are the best way to understand where FAM connects via the website. It is 3 times more likely for documents to be from other PVO sources, 1.5 times more likely for documents to be from USG sources, and 1.3 times more likely to be from FAM members than for documents to be FAM-generated. For links, it is 38 times more likely for a link to reach an outside PVO, 3.5 times more likely for a link to reach a university program, and 9 times more likely for a link to reach a USG site than to reach a member site. The total number of documents and links and the associated odds are presented in Table 6-18. Because the data set was sparse (there are few numbers and many zeros in cells), I decided against additional Chi-squared and frequency tests. Their results would be dubious and difficult to interpret.

Interactions

Organizational demographers determine the organizational characteristics important for comparing organizations and predicting organizational success in a variety of organizational situations (Alexander et al. 1995, Carroll and Harrison 1998, O'Reilly et al. 1989, Perrow 1967, Pfeffer 1983, Wagner et al. 1984, Zenger and Lawrence 1989). Determining the organizational characteristics that predict an organization's location in a network is useful from an organizational demographic standpoint because it can lead to a general profile of more central or core organizations. Comparing individual organizations and revealing which characteristics are determinants their involvement in FAM activities is slightly beyond the scope of this research, though I have made generalized suggestions and observations for the seven types of interactions presented below. I based these analyses on organizational profiles approved by representatives of each organization, which can be found in Appendix A. I compiled an organizational database from the quantitative data in those organizational profiles combined with the centrality scores for the ten networks I investigated.

Because I wanted to determine the variables that predicted network centrality, but was unsure of exactly which of the six variables were most important, I chose to use backward stepwise regression techniques. This technique is more exploratory than standard linear regressions but allowed me to include all six variables in each of the ten regressions. The regression procedure removed those variables that did not help predict network centrality, leaving me with ten simple regression functions that identified two or three key variables for each network. Those key variables are the predictors of centrality. I report the results of all ten regression analyses in Table 6-19. That table provides the R-squared and adjusted R-squared values for the regression functions, the F-ratio and its associated p-value, and the p-values for the significant predictors of centrality. R-squared values explain how much better an individual's chances are of predicting centrality when using the model than when not using the model. The adjusted R-squared value controls for the presence of multiple independent variables. The F-ratio

is a comparison of the predictive power of the model versus the null model. This ratio, if above two, suggests good predictive power. Because F-ratios vary from model to model, the p-value provides a more general indication of the significance of the regression model. The p-values reported for independent variables are associated with t-tests of the significance of each variable. I have only reported the p-values for those variables considered relevant to the regression models.

Table 6-19: Multiple regression statistics for centrality (defined by FAM interaction type) against FAM member organization demographic variables

Interaction Type	Age	TII Age	HQ Staff Size	TII Projects	Govt. Funding	Funds for TII	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square	F-Ratio	P-Value
FAM General	N/A	0.079	0.053	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.750	0.704	16.458	0.000
Steering Committee	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.000	N/A	N/A	0.892	0.884	115.23	0.000
Monitoring Evaluation	N/A	0.000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.791	0.774	45.449	0.000
Monetization	N/A	0.036	0.057	0.012	0.064	N/A	0.955	0.936	48.269	0.000
Capacity Building	0.020	0.000	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.031	0.866	0.821	19.342	0.000
Environment	0.021	0.000	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.011	0.928	0.903	38.421	0.000
Advice Seeking	N/A	0.002	N/A	N/A	0.136	0.149	0.821	0.674	6.203	0.014
Formal Agreement	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.025	N/A	N/A	0.310	0.261	6.293	0.025
Informal Interaction	0.018	0.000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.907	0.822	25.356	0.000
Non-TII Interactions	N/A	N/A	0.021	0.000	0.326	N/A	0.796	0.740	14.296	0.000

Note: 'N/A' implies the variable was not significant in the model. Values in variable columns are p-values from associated t-tests. R-square values represent the improved predictive power of the model. F-ratio values and p-values represent the significance of the model.

For all FAM's interactions taken as a group, all backwards stepwise regressions for network centrality suggest that less-central, peripheral organizations are likely unable to participate in FAM activities because of newness to Title II (a measure of PVO age), size of HQ staff, number of Title II projects, amount of government funding, or amount of funds dedicated to Title II activities. (The distance between FAM headquarters and the particular PVO headquarters may also be important, but was not investigated in these regressions.) Because variation in the independent variables decreases the validity of the regressions, I dichotomized the key variables

along their respective sample means and included them in a Qualitative Case Analysis. That analysis reveals that with the exception of two cases, the core organizations are the biggest, oldest organizations in FAM, with respect to Title II activities. This is not unusual, given an understanding of FAM's history. The two confounding cases are organizations that have a stronger commitment to a particular value system.

This does not mean that periphery PVOs do not contribute to FAM activities at all. Many organizations whose age, size or distance from FAM headquarters makes interaction difficult take advantage of FAM listservs, website, online bibliographic resources and *Food Forum* as easier means to interact, share information and collaborate with their peers. In the centrality ranking tables below, the organizations whose names are bold are those identified by analyses as core for that particular question. Diagrams of the ten networks follow the body of this chapter.

General Activities

With regard to general FAM activities, there is a very large core of organizations, including the five original members as well as a number of smaller, younger organizations (see Tables 6-19, 6-20 and Figure 6-1). Less central organizations are likely to be the youngest with respect to Title II programming or the smallest with respect to HQ staff, based on backwards stepwise multiple regression analysis. Interestingly, FHI emerges as a highly central organization, likely because of their role as head of the SC, their leadership roles in the WGs, their information services capabilities, their mentoring relationship with FAM, their hosting of FAM's website, and their responsiveness to FAM-related concerns. The network centralization is 7.14%, which means the organizational ties are relatively dispersed across the network rather than being localized in one or two organizations.

Steering Committee Activities

Steering Committee activities, which were once confined to the five original members of FAM, are now open to other member organizations. Here, the core includes the five original

FAM organizations, together with the first two chairs of the new SC (FHI and Africare). Three of the periphery organizations have not served on the SC at this point in FAM's grant period.

Backwards stepwise regression suggests that the youngest Title II organizations with the fewest Title II programs fall into the periphery. Over time, as more organizations come to take leadership positions within the committee, this core group will likely grow to encompass all member organizations, creating a united FAM constituency. Network centralization is 16.14%, meaning that the organizational ties are more focused on a few organizations. This network is more centralized than the FAM general network, likely because of the work the SC does and the fact that a number of FAM organizations have not had the opportunity to serve on the SC (see Tables 6-19, 6-21 and Figure 6-2).

Table 6-20: General interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CRS	100.000	1
CARE	100.000	1
WV	100.000	1
ADRA	88.235	4
FHI	88.235	4
SAVE	83.333	6
CNTPT	78.947	7
ARC	75.000	8
ACDI	75.000	8
AFRICARE	75.000	8
OICI	71.429	11
MC	65.217	12
TNS	65.217	12
PCI	62.500	14
SHARE	57.692	15
IRD	55.556	16

Table 6-21: Steering Committee interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CARE	100	1
CRS	100	1
WV	93.75	3
ADRA	75	4
AFRICARE	71.429	5
FHI	68.182	6
SAVE	68.182	6
TNS	65.217	8
OICI	62.5	9
PCI	62.5	9
CNTPT	60	11
MC	60	11
ACDI	57.692	13
ARC	55.556	14
IRD	55.556	14
SHARE	53.571	16

Monitoring and Evaluation Working Group

Centrality analyses for the M&E WG (in Tables 6-19, 6-22, and Figure 6-3) suggest that the leaders of the group, and those organizations with the deepest institutionalized expertise are once again among the largest and oldest of the organizations, save FHI (multiple regression supports this finding). FHI's position may be ensured because of strong leadership in the WG early on. Another reason FHI may appear in the core here is that an FHI employee was

instrumental in developing one of the toolkits for the group, though acting in a consultant capacity. The organizations that appear in the core of the group are those that have the longest Title II history and have been most involved in collaboration and development of the various toolkits. CARE emerges as one of the most central organizations, likely because of CARE's continued leadership role in these activities, and because of CARE's demonstrated expertise in monitoring and evaluation topics. Network centralization is 22.59%. This high level implies that there are a few organizations that took strong leadership roles and that most network ties run through those organizations.

Table 6-22: Monitoring and Evaluation interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CARE	100	1
CRS	100	1
FHI	78.947	3
ADRA	75	4
WV	75	4
ACDI	68.182	6
ARC	68.182	6
AFRICARE	65.217	8
SAVE	62.5	9
CNTPT	60	10
TNS	60	10
OICI	55.556	12
PCI	55.556	12
IRD	53.571	13
MC	53.571	13
SHARE	53.571	13

Table 6-23: Monetization interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CARE	100	1
CRS	100	1
WV	100	1
AFRICARE	88.235	4
ADRA	75	5
ACDI	65.217	6
FHI	62.5	7
OICI	62.5	7
SAVE	62.5	7
TNS	62.5	7
MC	60	11
ARC	57.692	12
CNTPT	57.692	12
IRD	57.692	12
PCI	55.556	15
SHARE	55.556	15

Monetization Working Group

With respect to the MNTZ WG, the organizations that emerge as central are the larger organizations that are most deeply involved with monetization matters. They are likely to have been most involved with developing FAM's monetization manual and/or to have created monetization resources of their own. The smaller organizations or those that monetize less are in the periphery, as before. Backwards stepwise regressions suggest that

Title II age, size of headquarters staff, number of Title II programs and percentage of government funding are the significant predictors of core or periphery determination. Here, too, we see that the organizations that have taken leadership positions within the WG (Africare, CRS, and ADRA) are in the core. The network centralization score for the MNTZ WG is 12.54%. This implies that there is an equitable dispersion of interorganizational ties among the organizations (see Tables 6-19, 6-23 and Figure 6-4).

Local Capacity Building Working Group

The LCB WG has a very small core, composed primarily of organizations who have taken leadership roles in the group (CRS, ADRA, CNTPT) and others who include capacity building in their programmatic activities. This information is shown in Tables 6-19, 6-24, and Figure 6-5. There are a number of reasons why this group may be small. Limited initial funding may have discouraged organizations from working within this group. Limited organizational interest may also have led to lower participation. There is no generally accepted definition of capacity building, which leads to uncertainty about who the experts are, what the important and relevant tasks are, and who should take the initiative. It may also be that since the donor has limited interest in LCB, and because Title II PVOs are often tied to donor policy, participation and interest are lower for this particular group. Multiple regressions show that PVO age (both total and Title II) along with amount of funds dedicated to Title II activities predict involvement in this group. Centralization in the LCB network is 31.8%, largely because a few organizations carry out most of the work and maintain most organizational ties.

Environmental Working Group

Though the EWG has not been officially recognized by USAID, the group's collaborative activities and information exchange are important. The group developed environmental compliance guidelines for Title II CSs and organized training associated with those guidelines. Unlike other WGs, USAID participates in its activities, despite its lack of official recognition. As

shown in Tables 6-19 and 6-25 (and Figure 6-6), the core group is very small, probably because of lack of funding for this WG. Core organizations had significant interests in environmental issues or took leadership roles in the group. Multiple regression analysis suggests that just as in the LCB WG, age and amount of funds dedicated to Title II activities predict WG centrality.

Centralization is 25.97%, because a few organizations took leadership positions.

Table 6-24: Local Capacity Building Working Group interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CARE	100	1
CRS	100	1
ADRA	68.182	3
ACDI	62.5	4
CNTPT	60	5
SAVE	60	5
AFRICARE	57.692	7
ARC	57.692	7
FHI	57.692	7
MC	55.556	10
WV	55.556	10
IRD	53.571	12
OICI	53.571	12
PCI	53.571	12
TNS	53.571	12
SHARE	53.571	12

Table 6-25: Environmental Working Group interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CARE	100	1
CRS	100	1
WV	75	3
ADRA	71.429	4
AFRICARE	65.217	5
ACDI	62.5	6
FHI	60	7
SAVE	60	7
CNTPT	57.692	9
OICI	57.692	9
MC	55.556	11
PCI	55.556	11
TNS	55.556	11
SHARE	55.556	11
ARC	53.571	15
IRD	53.571	15

Advice, Formal and Informal Ties, Non-Title II Ties

Outside the bounds of formal FAM groups, organizations contact each other for advice on Title II policy, procedure, reporting, or compliance issues. Some organizations have formal or informal collaborative agreements with each other, and many interact with each other in the nonprofit world but outside of Title II activities. Taken together, the next four tables (Tables 6-26 through 6-29) present a snapshot of the environment of interactions between Title II PVOs. In effect, these tables reveal the core constituency of Title II CSs.

Table 6-26 and Figure 6-7 show that nine of the sixteen FAM organizations appear in the core with respect to Title II advice interactions. Centrality in this network is predicted by Title II age, percent of total budget is made up of government funds, and the amount of funds dedicated

to Title II activities, based on multiple regressions (see Table 6-19). Network centralization is 21.42%, implying that though there is a large core, the network has areas of concentrated organizational ties (i.e., there are some organizations that are more often contacted for advice than others.). Here, rank signifies a continuum of institutionalized experience and experts within particular organizations coupled with the likelihood of availability to offer assistance.

International Relief and Development (IRD) does not appear in the table because it was disconnected from the network, and thus had little to no interaction with other organizations on Title II issues. This is likely to change as IRD begins Title II programming in coming years.

The first conclusion is that the core organizations are the most knowledgeable and experienced with Title II issues. However, this is not the most important conclusion. The large core also implies that a significant and growing community of Title II organizations likely to develop common opinions, perspectives and procedures. The large core group also indicates that, Title II PVOs have come to interact through formal and informal channels. This is not to say that interaction, information exchange, cooperation and collaboration did not exist before, or that currently they are perfect. However, interactions are increasing over time and seem to be improving.

Table 6-26: Advice network interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CARE	100	1
ACDI	82.353	2
AFRICARE	82.353	2
CRS	82.353	2
ADRA	77.778	5
WV	77.778	5
ARC	73.684	7
FHI	73.684	7
SAVE	73.684	7
CNTPT	63.636	10
MC	60.87	11
TNS	60.87	11
OICI	58.333	13
PCI	53.846	14
SHARE	53.846	14

Table 6-27: Formal interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
ADRA	81.25	1
CARE	81.25	1
CRS	81.25	1
AFRICARE	76.471	4
WV	76.471	4
FHI	72.222	6
SAVE	68.421	7
TNS	68.421	7
ACDI	65	9
MC	59.091	10
OICI	54.167	11
ARC	46.429	12
PCI	46.429	12
SHARE	46.429	12

Table 6-27 and Figure 6-8 show that with respect to formal interactions, there is a core similar in size to the informal advice network core. All organizations listed in the table have formal agreements, but those in the core are perceived as more deeply involved in formal Title II interactions. Multiple regression analysis reveals that number of Title II projects is the most significant predictor of centrality in this network (Table 6-19). A low network centralization score (17.2%) implies that organizational interactions are more spread among all organizations, rather than concentrated among a few organizations. This analysis does not reveal the organizations involved in specific collaborative projects. It does, however, suggest which organizations are likely to be more involved in formal, project-related interactive agreements. There are several monetization consortia that may have provided the underlying structure for this set of measures. IRD and Counterpart do not appear in this list of rankings. These organizations have only just established Title II development programs, and are unlikely to have formal collaborative agreements with FAM organizations.

Table 6-28: Informal Title II interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
CARE	100	1
CRS	100	1
WV	88.235	3
ACDI	83.333	4
ARC	83.333	4
ADRA	78.947	6
FHI	78.947	6
OICI	78.947	6
AFRICARE	75	9
SAVE	75	9
TNS	68.182	11
CNTPT	62.5	12
MC	62.5	12
PCI	62.5	12
SHARE	60	15
IRD	55.556	16

Table 6-29: Non-Title II interactions

FAM org	Closeness	Rank
AFRICARE	100	1
CARE	100	1
CRS	100	1
ACDI	83.333	4
FHI	83.333	4
ADRA	71.429	6
WV	68.182	7
SAVE	65.217	8
TNS	65.217	8
MC	62.5	10
CNTPT	60	11
PCI	60	11
ARC	57.692	13
IRD	57.692	13
OICI	57.692	13
SHARE	57.692	13

The ten member core that emerges from information about informal interactions (see Table 6-28 and Figure 6-9) mirrors the nine member core shown for Title II advice. Here, age and

years of Title II experience predict centrality. I included this question to check data validity and to estimate the size and coherence of the Title II community. Ten of the sixteen FAM members are in the core, supporting conclusions about the growth of a stronger constituency over time. The network centralization 8.74%, implying that organizational interactions are dispersed and relatively homogeneous across the network, with a less concentrated central core than any of the WG networks. Table 6-29 and Figure 6-10 present the results of analyses regarding interactions outside of the general Title II arena. Here, size of HQ staff, number of Title II projects and amount of government funding predict centrality (see Table 6-19). This core group is similar to the core group associated with SC interactions, though centralization is lower (only 10.48%). My interpretation is that those organizations that take leadership positions in one area (like Title II) are likely to take leadership positions in other areas. Variation between the core groups for these four networks, particularly the positions of ACDI/VOCA and SAVE, is the result of the analysis protocol rather than of any real differences in the data.

I report centralization scores for all ten FAM interaction networks along with associated Z-scores in Table 6-30. Centralization scores are network-wide measures of how hierarchical a network is. Z-scores were computed using the sample mean and sample variance and reveal which cases may be extreme. In an extreme case, all organizational ties would link individual organizations to one central organization and the centralization score would be 100%. This is not the case with FAM's organizational networks. General FAM interactions, informal and non-Title II ties show lower centralization scores than the sample mean. This implies that the FAM network is decentralized, as would be expected with a collectivist group. LCB activities and EWG activities show higher centralization scores than the sample mean, implying that these activities are more likely to be dominated by one or a few key organizations. Univariate statistics for the Centralization measures are presented in Table 6-31.

Table 6-30: Centralization measures and Z-scores based on sample mean

Network	Centralization	Z-scores
General	7.14 %	-1.28275
SC	16.14 %	-0.15775
M&E	22.59 %	0.6485
MNTZ	12.54 %	-0.60775
LCB	31.8 %	1.79975
EWG	25.97 %	1.071
Advice	21.42 %	0.50225
Formal	17.2 %	-0.02525
Informal	8.74 %	-1.08275
Non TII	10.48 %	-0.86525

Table 6-31: Centralization descriptive statistics

Centralization	
Mean	17.402
Median	16.67
Std. Dev.	8.00901
Variance	64.14424
Range	24.66
Minimum	7.14
Maximum	31.8

A number of the final network elicitation questions were included to be crosschecks on each other. In particular, questions about FAM general activities, Title II advice, formal and informal Title II interactions and interactions outside the Title II environment should all generate similar organizational network diagrams. When considered together, the responses to these questions provide a picture of the organizational relationships between FAM members. Statistical analyses show that these matrices are only somewhat correlated with each other. Most correlation coefficients are around the 0.5 level, but vary between 0.4 and 0.6. Low correlation values are the result of comparing networks of the same size that include disconnected organizations or that have different tie patterns and densities. Most FAM networks have 16 members represented, but others have only 14 or 15 members, because of ‘outlier’ organizations with no ties to the rest of the network. Table 6-32 presents the results of a four pairs of correlations, computed using Quadratic Assignment Procedures (QAP) on the symmetrized matrices. All of these correlations are significant at much higher than the 0.01 level. Each of these organizational networks is

somewhat similar to the others in structure and in patterns of ties, but not entirely the same. There are two implications for this research. First, significance measures suggest that responses are consistent and reliable. Second, comparing the correlation coefficients reveals that the most correlated networks are those that represent FAM general activities and Title II advice-seeking behaviors. I chose to use the FAM general activities network in later analyses because advice-seeking behavior was outside the realm of FAM activities and because interpreting and communicating the results based on the general network would be more straightforward.

Table 6-32: Network correlations for similar networks

	Correlation (p-value)			
Title II Advice	.625 (.000)			
Formal Ties	.448 (.003)	.607 (.000)		
Informal Ties	.651 (.000)	.596 (.000)	.445 (.002)	
Non-TII Ties	.462 (.003)	.555 (.000)	.505 (.000)	.477 (.001)
	FAM General	Title II Advice	Formal Ties	Informal Ties

Evaluations

I asked representatives of FAM member organizations to evaluate how successful FAM's activities were in encouraging cooperative action or information sharing and exchange. I presented each of FAM's activities and asked respondents to rate them using a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the most successful. The results are presented in Table 6-33. Overall, none of FAM's activities earned a modal response below the midpoint score of 3. Information exchange activities, including the website and its associated content and links earned top modal responses of 5. The FSRC and information requests also earned high modal responses, as did *Food Forum*, some of the working groups and a few listservs. I also report rankings in Table 6-33. Small differences between modal rating and the rank shown arise because the ranks are based on average responses.

The three major sets of interactions are the working groups, the listservs and the FSRC. Among the working groups, the monitoring and evaluation working group is considered the most successful in encouraging and utilizing collaborative activity, followed by the monetization,

environment and local capacity building working groups. Of the list serves, the most successful is the all-FAM list serve, followed by the environment list serve, monitoring and evaluation, local capacity building, monetization, nutrition and commodity management. Website content is considered the best means of information exchange, followed by website links, information requests and finally *Food Forum*.

Table 6-33: Collaborative activity ratings and ranks

Activity	Rating (modal)	Rank (mean)
Website content	5	1
Website in general	5	2
Website links	5	3
Information requests	5	4
FSRC in general	4	5
M&E WG	4	6
MNTZ WG	4	7
FAM listserv	4	8
<i>Food Forum</i>	4	9
ENVT listserv	4	10
M&E listserv	4	11
Listservs in general	3	12
WGs	3	13
EWG	4	14
SC	3	15
LCB listserv	4	16
MNTZ listserv	3	16
NUT listserv	3	18
LCB WG	3	19
COMM listserv	3	20

I was my assumption that network position (indicated by network centrality) would be a predictor of FAM evaluation scores. Regression analysis of FAM member centrality scores against pertinent FAM evaluation scores revealed no significant relationships. Based on these data, a member organization's position within FAM's collaborative structures has no significant relationship to that organization's evaluation of FAM activities. It could be that central FAM organizations are unhappy with the direction that FAM's collaborative activities are taking and are active (and central) as a means to change that direction. It may be that organizational demographic characteristics are better direct predictors of evaluation scores than structural

measures are. These results suggest that an organization should use caution when attempting to measure network position as a proxy measure of satisfaction.

Conclusions

This FAM profile explained the ways FAM activities build a constituency of organizations interested in food aid and food security and revealed the structure of organizational ties associated with those collaborative activities. In this instance, there are two constituencies, the FAM members and the broader group of food aid and food security professionals. FAM's activities, both active and passive, strengthened those constituencies by input of information or through output of information. Here, FAM's activities vary along three different dimensions: member/periphery, active/passive, and input/output. Some activities meet the needs of the members more than the needs of the periphery. Some are more active on the part of FAM than are others; and some focus on outputs more so than inputs. Understanding where FAM's activities lie will help FAM determine where activities should be focused to meet goals in the coming years.

FAM Steering Committee activities involve a limited number of FAM member organizations and affect only FAM members, but have a stronger impact and more opportunity for individual and organizational capacity building. FAM WG activities (meetings, products and workshops) involve the entire FAM membership and affect that same constituency. Individuals and organizations use these opportunities to develop individual and organizational capacity. Working Group activities also reach a broader constituency, both member organizations' field offices, other organizations, and individuals in the broader food security environment.

FAM listservs, though possibly the fastest and most reliable means of communication within the food aid constituency, have been used primarily for communication of logistical and operational information. Listserv content could be improved over time, which may happen as individuals become more comfortable communicating via this channel. However, listserv utility in the food aid community remains to be proved; the listserv may not be a viable communication outlet. The FSRC is one of the oldest and most reliable means of coordinating information

exchange. The number and diversity of contributors over time has increased, as has the number and diversity of requestors. This trend seems unlikely to change as the FSRC's reputation as a strong food security resource grows, particularly for non-FAM organizations and individuals who are most likely to utilize this resource. As technology in the developing world grows to meet demand, the online FSRC database and digitized resources will only serve to make this resource more important.

Food Forum provides a space for the discussion of timely food security topics, and incorporates submissions from FAM members and the larger food aid community. Nearly a thousand issues of *Food Forum* reach food security organizations and professionals, though most reach FAM member organizations' field offices. Subscribers and Contributors could be increased, though this remains the best means FAM has to disseminate food security information to a broad audience. The FAM website is the final way FAM builds and maintains a constituency of food security interests. By linking thousands of visitors to hundreds of food security documents and organizations, FAM provides the structural opportunity for continuous information exchange. Trends in website use imply that this site is growing in popularity not only at the headquarters level, but also at the field level. More links will improve this channel for constituency building.

FAM has provided a return on USAID's initial investment, a thought echoed by the food aid professionals interviewed. Not only is FAM meeting the needs of the membership, but it is meeting the needs of governmental agencies, organizational support programs, universities, consulting firms, students and other individuals who are or who will be members of the broader food security constituency. FAM's primary activity, developing and promoting food aid standards, is likely most important for the membership in the short run. However, in light of growing interest in collaborative capacity building for PVOs, information exchange activities may be the most important activities for the food aid constituency in the long run.

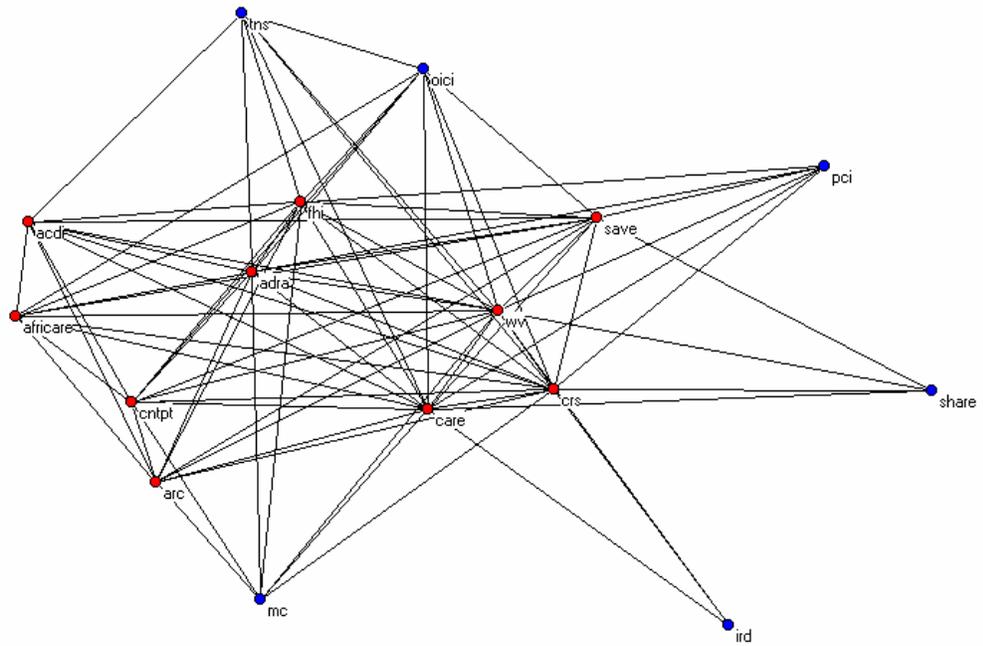


Figure 6-1. General FAM interaction network

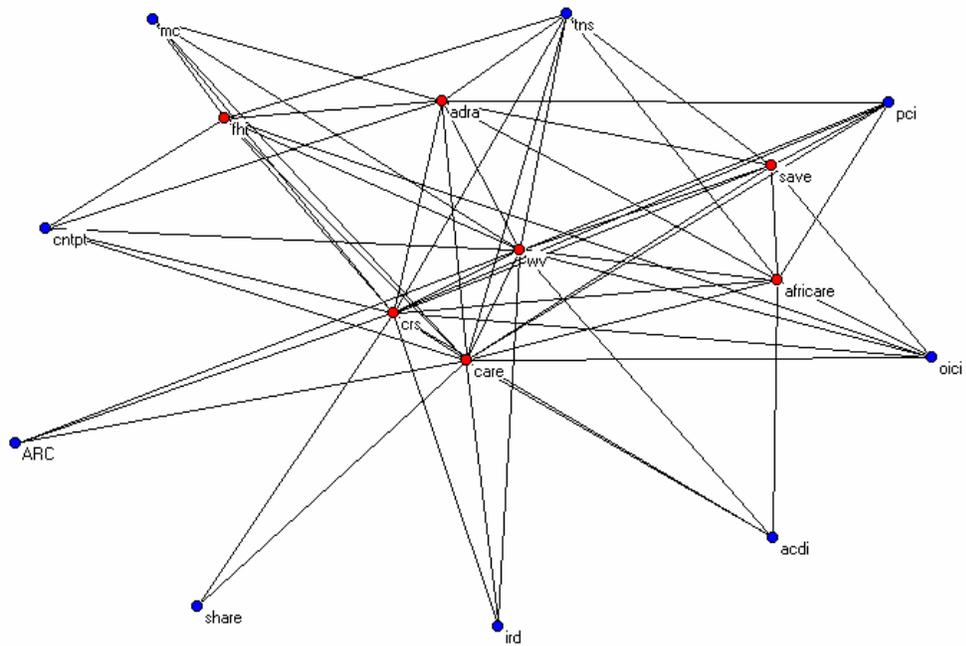


Figure 6-2. Steering Committee interaction network

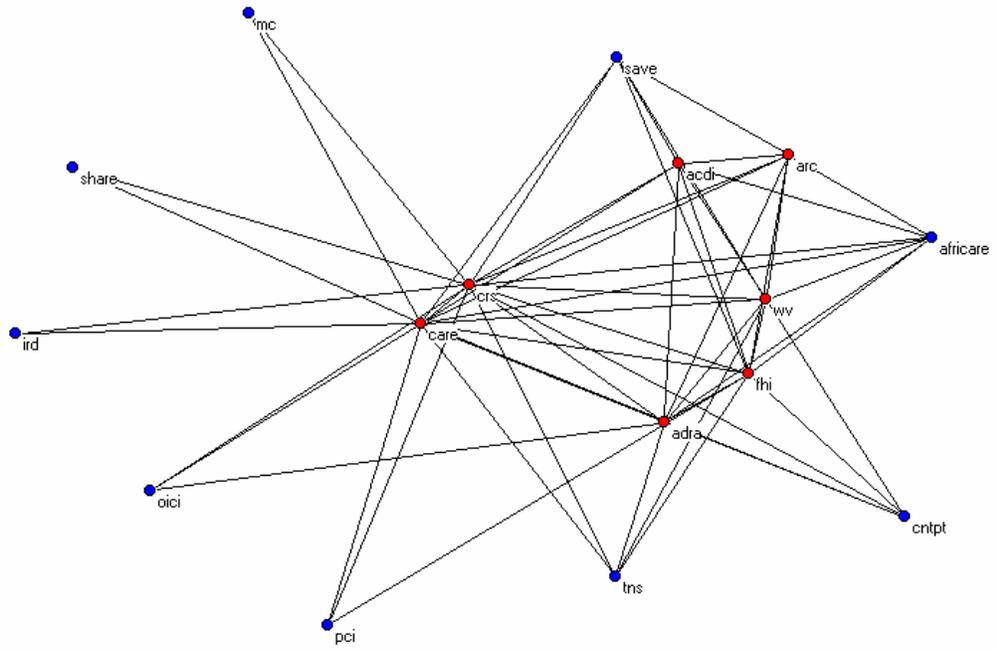


Figure 6-3. Monitoring and Evaluation Working Group interaction network

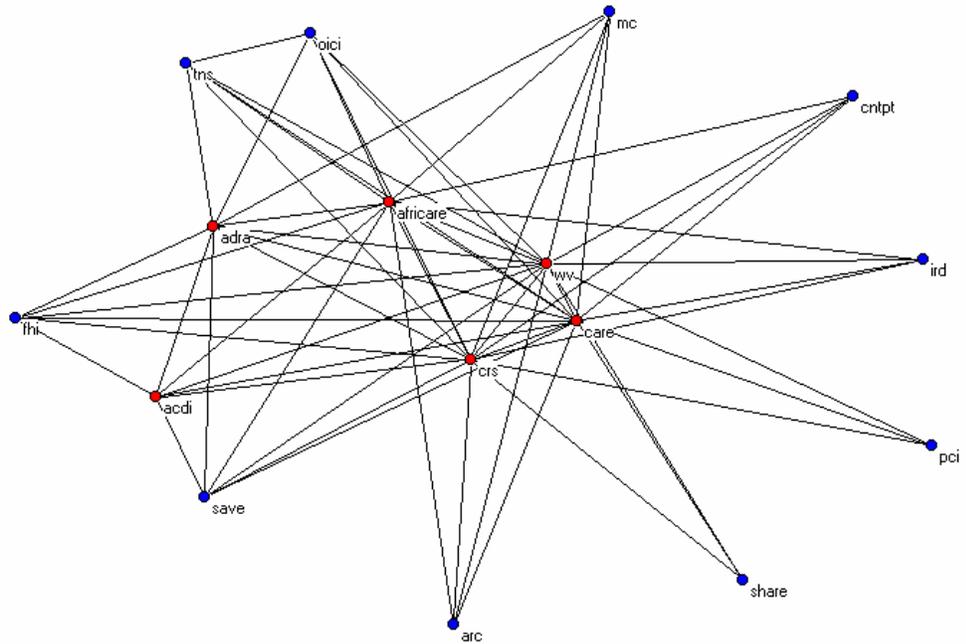


Figure 6-4. Monetization Working Group interaction network

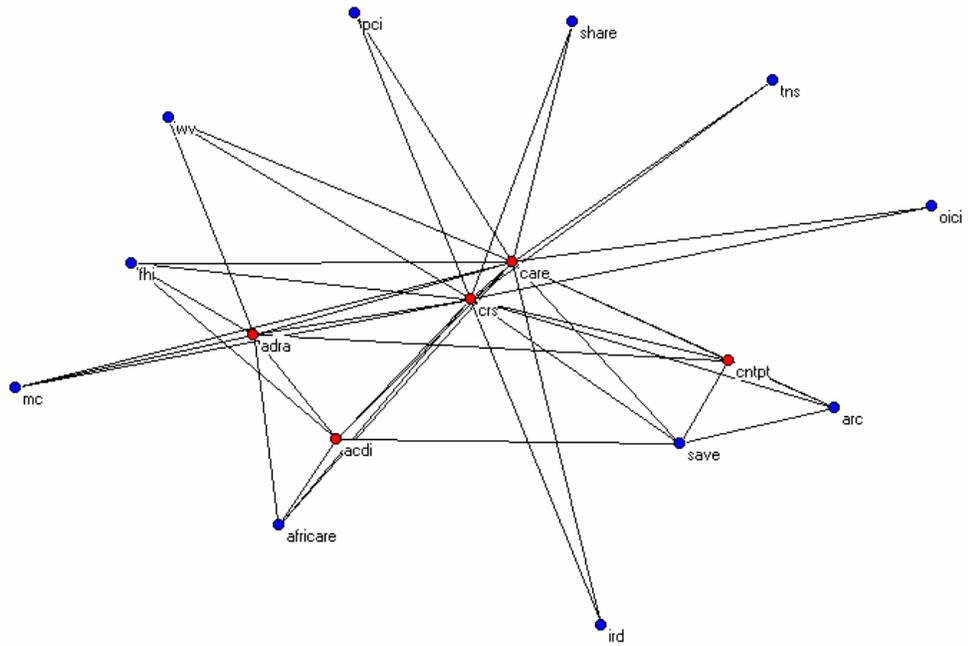


Figure 6-5. Local Capacity Building Working Group interaction network

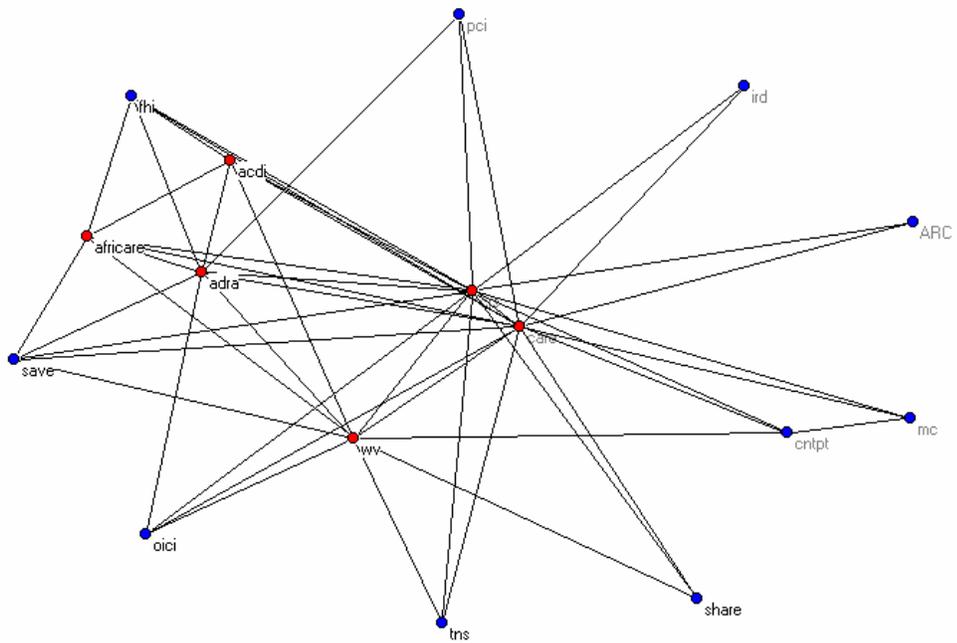


Figure 6-6. Environmental Working Group interaction network

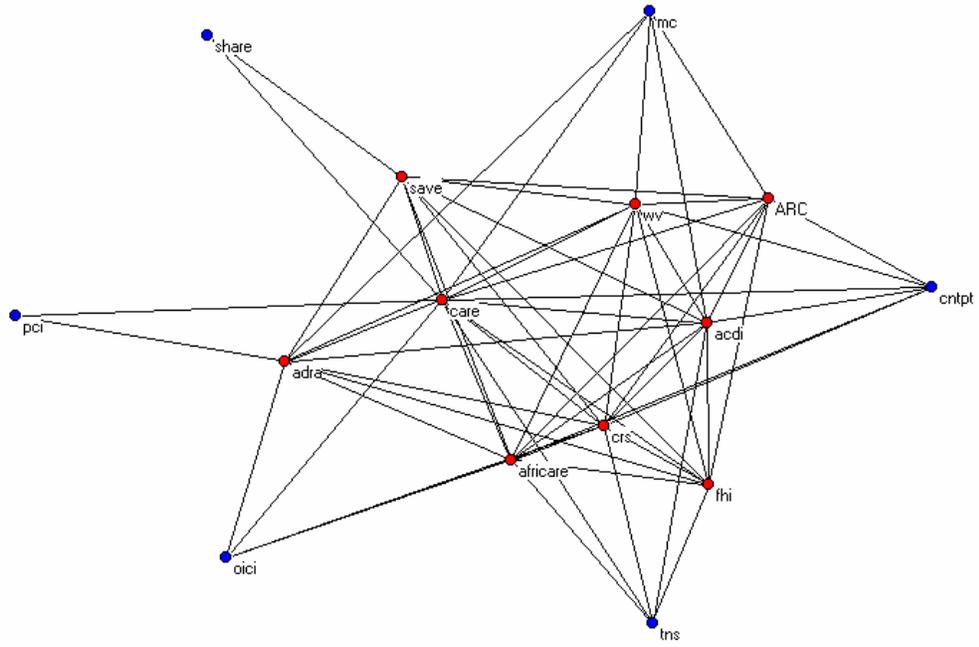


Figure 6-7. Title II advice-seeking interaction network

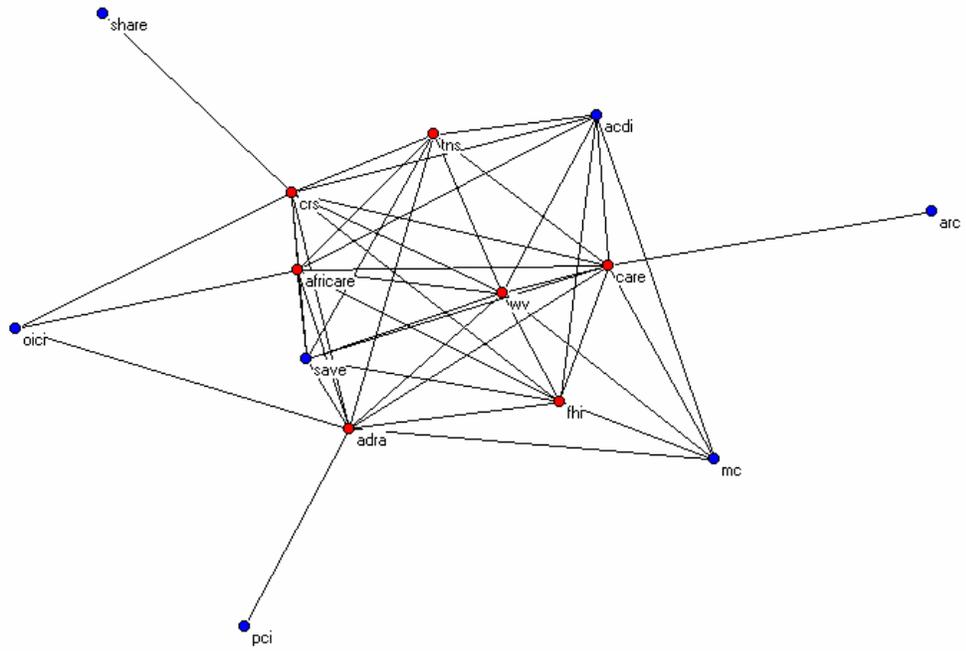


Figure 6-8. Formal Title II agreement interaction network

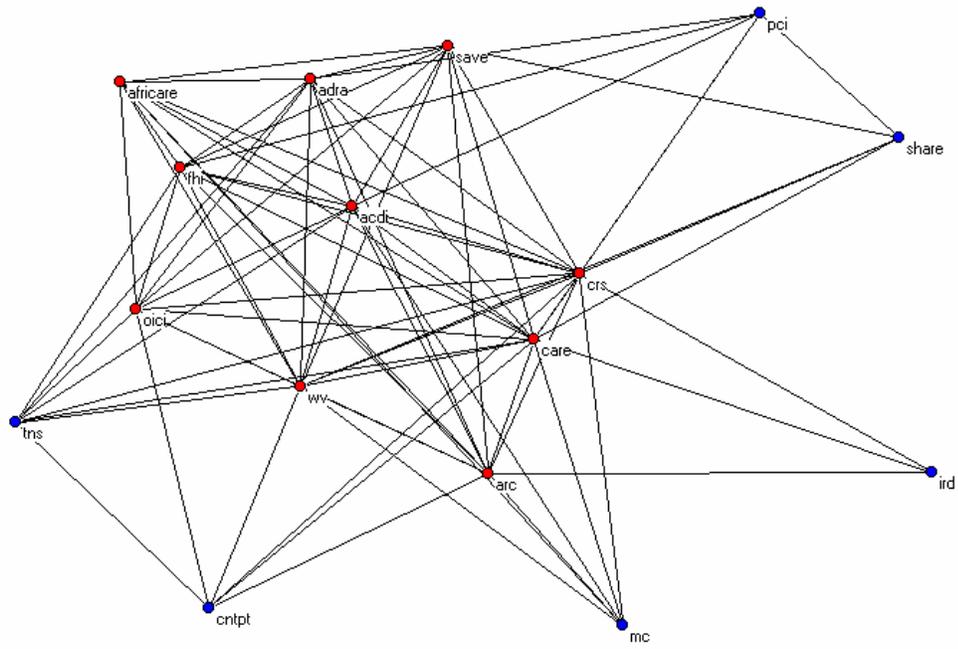


Figure 6-9. Informal Title II interaction network

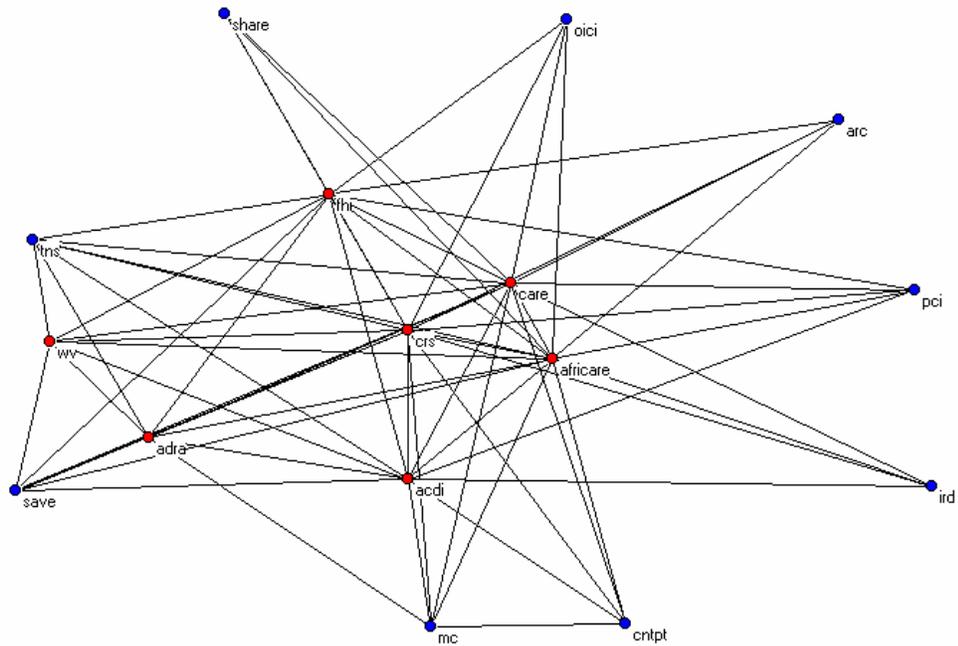


Figure 6-10. Non-Title II interaction network

CHAPTER 7 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In the two chapters that preceded this one, I explained FAM's collaborative activities in detail. I began with a historical perspective focused on how FAM has encouraged cooperation through group interaction, coordinated the development of technical documents that strengthen food aid standards, and institutionalized collaboration in the food aid environment. I continued with a profile of FAM's current activities that explains who is using FAM services and how they are using those services. I also presented an analysis of the interorganizational structures that are associated with FAM's primary activities. My ethnographic understanding of those activities is grounded in the theory associated with collectivist organizations. Without that theory, I would not have been able to frame those profiles as easily. Without those profiles, I would not have been able to understand the implications of my theoretical investigation.

The overarching goals of this research were to verify the collectivist model for international development organization, to explore the utility of social network techniques for measuring collaborative capacity, and to provide FAM with recommendations for structural and behavioral changes to improve its activities. In this chapter I present the results of my theoretical, methodological and practical investigation of FAM as a collectivist organization. I return to the collectivist model I explained in Chapter 3 and test it using quantitative data collected during my research with FAM. I present statistical results of the parametric, nonparametric and Boolean analyses used to test the model. My discussion focuses on what the tests say about the model examined, explaining how my research can inform organizational theory. In the next section, I explain how social network theory impacted my research and explain what my investigation of

multiple network structures implies for social network theory. I conclude with a discussion of the practical aspects of this research, presenting recommended organizational changes that would allow the FAM network to function more efficiently as a collective until cooperation and collaboration are institutionalized, explaining how I applied organizational theory to specific operational problems.

Organizational Theory

In Chapter 2 I developed a set of hypotheses about the interaction of environmental, structural and cultural factors in a collectivist organizational model. My ethnographic understanding of FAM led me to believe that it would be an appropriate environment for testing that model. What I expected to occur was that as measures of PEU increased, measures of organizational collectivism would increase and structural measures of hierarchy and centralization would decrease. The hypotheses are:

H1: Because perceptions of increasing environmental uncertainty are linked to increased commitment to cooperation and collectivism, measures of environmental uncertainty in individuals will be positively correlated with measures of workplace collectivism in individuals.

H2: Because perceptions of increasing environmental uncertainty have been associated with the development of social networks, and because perceptions of uncertainty are affected by position within a network, measures of environmental uncertainty will be negatively correlated with measures of centrality in the FAM organizational network.

H3: Because commitment to cooperation is linked to structural measures that imply lower hierarchical organization, measures of individual workplace collectivism will be negatively correlated with measures of centrality in an organizational network. Being located at the periphery of a network structure is associated with collectivism as a means to gain control in an uncertain environment. Being located at the hierarchical core of a network is associated with less reliance on collectivist ideals.

As I explained in Chapter Three, social network measures of centrality, measures of PEU, and measures of I/C must be integrated in this analysis. Because determining causality was not my intention I chose correlation analyses to test my hypotheses. To compensate for small sample sizes and limited analysis capabilities, I incorporated nonparametric and Boolean investigations.

These three approaches provide three separate but related lines of evidence to use in testing the collectivist model. The remainder of this section presents the quantitative results and justification for using each of these three measures followed by the results for each of the three hypothesis tests I completed. It ends with a discussion of what my results imply for the collectivist model and organizational theory.

Structure

Social network analysis provided data on the structure and content of FAM interactions. I chose to use network measures based on general FAM activities in these hypothesis tests because they incorporate formal and informal interactions and are not restricted to particular subsets of FAM activity (like working groups). Table 7-1 presents the descriptive statistics associated with those particular centrality measures. Neither factor analysis nor reliability investigation with Chronbach's alpha was appropriate for these nonscale structural measures; however, descriptive statistics and QAP comparisons with other network measures generated for FAM activities suggest that these scores are appropriate for further analysis.

Table 7-1: Centrality descriptive statistics

Centrality	
Mean	82.96588
Standard Error	1.995182
Median	78.947
Mode	75
Standard Deviation	11.46145
Sample Variance	131.3648

Table 7-2: Uncertainty descriptive statistics

Environmental Uncertainty	
Mean	79.92308
Standard Error	3.783333
Median	82
Mode	105
Standard Deviation	23.62691
Sample Variance	558.2308

Environment

I measured PEU using the scale Miles and Snow developed (1978), but modified for the Title II environment. The average value of the response for the entire scale, adjusted to a 100 point standard for ease of presentation, was 49.9, implying that when asked specific questions about the environment there was only moderate perceived uncertainty. However, the six subscales reveal some variation. PVO representatives believe that availability of funding is unstable (significantly different from the median value), followed by the government's actions,

commodity-related activities, other PVOs, food aid recipients and their own PVOs on a continuum of increasing stability. This is not unusual, considering that many PVO activities are entirely related to the availability of funds. Because the government is the primary donor, uncertainty related to governmental activity, policy and regulations is not unusual. Table 7-2 presents a basic univariate description of the scale as a whole.

Though the small number of cases makes results dubious, I completed a factor analysis of the scale responses. That analysis and the associated scree plot reveal that six factors are most useful for providing a framework for these responses, just as six factors were most useful in the original Miles and Snow scale. Further analysis reveals that those factors explain 60.20% of variation in responses. Reliability analysis suggests that responses are robust enough to allow these measures to be incorporated into subsequent hypothesis tests; Chronbach's alpha is 0.871.

Individualism and Collectivism

I asked organizational representatives to respond to two scales of individualism and collectivism during Phase Two of this research. Those two scales were the Earley (1994) and Wagner (1995) scales. The Earley scale measures ideological commitment to collectivism. The average response to that scale, adjusted to a 100-point scale for comparability, was 53.12, just above the midpoint. This signifies that respondents fell into the middle of the continuum of individuality or collectivism with respect to their beliefs about individualism and collectivism in the workplace, which would not be unusual for individuals living in the culturally diverse US. More to the point, those findings are not unusual for a group of individuals from varying cultures now living in the US, as is the case with the FAM respondents. Triandis (1995) showed that cultural diversity in the US leads to variation in personal commitment to collective action. Determining the nationality of respondents could help determine if this holds for the FAM population, but was outside the scope of this research. Factor analysis reveals three dominant

factors here and a Chronbach's alpha of 0.42. These three factors explain 59.36% of the total variance in responses.

The average response to the Wagner scale which focuses on behaviors and practices in work activities was 70.85, significantly higher than the midpoint. These results imply that individuals within this particular PVO community consider collective action to be worth pursuing on the job. The contrast between attitudinal and behavioral collectivism scores suggests that personality will ultimately play a large part in the success of collective activities. If collective activities are pursued in the workplace but individuals' attitudes toward collective activity vary widely, then the particular individual involved in the collective activity will make the difference. (This is where the 'personality' part of the food aid axis discussed previously comes into play.) Factor analysis suggests that there are six dominant factors that explain 74.10% of the total variation in responses for this scale, as compared to five factors suggested in previous validations of the scale. Chronbach's alpha is 0.730.

Table 7-3: Individualism/Collectivism scale ranks

FAM org	Wagner Rank	FAM org	Earley Rank
TNS	1	ACDI	1
CARE	2	FHI	1
OICI	3	CARE	3
FHI	4	TNS	3
ADRA	5	ADRA	5
WV	6	CNTPT	5
AFRICARE	7	SAVE	5
ACDI	8	ARC	8
CNTPT	8	OICI	9
ARC	10	CRS	10
SHARE	10	WV	11
CRS	12	AFRICARE	12
SAVE	13	SHARE	12

Table 7-3 presents FAM member organizations' ranks based on the Wagner scale and the Earley scale. First-ranked organizations were most collectivist, and same-ranked organizations were tied for a particular position. Because organizational data are aggregated from individuals' responses, the number of respondents per organization makes a significant impact on the

organizational scores and ranks. However, higher individual participation reflects higher organizational commitment to collective activity and reveals differences between organizations. Comparison of Chronbach's alpha measures suggests that responses to the Wagner scale are more reliable. Because workplace collective actions (and not attitudes) are most relevant to this research, I used the more reliable Wagner scale to test hypotheses. I present descriptive statistics for the Wagner and Earley scales in Tables 7-4 and 7-5.

Table 7-4: Wagner descriptive statistics

(Maximum score=100)	
Mean	70.84615
Standard Error	2.282226
Median	74
Mode	83
Standard Deviation	14.25249
Sample Variance	203.1336

Table 7-5: Earley descriptive statistics

(Maximum score=50)	
Mean	26.58974
Standard Error	0.927695
Median	27
Mode	27
Standard Deviation	5.793453
Sample Variance	33.5641

Hypothesis Tests

Factor analyses and reliability measures indicate that each of the scales and measures is appropriate for inclusion in hypothesis tests for relationships between the variables. Correlation analyses provide a rough idea of how these variables are related to each other. Because sample size is small, reliability for parametric statistical analyses is low. As a solution, I completed additional nonparametric and Boolean tests of association that convert scale scores into ranks or into dichotomized variables for use in truth table analyses.

Table 7-6: Parametric pairwise correlations

Variable	By Variable	Correlation	P-Value
PEU	Wagner	0.2550	0.1520
Centrality	Wagner	-0.0769	0.6706
Centrality	PEU	-0.0034	0.9850

I present the results of simultaneous analyses for correlation between the three pairs of variables under investigation in Table 7-6. Nonparametric tests very nearly recapitulate the results of the parametric tests. For the purposes of this research, I computed Spearman's Rho and Kendall's Tau, the two most popular and widely accepted measures of association (Daniel 1990:

373-374). The results are presented in Table 7-7. These correlation analyses provide no support for the theoretical model being tested.

Table 7-7: Nonparametric measures of association

Variable	By Variable	Spearman Rho	Prob. > Rho
PEU	Wagner	0.1298	0.4714
Centrality	Wagner	0.0373	0.8365
Centrality	PEU	-0.0132	0.9419
		Kendall Tau b	Prob.> Tau b
PEU	Wagner	0.0918	0.4643
Centrality	Wagner	0.0368	0.7845
Centrality	PEU	-0.0299	0.8222

It is possible to determine the conditions for the existence of these collectivist organizations using Boolean analytic induction techniques. Ratliff (2002) and Smelser and Baltes (2001) present reviews of the procedures. This approach is an alternative to statistical or probabilistic analysis and helps researchers with small numbers of cases to draw findings from their qualitative research. The best examples of analytic induction are Cressey's (1953) study of embezzlers and Lindesmith's study of Opiate addiction (1947, 1968). Ragin (1987, 1994) developed a set of Boolean procedures called Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) that systematizes the qualitative approaches.

My categorical analyses of the results return findings identical to those of the correlation analyses. I dichotomized the structural, environmental and cultural variables using their respective sample means. QCA based on this data set did not return any prime implicants, meaning that there are no easily determined sets of sufficient conditions that support this theoretical model.

Theoretical Discussion

Three different systematic analyses show that the data collected do not support the hypothesized collectivist organizational model. Correlation analyses reveal that trends may exist in the hypothesized directions, but the correlation coefficients are so low and p-values so high that it would be unwise to trust the trends indicated. Boolean analysis using QCA also provides

no support for the model. Wholesale rejection of the collectivist organizational model is tempered by the qualitative research my research is based on and by my own ethnographic research presented in the FAM history and FAM profile chapters. Unfortunately, it seems that the quantitative data do not provide any support for the theoretical model tested. This may be because of improper variable operationalization, poor scale selection, small sample size, or inappropriate application of the theoretical model.

The small number of cases make statistical and probabilistic analyses suspect. There was not enough data to ensure that the tests were reliable. Another likely reason for the lack of significance is that the data set is not robust enough to reveal the significance of these trends. Aggregating and disaggregating the data for differing levels of analysis may also have introduced error that affected the tests. The solution would be to increase the number of organizations participating in the study. One response would be to gather data from more individuals within this network of organizations, though 78% of all individuals active in FAM activities participated. High turnover rates among international development organizations are the most proximate cause for less than 100% response rates. Another remedy would be to gather information from a larger variety of nonprofit organizations or a group of for-profit and nonprofit organizations as a means to capture trends that were not readily apparent within this specialized group of organizations.

The second problem is that the scales I chose to quantify and operationalize the collectivist model may not have been appropriate. Centrality may not have been the best choice for measures of hierarchical organization and centralization. A more direct measure of structure based on organizational charts or archival data might have been a better choice. More objective measures of environmental uncertainty (perhaps linked to governmental activity and funding sources) might measure that concept better than the perceptual measure that I chose. More direct measures of collective activity might have been better than scales that measure ideological commitment and ideas about collective activity in the workplace. A more informed choice of measures might have returned better data to use in testing the model.

The final problem is that the hypotheses may not have been formulated correctly. The relationships among these variables are more complex than originally suspected. Rather than simple linear relationships, there may be higher-order models that explain the relationships better. Qualitative data collected in interviews tend to support this view. A number of FAM participants, in conversation regarding the theoretical background of this research suggested that there might be critical levels associated with each of the measures. It may be that within a particular median range of PEU there is commitment to workplace collectivism but that outside that range, collectivism collapses. Thus, collectivism might be a bounded phenomenon, only occurring within a particular kind of moderately unstable organizational environment. Perhaps organizational characteristics when interacting with structural position are more likely predictors of workplace collectivism. Perhaps those organizational demographic characteristics (such as those noted in the analysis of FAM interactions and FAM evaluations) act to encourage or deter cooperation unmediated by social structure. Hypotheses that take into account more complex interactions might provide better support for the collectivist model.

Adjusting the sample size, the quantitative variables, and the hypotheses of this research, however, is tantamount to completing an entirely different program of research.

What does this mean for Rothschild-Whitt's theory? Largely, this means that I have not provided any empirical support for the organizational theory that motivated this research, one of my primary goals. Conceptually, I believe that the variables are related. Previous qualitative and quantitative research on the relationships between the pairs of variables supports my position. My experience in the international development community also supports Rothschild-Whitt's complex of characteristics, perhaps with a more pragmatic and less ideological consideration of cooperation. However, I believe that measuring these concepts exactly and revealing relationships are much more complex undertakings than any small, first-pass exploration might hope to accomplish. After completing this investigation, I believe that these factors may not be as easily

detected among the immense number of factors associated with the operation of a collectivist organization in the international development community.

Implications for Social Network Analysis

It seems to be a forgone conclusion that a social network elicitation question has a strong effect on the social network that it returns. In my reading of social network theory literature, I found no explicit discussion of that assumption. Instead, research focuses on the structure of the networks themselves (Burt 1992), the determinants of structure (Freeman 1978/1979), the effect of structure on perceptions (Boje and Whetten 1981; Boster, Johnson, and Weller 1987; Walker, Wasserman and Wellman 1994) or any number of other topics germane to social networks. It seems almost as if social network research is built on an unstated, but very significant assumption. I know that after reading social network theory I understood that the choice of elicitation questions was important and would determine if formal or informal patterns of interaction were revealed. However, I was unsure exactly why the question was said to affect network generation so strongly, or exactly how much a particular elicitation question might cause social networks to diverge.

Based on the ethnographic data I collected in the first phase of my research, I realized that there were many different modes of interaction among FAM member organizations. To create a more complete picture of FAM interactions, I elicited social networks based on the ten most important interactions. This is unusual for most social network research, which often only incorporate one network elicitation question. One goal of these multiple elicitation questions was to gather information for tests of the collectivist model. Another goal was to gather data on the correlation of the various networks with each other to gauge the impact of elicitation questions on social structures.

I compared the social networks to each other using a matrix algebra correlation test called QAP. This approach indicates how strongly these matrices are related to each other in structure and content. The ten pairwise correlations and their associated p-values are presented below in

Table 7-8. Most of the correlation coefficients suggest moderate but not strong relationships between the networks, varying between 0.40 and 0.66. The p-values were all significant as well below the 0.001 level, suggesting that these correlations, while low, are statistically significant.

Table 7-8: Correlation coefficients for QAP analyses of FAM interactions

Quadratic Assignment Procedure Correlation Coefficient (p-value)									
SC	0.601 (0.000)								
M&E WG	0.661 (0.000)	0.535 (0.002)							
MNTZ WG	0.613 (0.000)	0.650 (0.000)	0.619 (0.000)						
LCB WG	0.509 (0.000)	0.510 (0.003)	0.664 (0.000)	0.568 (0.001)					
EWG	0.577 (0.000)	0.612 (0.000)	0.668 (0.000)	0.735 (0.000)	0.667 (0.001)				
TII Advice	0.625 (0.000)	0.417 (0.002)	0.584 (0.000)	0.567 (0.000)	0.486 (0.000)	0.524 (0.000)			
TII Ties	0.448 (0.003)	0.571 (0.000)	0.435 (0.000)	0.571 (0.000)	0.354 (0.009)	0.583 (0.000)	0.607 (0.000)		
Informal Ties	0.651 (0.000)	0.400 (0.000)	0.629 (0.000)	0.551 (0.000)	0.428 (0.001)	0.575 (0.000)	0.596 (0.000)	0.445 (0.002)	
Non-TII Ties	0.462 (0.003)	0.469 (0.007)	0.578 (0.000)	0.618 (0.000)	0.510 (0.004)	0.568 (0.000)	0.555 (0.000)	0.505 (0.000)	0.477 (0.001)
	FAM	SC	M&E WG	MNTZ WG	LCB WG	EWG	TII Advice	TII Ties	Informal Ties

To my knowledge, this is the first empirical evidence that reveals how strongly network elicitation questions affect the resultant social network structures. This evidence reveals that a network elicitation question is very important in determining social structure and must be considered even more carefully than before, particularly if the research will be based on a single elicitation question. Rather than being an unstated assumption in the beginning of any social network research, perhaps a discussion of how a particular elicitation question was chosen should be explicit and accompany social network findings when they are presented. At the very least, these data seem to suggest that social network research would benefit from the incorporation of additional social network elicitation questions as tests of validity and reliability.

Comparing social network diagrams and measures with my understanding of FAM activities shows that these methods do indeed reveal the structure of FAM organizational

interactions. The results of these correlation analyses only suggest the careful choice of elicitation questions for particular social networks.

One set of elicitations will only provide interorganizational structure at one point in time. However, multiple network elicitations over time could be a very innovative way to reveal the patterns of collaboration among NGOs. With USAID encouraging more collaboration in development activities, this monitoring approach gains even more relevance. The second goal of my research was to explore the utility of social network techniques for measuring collaborative capacity. These techniques, when implemented wisely and supplemented with ethnographic data, provide a very efficient means for measuring that capacity.

Applications

The final goal of this research was to use the findings to provide recommendations for improving FAM's activities as a collectivist organization. Organizations with FAM's structure and collaborative activity levels have been increasing in frequency. Organizational scientists are working to understand the reasons why these organizations are arising, how they are structured, what the defining characteristics are, and how these organizations can ensure their success (Heydebrand 1989, Rothschild and Russell 1986, Rothschild-Whitt 1979, Srivastva and Cooperrider 1986, Waters 1993). The comments below build on that research and fall within a previously suggested framework of behaviors reported as important for building collaborative capacity (Foster-Fishman 2001). Because FAM's activities are interactive, and the member organizations are essentially FAM, a number of these recommendations suggest ways member organizations can improve FAM's activities.

Environment

The results of the PEU scale reveal that most organizational representatives feel the Title II food aid environment to be marginally unstable. Fortunately there is not an overwhelming belief that the environment is completely unpredictable, but there is room for improving

individuals' perceptions of the environment. A more stable environment is more likely to support information sharing, collaboration and cooperation. The area considered most unstable is availability and accessibility of funding, which is not unusual, given the realities of nonprofit development activities. However, suggesting means for individual PVOs or for FAM to work for improvements in that area is beyond the scope of this project. FAM and the member organizations have limited ability to affect government policy, process and legislation, though individuals are working in this area. Commodity availability and other commodity-related concerns are best tackled by entities that already have relationships developed with the commodity and agriculture industry representatives, such as the Kansas City Commodity Organization. The remaining areas of uncertainty are within and among PVOs. FAM, and the member organizations that make up FAM, can improve the stability of their working environment by improving transparency, information sharing, and general knowledge of each other's programs in the Title II environment and outside of it. Providing opportunities for interaction and information sharing while aiming to solve common problems of procedure and compliance is likely one of the best means for achieving that goal.

Individualism and Collectivism

The results of the I/C scales reveal that there is large variation among PVO representatives with regard to commitment to collective activity, despite generalized support from the donor and the PVO community for that collective activity. If FAM is to encourage interaction as suggested above, then FAM will have to overcome the tension between a generalized support for collective action and individual support for collaboration. Until collaboration is institutionalized and encouraged by the donor (or even linked to available development funds) there must be alternatives for encouraging interaction. The easiest means for this is to formalize the collaborative relationships between FAM member organizations and FAM. The previous ISA was based on letters of support from each of the member agencies, and this should be a cornerstone of any new funding proposal. To ensure more clarity, the Steering Committee, in

preparing the new FAM proposal, should develop a set of minimum requirements for participation, taking into account variation among member PVOs with regard to size, age, location, and funding levels. The FAM by-laws should also be modified to reflect those changes.

The minimum requirements should outline the roles that FAM member organizations can and should assume more clearly than they have been outlined previously. A well defined set of guidelines created by the Steering Committee and agreed to by FAM member organizations in their support for change in FAM's by-laws would make participation easier. Those guidelines, then, could be incorporated into each member organization's own ISA funding proposal. This is not to increase the amount of work, reporting or responsibilities of the various member organizations. It is merely to formalize, systematize and build into the donor monitoring and evaluation system activities that these organizations are already completing. FAM member organizations, for the large part, already participate in FAM activities over and above their responsibilities for the ISA and for their own organizations. Tracking those activities merely brings an organization's increased participation and collaboration to the attention of the donor, who is likely interested in evidence of increased collaborative capacity when choosing among a set of well-qualified operational partners.

FAM Activities

The evaluation of FAM's collaborative activities reveals that information exchange activities are considered most successful of the constituency-building activities. In the next years of grant funding, FAM should focus on improving collaboration among the PVOs with respect to the working groups and other interactive pursuits. FAM only facilitates collaborative activities, so the member organizations must also commit to increasing the effectiveness of the working groups. The previously suggested minimum requirements, which might include a minimum number of leadership positions taken would, by formalizing roles and responsibilities, encourage the organizations to participate more fully in the working groups. Additionally, flexible working groups that meet the changing needs of PVOs might encourage greater participation, and would

increase FAM's success as coordinator and constituency builder. Greater flexibility would also allow the working groups to meet the more immediate policy and procedure needs of the FAM member organizations. The Steering Committee should develop guidelines for creating greater working group flexibility to be built into the upcoming ISA or other proposals for funding. Increased participation in the working groups and a larger reliance on electronic communication will also encourage use of the associated listservs, improving those avenues for interaction and collaboration. This is important because the listservs represent an underutilized means by which PVOs that are not in the Washington area might become more involved with FAM's activities.

Interactions

Constituency building is the primary focus of this project and is the primary goal of FAM as an agency. The coordinating position that FAM serves is secondary to providing an environment in which a common base of knowledge is shared, common procedures can be developed and common goals can be achieved. In an environment of decreasing development funding (in dollars) it is likely that cooperation and collaboration will be encouraged and perhaps even linked to funding in the future. FAM's activities, then, provide an opportunity for PVOs to improve their own capacities for collaboration and cooperation and begin the process of institutionalizing those activities throughout their organizations. Experience in capacity building at the headquarters level will standardize existing vague ideas about what capacity building at the management level really means and will help program design experts create better tools for measuring capacity building in the field (Bolger 2000, Lavergne and Saxby 2001, Morgan 1997).

The network evaluation of FAM-related interactions reveals that a united constituency that can be mobilized to address common problems and arrive at solutions that are easy to comply to because they emerged from collective activity already exists. However, there are still a number of organizations that are not as involved as others. To further encourage constituency building, or to develop a more united constituency, peripheral organizations should be encouraged to

participate more fully in FAM activities, either through leadership roles in FAM activities, or partnerships with core organizations already in leadership positions in FAM groups.

The qualitative and quantitative phases of this research have shown that the Title II environment, though not completely stable, is stable enough to encourage cooperative and collaborative activity. Recent research suggests that coordination among PVOs does improve programming effectiveness, though PVOs could do more to achieve even greater results (Owada et al. 1998). This indicates that circumstances are favorable for a push to encourage even more collective activity. Generalized support for collaboration from the PVO community, and from the donor, provides more encouragement for collaborative activities than ever before.

The large variation in individual commitment to collaboration and cooperation is a surmountable obstacle in FAM's goal of building a Title II constituency. Building on the past successes and incorporating a few adjustments to an organization's current trajectory is one of the best ways to encourage gradual growth and development in an organization (Greiner 1972). Using that framework, FAM (and thus the FAM member organizations) has the opportunity to take an even larger role in the creation of a constituency united in its dedication to improving Title II programming through collaborative means.

Extension

There are other interorganizational networks that might benefit from the monitoring techniques used in this research. InterAction, the CORE Group, the Food Aid Consultative Group, and the SPHERE project are all NGO networks with hundreds of organizational members that might find these approaches useful. There are three primary contributions to the monitoring and evaluation of NGO networks that my research provides. First, simple univariate statistics reveal a lot about who is taking advantage of services. Second, social network approaches may be useful for monitoring the development of collaborative capacity. Third, and most importantly, any quantitative approach to monitoring must be accompanied by qualitative approaches.

In creating my FAM profile, I struggled to find an easily understood way to present data that explained who contributed information and who took advantage of that information. Most approaches I found useful were simple categorical approaches. First, I determined the categories that would be most relevant in explaining use, based on ethnographic information. (I asked FAM who they wanted to know about). Then, I divided the data according to those categories. To reduce the data to manageable levels, I computed odds ratios that revealed how likely each of the groups was to contribute to or take advantage of FAM activities. Each of these odds ratios was simple to compute, but when taken together they provide a very powerful explanation of FAM's activities. Careful interpretation could provide the basis for monitoring and evaluation of service-based NGO activities similar to FAM. To determine the statistical significance of those odds ratios, I cross tabulated the data and computed Chi-squared tests. More specifically, I used nonparametric permutation tests based on Fisher's Exact Test to determine if any monitoring data were significantly different from expected. Most NGO professionals were disinterested in statistical significance tests but were very interested in the odds ratios. The ratios are an easily understandable way to communicate large amounts of data.

Because FAM's activities were cooperative, I wanted to find some way to quantify that cooperation that went beyond the standard measures like 'number of meetings attended' or 'number of organizations present.' Those measures are too simple; they do not reveal the complexity involved with collaboration over time. Having individual respondents rank themselves on their collaborative activities would have provided more information, but I felt it would be too subjective. Social network techniques seemed to be the only choice. These techniques provide a more realistic, sophisticated, and objective way to quantify collaborative activity. As I mentioned before, they are sensitive to changes in elicitation questions, but that sensitivity is good when an evaluator wants to explore fine-scale interactions.

Incorporating social network approaches to measure the development of collaborative capacity will be more difficult than incorporating univariate investigation of monitoring data.

First, social network techniques require a certain level of technical knowledge that many NGO employees may not have. Second, the information that social network analyses reveal can be sensitive. Because these measures integrate a large amount of data and summarize it in a very easily understood graphical format, some participants may respond adversely. A particular organization may believe that it is very central when in fact others do not perceive it as central. The solution is to explain social network techniques very clearly and show that one elicitation is only germane for that interaction for one point in time. Multiple elicitations can be used to track changes over time, which are likely more relevant to the NGO community. Changing the perspective of those being monitored might also help. If participants realize that knowledge of one's position within a network can be used to *change* one's position in that network structure in subsequent elicitations, then the data become less proscriptive and more prescriptive.

The last suggestion I have for monitoring and evaluating NGO collaborative activities is to use a two-phased approach. Every bit of quantitative data that I collected is only relevant in the context of international food aid activities. If I had not gained an understanding of that context through ethnographic interviews with key informants and through participant observation, my data would be meaningless. Because I was an active member of the group, respondents were more willing to participate in quantitative data collection tasks. If a consultant takes an interest in the activities they are studying and develops relationships with those individuals who participate in those activities, that consultant is more likely to have good response rates on questionnaires and other time-consuming evaluation tasks. My first questionnaire had dismal response rates, largely because I was unknown to the community. After I made my presence known at a few meetings, response rates increased.

These suggestions are useful for applying organizational theory and method in monitoring and evaluating organizational collaboration in the international development community. They have provided FAM and me with useful data. Those data led to specific recommendations for changes in FAM structure and behavior that will improve FAM's activities

for the next ISA period. Those data also led to general recommendations for incorporating my methods into other organizational situations where measuring collaboration might be useful.

Conclusion

In this chapter I explained how I met the three primary goals of my research: theoretical, methodological, and applied. With respect to theory, my data do not support the collectivist organizational model as conceptualized. I believe that small sample size, poor operationalization, and hypotheses that suggested relationships that were too simple led to that lack of support. Methodological and practical results were more positive. Incorporating multiple elicitation questions provided empirical evidence that particular elicitation questions have a strong effect on the networks they reveal. My research suggests that at least one (if not more) additional elicitation question based on ethnographic investigation or previous research should be included as a validity check. Social network techniques seem to be well adapted for use in measuring collaborative capacity in an interorganizational setting, when used wisely. Simple nonparametric and categorical analyses also seem to hold promise for communicating large amounts of information to individuals who may not have strong statistical backgrounds. Of course, all quantitative applications must be combined with qualitative understanding of their context.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented results from the quantitative phase of my study of FAM's constituency-building and collectivist activities. Those results are only relevant in light of the year of ethnographic fieldwork that accompanied them. That year of fieldwork and research led to more qualitative and quantitative findings than could be presented in one chapter. I communicated additional findings in the other chapters of this dissertation. In this chapter, I summarize major findings from all of my research activities. I outline the major aspects of the food aid context, point out important trends in FAM's history, explain FAM's current activities, and explain how the quantitative data I collected helped me achieve my stated research goals.

Food Aid Context

There has been international interest in food aid since the mid-Fifties, when a number of countries began providing assistance to developing nations. That assistance took the form of cash and commodities used to support many different kinds of development activities. The US saw commodity supported development activities as a means to decrease agricultural surpluses caused by government subsidy while simultaneously supporting strategic and philanthropic interests. Growing global interest in development on the part of grantor and grantee led to international policy that clarified the definition of food insecurity, set appropriate resource levels, and marshaled development activities.

United States food aid legislation and policy have consistently incorporated the guidance provided by international policy. The primary food aid legislation is The US Farm Bill in the many guises it has taken over the years, commonly referred to as PL480. The flagship of PL480

food aid is Title II, which provides commodities for emergency and development activities around the world. PL480 sets benchmarks for commodities to be granted to PVOs, outlines how those commodities can be used in development activities, and guides policy decisions that further regulate PVO development activities.

Most Title II commodities are managed through the USAID Office of FFP. The USAID employees who control this office set national food aid policy, approve development proposals, monitor the progress of development activities and coordinate commodity-related activities. The FFP office must answer to the director of USAID and to the President for the success of their programs. As a result, PVOs must provide concrete, measurable results for their development activities.

Variation in development activities is probably as diverse as the number of programs that exist at any point in time. A particular set of geographic, environmental, political, cultural and social factors leads to a unique development context for all programs. Each host country government, each PVO CS, and each target population also contribute to making the context unique. Most target populations are very sensitive to any kind of change. Small changes in the political, environmental, social, or cultural climate can lead to devastating results. Because of the sensitive and time-constrained nature of development work, implementing these programs is highly complex. Managing the intricacies of program planning and implementation has led most food aid professionals to perceive their work environments as unstable.

Historical Perspective

International development agencies were pushed to increase development program transparency and accountability in the mid-Eighties. USAID recognized that development organizations did not have the capacity to make such drastic changes in monitoring and evaluation without support and proposed a number of institutional support grants to facilitate that capacity development (USAID Office of Procurement 1998). In 1989, five Title II CSs proposed FAM to act as the coordinating body for their collaborative activities in developing food aid

standards, exchanging information, and promoting forums for discussion. Those CSs were ADRA, CARE, CRS, SAVE, and WV. USAID approved that proposal and awarded FAM an ISA grant for support. Since then, FAM has continued to receive the support of USAID, and membership has grown to encompass 16 different Title II implementing PVOs. FAM's activities can be understood in light of three trends: increasing opportunities for organizational interaction, increasing collaborative document creation, and increasing the institutionalization of collaboration in the food aid community.

FAM encourages interaction via a number of different channels. Workshops, general meetings, brown bag meetings, working group meetings and special topical meetings all provide organizational representatives the opportunity to meet employees with similar titles or roles in other organizations. The most important meeting opportunities are SC meetings, WG meetings, and training workshops. Improved information technology has made electronic communication important in disseminating information about relevant meetings and workshops.

Most FAM meetings have the production of a document as a goal. That document improves food aid standards, increases the capacity of food aid organizations to implement their programs, and strengthens the relationships between the organizations involved in document production. The collaborative process by which FAM creates documents has not changed much since the GACAP document was written in 1990. Usually, a need is expressed, a committee is formed to address the need, and a document is created that meets the need. This process has led to the creation of seven documentary products: GACAP, the *Food Aid Lexicon*, the *PVO Response to the Food Aid and Food Security Policy Paper*, the *Environmental Documentation Manual and Field Guide*, the *Monetization Manual*, *Health and Nutrition Baseline Monitoring Indicators*, and the *Nutrition and Agriculture Monitoring Toolkit*.

Every opportunity for organizational interaction allows FAM to institutionalize collaboration in the food aid environment. Before FAM began there was limited PVO interaction. FAM activities provide a neutral forum for people to meet and address common problems,

making collaboration more the norm than it was before. Competition for resources still exists but is friendlier and more likely to lead to improved programmatic capacity than before.

Food Aid Management Collectivist Activities

All FAM activities are aimed at improving collaboration and cooperation among Title II PVOs. Those activities fall into six categories. The SC guides FAM's activities. FAM's WGs (M&E, MNTZ, LCB, and EWG) focus on creating documents and toolkits in areas of programmatic interest for FAM members. FAM listservs allow members to share information and answer specific questions quickly using electronic communication technology. The FSRC makes important technical information available to FAM members. *Food Forum* provides an avenue for communicating recent developments in Title II food aid quickly to a large number of subscribers. The FAM website links food aid professionals to the most recent and pertinent food security information from around the world.

Briefly, the SC and WGs are responsible for most FAM work. These groups decide what FAM will do and how FAM will do it. Each WG is targeted at a member-determined topical area important for the successful implementation of food aid programs. Those working groups produce pertinent documents, develop training materials and plan workshops to disseminate current technical information. All SC and WG activities are completed by FAM members and primarily serve FAM members. Other food security professionals often make use of FAM documents, however.

FAM has seven active listservs, focusing on FAM general activities, LCB, Environment, MNTZ, M&E, Commodity Management, and Nutrition. The listservs were designed to be an easy, rapid means of communication between individuals with common interests and expertise. Most subscribers to the listserv are FAM members, who seem unlikely to use them extensively for information exchange.

FAM's FSRC began in the early Nineties when the FARM Clearinghouse was donated to FAM. Since then, the FSRC has grown into one of the best food security resources in the US. The

FSRC collections grow slowly each year and use remains relatively constant. A small decline in use recently by FAM members may be due to the new online bibliographic database system that allows any individual to search for important documents without the help of the TIS.

Food Forum is FAM's quarterly journal chronicling Title II activities. Careful inspection of subscription lists reveals that there are about 1000 copies of this journal reaching food aid professionals in the nonprofit community, government agencies and universities around the world. Contributors are also very diverse, but most are heavily involved in Title II activities. Other than FAM members, USAID, WFP and IFPRI are primary contributors.

FAM's website may be one of its most valuable assets. Through the site FAM links hundreds of organizations with each other and with important technical documents without the constraints of time or geography. Since the FAM TIS redesigned the site in 1999 visits have increased dramatically. Most of those visits are from food aid professionals in the US, but about five percent are from food aid professionals in developing countries.

These six areas of FAM activity, in the order that I presented them, allow larger and larger communities of food aid professionals to contribute information to FAM. Those six areas also allow larger and larger communities of food aid professionals to access information from FAM. This was not the intended direction for FAM activities, but is an additional benefit of FAM services.

Most FAM services are provided through interaction between representatives of FAM member organizations. In this study I investigated FAM general interactions, SC interactions, M&E WG interactions, MNTZ WG interactions, LCB WG interactions, EWG interactions, Title II advice-seeking activities, formal Title II relationships, informal Title II relationships, and interactions outside of Title II activities. Those interactions lead to specific organizational network structures that reveal patterns of activity. Social network analysis reveals that most FAM networks have low overall centralization and large cores. Individual organizations' centrality vary

according to which network is being investigated, because centrality is an indicator of those organizations who are most directly involved in that particular activity.

Research Findings

The most relevant findings from this research are based on the three goals stated at the beginning of the project: to verify the collectivist model for international development organization, to explore the utility of social network techniques for measuring collaborative capacity, and to provide FAM with recommendations for structural and behavioral changes to improve its activities. Those goals can be considered theoretical, methodological and practical. In this section I explain the impact of my research for each of these three areas.

Theoretical

Collectivist organizational theory is the basis for most of this research. As part of this research, I developed a set of hypotheses that would test the validity of that model using quantitative data. Those data were collected using social network techniques, social psychology scales and organizational behavior instruments. I analyzed the data with parametric, nonparametric, and Boolean procedures but none of these analyses supported the collectivist model. This lack of support might be due to the small number of cases considered, or to the improper operationalization of organizational theory concepts, or the choice of hypotheses that do not adequately reflect the complexity of collective organizational activity in the international development community.

Methodological

My ethnographic research with FAM helped me realize that I should incorporate multiple social network elicitation questions to understand FAM interactions. As a result, I was able to determine how correlated each of the FAM networks were with each other. These data revealed that even in the fairly constrained environment of cooperation among Title II PVOs to solve common operational problems, the elicitation prompt has a significant impact on the resulting

social network structure. Those data suggest that it is important to make the choice of network elicitation prompts explicit in social network research. It might also be prudent to incorporate multiple prompts if the network being investigated is likely to contain multiple types of relationship ties.

Sensitivity to variation makes social network approaches useful for monitoring the development of collaborative capacity in interorganizational networks. However, it is important to understand the skills required for appropriate implementation of social network techniques and interpretation of social network measures. These approaches must be combined with an understanding of their context based on ethnographic research or participant observation.

Practical

FAM representatives were interested in how I might change the structure or behavior patterns of FAM member organizations to improve FAM's overall performance. Based on my qualitative and quantitative research, I developed a set of recommendations that would help FAM gain some control of the food aid environment, would adjust FAM activities to meet member needs, and would formalize collaborative activities until a collaborative spirit is institutionalized among all Title II CSs. Briefly, those recommendations were to continue collaborative activities because the opportunity for information exchange they provide brings a measure of control into the uncertain environment. If collaborative activities do continue, however, there should be clearly defined minimum requirements for participation that formalize roles and responsibilities. Those minimum requirements should be built into each FAM member's monitoring and evaluation plan and into any proposals for government support of Title II programmatic activities. To ensure that FAM activities are meeting the needs of all members, peripheral organizations should be encouraged to participate, either through leadership roles in FAM, through mentoring relationships with other FAM members, or through FAM's electronic means of interaction (listservs and website).

Other interorganizational networks might find the results of my research useful for three reasons. First, the simple categorical and nonparametric approaches I used for detailing how FAM's activities were used and by which groups, provide very efficient and effective means of communicating similar types of information for other groups in different contexts but with a similar service-delivery goal. Second, social network approaches, if used wisely can be very useful in measuring changes in collaboration across a network over time. This may become more important as USAID begins linking institutional support to evidence of collaborative capacity. Finally, an approach that combines qualitative and quantitative methods and analyses (like QCA) is absolutely critical for a successful evaluation. Quantitative approaches and analyses often provide powerful data for describing activities. Qualitative approaches provide the context for understanding what those quantitative findings mean.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have summarized the quantitative and qualitative findings that contributed to the achievement my three research goals.

The lack of significance in my theoretical analyses would likely lead to my findings being unreported in the literature, the result of a publishing bias that favors theoretical results that achieve a p-value of .05 or smaller. Jacob Cohen has been one of the most vocal opponents of establishing significance based on this often misinterpreted threshold, as it fails to report effect size, does not indicate confidence intervals and often obscures the practical relevance of research findings (Cohen 1994, 1995). Cohen's critics focus less on his premise than on his mode of presentation and his proposed remedies (Baril and Cannon 1995, Frick 1995, Hubbard 1995, McGraw 1995, Parker 1995, Svyantek and Ekberg 1995).

The choice of the .05 threshold for determining statistical significance and the confusion of statistical significance with 'real world' significance imply that findings such as those reported in this research would be lost to other individuals studying collectivist organizations, languishing in a 'file drawer' unavailable for comparison, replication or critique. Robert Rosenthal has argued

that this bias limits the contribution that important but nonsignificant research can make which subsequently hinders the development of strong social science research findings (Rosenthal 1979, 1992). Though critics, particularly Scargle (2000), have argued with Rosenthal's method of estimating the 'file drawer effect' and with Rosenthal's suggestions for correcting the problem, there is general support for his basic assumption.

Because theoretical findings are preferred over methodological and practical findings, and because statistical significance is preferred over 'real-world' significance, it is possible that my research will not be reported widely in the literature and my findings will languish in said 'file drawer.' However, I believe that my research findings resonate with most of the qualitative and formative research it is based on. My research underlines the practical validity of that research and suggests further topics to be pursued, particularly for the application of theory and method in the monitoring and evaluation of cooperative activity in the international development community.

APPENDIX A
FOOD AID MANAGEMENT MEMBER PROFILES

Introduction

The profiles in this appendix present information on the sixteen PVO members of FAM. I chose the parameters to compare and contrast these organizations in these profiles from organizational demography research (Pfeffer 1983). These profiles provide information on the age, size, mission, and primary target areas for the member organizations. I also included information on funding sources, including what percentage is government grants or Title II commodities. Where possible, I present summary statistics regarding human resources. I based these profiles on each organization's FY2000 annual report, FY2000 financial statements, organizational websites, the USAID International Food Assistance Reports for FY2000 and FY2001, and queries directed to pertinent individuals in human resources, programming, and food for development divisions. Demographic profiling has not been completed for any PVO working in Title II food aid before. When united with social network analyses, these profiles represent a significant first step toward understanding patterns of PVO interaction.

Though I made every attempt to collect the same information from each organization, some profiles are incomplete. FAM member organizations track resources and human capital differently. Drafts of each organizational profile were approved by the organizations themselves.

Agriculture Cooperative Development International/Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (ACDI/VOCA)

ACDI/VOCA is a private nonprofit organization that works to advance the pace of progress in emerging democracies and developing countries (ACDI/VOCA 2001) through technical assistance services and strategies for farmers and other entrepreneurs. The primary focus is providing economic development assistance to small and medium scale businesses, governmental agencies and others to "globalize the success of American agriculture" (FAM 2001a).

ACDI/VOCA formed in 1997 through the merger of Agricultural Cooperative Development International, founded in 1963 and Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance, founded in 1970 (ACDI/VOCA 2001). ACDI/VOCA's website reports "the merger blended ACDI's long-term approach to development with VOCA's people-to-people volunteer activities" (2001).

According to their website, ACDI/VOCA's projects are in 38 nations, managing 62 projects. There are 370 total employees: 83 headquarters staff, 273 field employees and 9 recruitment officers. ACDI/VOCA employees have worked with more than 6000 volunteers to complete more than 7700 assignments since 1970. Primary activities are in business consulting (particularly agribusiness production processing and marketing), support and strategy for private and public associations, grassroots economic development, rural finance and natural resource management.

ACDI/VOCA's primary projects focus on agricultural production, processing and marketing assistance and exist in 22 countries. Association and Cooperative development activities are also in those 22 countries and worldwide through the Farmer-to-Farmer program. There are 20 Business Development projects active worldwide, primarily in the same countries where agricultural development programs are active. Financial services are provided in ten countries, and food aid is provided in five countries, all of which monetize to support market development and generate funds for a wide range of development efforts. The website shows that

international partnerships are supported in 3 countries and natural resource management support is provided in 14 countries.

Volunteer services place approximately 600 individuals per year in these programs. Training services improve the skills of individuals in all of the countries that ACDI/VOCA serves. Volunteers worked on 34 different projects in 2001, located in the following 27 countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia, Honduras, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Mongolia, Mozambique, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Yugoslavia. The majority of volunteers assisted in agriculture-related activities, primarily the Farmer-to-Farmer program (ACDI/VOCA 2001).

Funding for ACDI/VOCA is primarily from USAID, estimated at 95% of the 2001 operating budget. In conversation with an ACDI/VOCA representative, I found that of the remaining 5%, the large majority is from USDA, the rest from private and in-kind donations. ACDI/VOCA monetizes commodities in five countries: Cape Verde, Rwanda, Uganda, West Bank and Gaza, and Indonesia, which make up about 16% of the total operating budget and 128 staff members in the field and at headquarters.

Title II support for ACDI/VOCA began in 1992 with a project in Uganda. Currently, ACDI/VOCA has three Title II supported development programs, in Cape Verde, Rwanda, and in Uganda (USAID 2001). Field offices are in 30 countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cape Verde, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Malawi, Mongolia, Mozambique, the Philippines, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda, Ukraine, Vietnam, West Bank and Gaza, and Yugoslavia.

Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA)

ADRA was established in 1984 to support communities in need through humanitarian and development activities. Development activities assist during emergencies, find long term

solutions to ongoing problems, build the capacity of partner organizations, increase the profile of women in development activities and assist children reach their potential (ADRA 2001).

Currently, ADRA's activities focus on food security, economic development, primary health care, disaster preparedness and basic education. ADRA implements about 1500 development and emergency programs in 97 countries around the world, supported by 4197 field employees and reaching 14.7 million beneficiaries (ADRA 2001). At the headquarters level, ADRA employee tenure averages 5 years, the average age is 45, and the ratio of men to women is nearly 1:1. ADRA has ten regional offices: Africa Indian region, Asian region, Eastern Africa region, Euro-Africa region, Euro-Asia region, Inter American region, North American region, South American region, South Pacific region, and the Trans-European region. ADRA's website reports that supporting staff members in 25 countries (184 total) assist with international programs and with an additional 1100 emergency and development programs in the neediest areas of the developed world.

Funding for ADRA's activities is nearly evenly split between governmental development and emergency support and private donations. 50% of ADRA's income comes from government sources, 40% from public gifts, 7% from the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and 3% from other sources. Eighty-eight percent of ADRA's income is expended on direct humanitarian services and another four percent is spent on supporting services for humanitarian activities. The remaining 8% is spent on central office activities and administration (ADRA 2001).

The International Food Assistance Report (USAID 2001) and ADRA organizational representatives note that ADRA has nine active Non-emergency Development Activity Proposals supported by USAID. These programs receive Title II commodities to support development activities in Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Sudan, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Peru. ADRA also has a Title II emergency distribution program in Nicaragua. A representative of ADRA noted that eight of those programs incorporate monetization.

Africare

Founded in 1971, Africare has been providing development and emergency services in African countries for thirty years. The FAM website explains that Africare "works to improve the quality of life in rural Africa by responding to the requests of Africans working to help themselves. Africare forms partnerships with village groups, women's cooperatives, state agencies and rural enterprises" (2001). Africare is unique in that it only begins development programming in new countries at the request of state and local governments. The major areas of activity originally included food, water, the environment, health, and emergency humanitarian aid. In the late 1980s, Africare initiated private-sector development and governance activities (Africare 2001).

Africare's headquarters is in Washington DC, and there are 26 regional field offices in Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Africare's presence is felt through more than 150 programs in 28 African nations, where they implement development programs focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention and care (17 nations), democracy and civil development (14 nations), food security and agricultural development and environmental protection (21 nations), and primary health care (21 nations). Often individual programs meet several of these goals (Africare 2001).

Africare's funding is primarily governmental, with 68% of the year 2000's assets coming from governmental sources. Private sector donations comprise 26% of Africare's income, with the remaining 6% coming from investments and other sources. In dollar amounts, of the 34.7 million dollars income, 23.5 million came from the government in the form of commodities or grants; 9 million dollars came from private donations, and the remaining 2 million dollars from investments. Africare spent that income in the following ways: 6.5 million for general programs (19% of total income), 3.9 million on relief and refugee assistance (11%), 6.8 million on health

programs (20%), 326,000 on water resource development (1%), 6.5 million on agriculture and small scale irrigation (18.5%), and 3.9 million dollars on integrated rural development (11%). Humanitarian assistance makes up 80.5 percent of Africare's operating budget (30 million), with the remaining 19.5 percent (5 million) spent on program support, management, and general fundraising (Africare 2001).

Africare's Title II programs began in Burkina Faso in 1973. Currently, Title II commodities are used to support development programs in Burkina Faso, Chad, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali, Mozambique, Niger and Uganda. Those Title II programs support activities in all five major program areas. The director of Africare's Food for Development Unit notes that Africare leads or supports monetization in six of those nine (66%) countries to develop markets and provide cash for development projects in all nine countries.

American Red Cross (ARC)⁶

The American Red Cross works with a global network of Red Cross, Red Crescent and equivalent societies to restore hope and dignity to the world's vulnerable people. Through the International Red Cross Movement, ARC brings emergency relief to disaster victims, and improves basic living conditions of those in chronically deprived areas of the world.

The American Red Cross (ARC) was founded in 1881 and chartered by Congress in 1905 as the only voluntary agency to "carry out a system of national and international relief in time of peace, and apply that system in mitigating the suffering caused by...great national calamities." As a member of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, the ARC is part of the largest humanitarian network in the world. It provides relief to victims of disaster and helps people prevent, prepare for, and respond to emergencies.

The ARC's primary activity is biomedical services, which account for 63% of their operating expenses. Other activities include health, safety and community services (13%),

⁶ This profile is compiled almost exclusively from ARC informational materials and should be considered a Red Cross document reprinted here with permission.

disaster services (10%), armed forces emergency support (2%), and international services (2%). The remaining 10% of the operating budget is used for management and fund raising activities (ARC 2001). The operating budget of the ARC in FY2001 was \$2.712 billion, with \$172 million (6%) coming from investments and endowments, 1,808 million (66%) from Red Cross products, biomedical and health and safety services, and 763 million (29%) from contributions.

Contributions to the ARC come from various sources. Monetary contributions for disaster relief, general operations and permanently restricted endowments totaled \$507 million (66% of total contributions). Federated fund raising efforts by the United Way and Combined Federal Campaign amounted to \$206 million (27%). The remaining \$50 million (7%) represents the value of contributed services and materials.

Since 1997, ARC international program commitments have tripled from \$24.6 million in funding to approximately \$72.8 million in FY01. In 1999, the ARC oversaw 30 international projects in 21 countries, with more than 115 ARC delegates in the field working directly with sister National Societies as well as the International Federation and the ICRC. Today, the ARC oversees over 90 international projects in 40 countries. 90 international field delegates and 90 full-time staff in the International Services department located at national headquarters. American Red Cross investment in international programming makes up 2% of its total activity budget, and commodities provided by the government make up a portion of income identified as donated services and materials.

ARC has operations or national societies in the following countries: Afghanistan, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Democratic Republic of Congo, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Liberia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, St. Lucia, Sudan,

Tanzania, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Uzbekistan, United States, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yugoslavia (Serbia, Kosovo), Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Following a lengthy and detailed strategic planning process in 1997, the ARC made a decision to narrow its international programmatic to compete more effectively for available resources and maximize the impact of scarce resources on the reduction of vulnerability among targeted beneficiaries. As a result, ARC elected to pursue a strategy with seven major components:

1. Emergency/disaster response.
2. Disaster planning and preparedness.
3. Primary health including water and sanitation and psychosocial health.
4. Food programming including food aid and food security.
5. Organizational development.
6. International tracing and messaging.
7. International humanitarian law.

The ARC is committed to improving access to food by providing food aid and water/sanitation. It also focuses on expanding household/community knowledge and practices about childcare and feeding, and enhancing the capacity of other NSs to design food security projects and manage food aid and health programs. Since 1999, the ARC has assisted over 4.5 million people in 19 countries with food aid and food security interventions.

ARC began food aid programming in the early 1990s with several USDA food programs in Central Asia worth \$16.5 million. USAID Title II-supported programming began with an emergency response program in the Dominican Republic from 1998 to 1999. To date, there have been three emergency response programs supported with USAID Title II commodities: the Dominican Republic from 1998-1999, Macedonia from 1999-2000, and Albania from 1999-2001 (USAID 2001).

At ARC headquarters, there is one full-time position focused on food programming activities, including Title II. There is one full-time employee devoted to commodity management/procurement. Many more individuals spend a portion of their time working on USAID programming (under ISA support). Each ARC food project has a specific monitoring and

evaluation staff person. In the field, Heads of Programs managing food projects spend approximately 50% of their time on such activities. Each of the current ARC projects has one full-time food delegate with a number of local hires in supporting roles. Local Red Cross and Red Crescent volunteers and staff perform distributions with supervision by independent ARC field monitors.

Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE)

CARE has been operating to eliminate poverty worldwide for 55 years, growing to include a diverse portfolio of development activities. CARE's headquarters are in Atlanta Georgia, with regional US offices in Washington DC, West Palm Beach, Los Angeles, Dallas, Houston, San Francisco and Seattle. These regional offices coordinate CARE activities in agriculture and natural resources, basic education, food security, maternal and child health, water and sanitation, health services, and credit, savings and finance (CARE 2001).

CARE's operating budget for 2000 was 446.3 million dollars, coming from governmental sources, private donations, CARE international support, investments, and host country and multilateral donations. The US government provided 251.1 million dollars in support for CARE activities, amounting to 56.3% of their total funding. Of that 251.1 million, 116.5 million (46.4%) was in commodity donations. Private donations totaled 63 million dollars, or 14.1%; and CARE International provided 67.7 million dollars in support (15.2%). The remaining 59.1 million dollars (13.2%) came from host country donations, multilateral and other donors. Ninety one percent of CARE's income is spent on program activities, and the remaining 9% is allocated to support services and fundraising. Program activities are split 77% for development assistance, and 23% for emergency and rehabilitation (CARE 2001).

CARE's activities focus on agriculture and natural resources (33 countries), basic and girls education (20 countries), children's health and reproductive health (23 countries), water and sanitation (31 countries), integrated and other health (26 countries), nutritional support (13 countries), infrastructure and small economic activity development (31 countries). Those

activities are divided into emergency programs, rehabilitation programs, and development programs primarily in Africa and Asia. CARE's has programs in 23 African countries with 92.8 million dollars in support. In Asia, CARE provides 18 nations with 167 million dollars in support. Nine European countries, primarily newly independent states receive 32 million dollars, while 8 Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Haiti, receive over 100 million dollars in support (CARE 2001).

By sector, out of 409 million dollars, CARE provides 67 million dollars for agriculture and natural resource activities, 6 million for basic and girls' education, 25.6 million for children's health, 11.5 million for reproductive health activities, 23.7 million for water and sanitation projects, 12.5 million for other health activities, 122.4 million for nutritional support, 27.7 million for infrastructure improvement projects, 15.2 million for small economic activity development and 97.7 million dollars for other projects that fall outside the bounds of the previously defined focus areas (CARE 2001).

According to USAID's International Food Assistance Report 2001, CARE has 16 Title II emergency and development assistance grants. CARE's emergency activities are in Sierra Leone, Somalia, India, Indonesia and North Korea. CARE's development activities are in Angola, India, Kenya, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Bolivia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras and Peru (USAID 2001).

Catholic Relief Services (CRS)

Established in 1943, CRS has been providing development and emergency support around the world with more than 4000 employees in 87 countries. It is the international humanitarian aid and development agency of the United States Catholic Conference of Bishops, Inc., with headquarters in Baltimore MD. It is one of the largest and oldest PVOs in the United States, providing assistance in agriculture, health, community development, and education to women, children, and families in need (CRS 2001).

CRS's activities are divided into regional areas in Africa, Europe, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. African regional directors oversee activities for 37 countries in East Africa, Southern Africa and West Africa with 21 supporting field offices in Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, the Congo, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The European regional director oversees work in 8 countries with field offices in Albania, Armenia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Yugoslavia. Three field offices in Egypt, Jerusalem/West Bank/Gaza and Morocco support programs in 6 Middle Eastern countries. The director for the Latin America and Caribbean area manages projects in 15 countries, supported by 10 field offices in Brazil, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru. The directors for South Asia and Southeast Asia are supported by country directors in ten field offices in Cambodia, East Timor, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad, Mumbai (Bombay), Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippines, and Vietnam and oversee projects in 22 countries or states (CRS 2001, CRS 2002a). CRS maintains 319 staff members at their Baltimore headquarters, with another 338 expatriate staff working in field offices around the world. There are also 3500 national staff members working in these field offices. Average employee tenure is 5.3 years.

CRS's FY2000 budget was 373.2 million dollars, of which 91.6% was spent on programming. The remaining 8.4 percent was spent on support and fundraising. Of the total amount of income in 2000, 35.7% came in the form of commodities from the US government and other sources totaling \$133.1 million. 31.6% came in the form of cash donations from the private sector (117.8 million), 21.7% were cash grants from the US government (81 million), and 11% came from other sources, including investments (41.3 million). The above financial information is reported in CRS's annual report 2000 (CRS 2001).

Primary activities include agriculture, education, emergency services, small enterprise development, health, peace and justice, and welfare programs. 40.9 % of expenditures were in

emergency activities, 20.4 % for health programs, 11.6 % for agriculture projects, 5.4 % for small enterprise, 5.2 % for welfare, 4.4 % for peace building, and 3.6 % on education. The remainder is split between administration (3.5%) and fund raising (5.0%). Total expenditures were 371.6 million dollars (CRS 2001).

Most commodities received by CRS for program activities are Title II commodities provided by the US government under PL 480. CRS began Title II programming when the first Farm Bill was passed in 1954, and has continued through today. USAID's International Food Assistance Report 2000 (USAID 2001) shows that commodities support 6 emergency and 17 development activities. Emergency activities are in Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Indonesia, Albania and Serbia. Development activities are in Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, India, Peru, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Rwanda, Guatemala, Haiti, and Honduras. CRS also carries out Title II development activities in Niger as a subrecipient of Africare. Conversations with food aid experts in CRS activities reveal that all development programs except India currently incorporate monetization to provide cash resources for program activities.

Counterpart International (CNTPT)

Founded in 1965, Counterpart is a diverse, nonprofit, international development organization dedicated to helping people in need in areas of civil society, private enterprise, environmental resource management, humanitarian relief and healthcare. It does this by building the capacity of local partners—nongovernmental organizations, lenders, businesses, governments and other institutions—to solve their own, self-defined economic, ecological, political and social problems sustainable, practical and independent ways.

Corporations, individuals, foundations and governments support Counterpart International. It manages programs worldwide with a staff of nearly 300 (75 headquarters employees) and a FY2001 budget of more than \$150 million. Affiliate organizations operate in 21 countries in North America, the Caribbean, Europe, Asia, Africa and the South Pacific, enabling

the transfer of skills and lessons learned across borders and cultures. Programs are implemented through a network of 17 international program offices directly operated by Counterpart, including major operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in every former Soviet republic with the exception of the Baltics. Countries where Counterpart is operationally based through its offices or affiliates include: Australia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Canada, Fiji, France, Georgia, Germany, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kiribati, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Russia, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Tonga, Turkmenistan, Tuvalu, Ukraine, United Kingdom, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Vietnam, Zimbabwe.

Counterpart's budget in FY2000 was \$111 million dollars. Of that amount the largest portion of support and revenue (79.1%) came in the form of donated services and supplies rather than cash. USAID provided grants (of cash, commodities and in-kind donations) totaling approximately 98.8 million dollars (89% of the FY2000 operating budget) to support Counterpart activities. Non-Federal grants amounted to 7.2 million dollars (6.5%). Donor contributions, income from interest and other miscellaneous sources comprised the remainder of the Counterpart operating budget (Counterpart 2001).

Counterpart's operations are divided among its major activities as follows, based on total program expenses listed in FY2000 data: Relief activities make up 86.7% of Counterparts yearly program expenses (96.4 million). Institution building makes up 9.7% of the budget (10.7 million). Business development and training make up 1.4%, and natural resources and the environment 1.1%. Health, nutrition and micro-credit combined comprise 1.15%. The total amount of program-related expenses was \$111.13 million, 99.3% of all expenses totaling \$111.9 million. Administrative activities were only 0.7% of total expenses, most for management and general expenses with the remainder for business development and public information (Counterpart 2001). Counterpart is negotiating a host country agreement to begin Title II activities in Senegal.

Feed the Hungry International (FHI)

For over 25 years, FHI has been working with the poor and food insecure through cooperative community development activities that empower indigenous organizations. These activities are primarily in sustainable food production, child development, economic development, health, and water resource development. With more than 1600 employees, of which 7.6 percent are expatriates living in the field, FHI reaches more than 1.1 million people in 38 countries (FHI 2001).

FY2000 saw support and revenue of 40 million dollars, with 29.5 million in cash and 10.5 million in commodities and gifts in kind. United States donations and grants of cash and commodities made up 44.5% of revenues and support (FHI 2001). Approximately 40% of FHI's budget was spent on Title II activities, split roughly between agriculture (65%) and health/nutrition programs (35%). The remainder of the FHI budget falls into FHI's Child Development Program activities, according to an FHI representative. Donations and development programs are coordinated through a network of organizations in the United States, Canada, Japan, Korea, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden and the UK, according to the FHI website. Administrative and fundraising costs made up only 6.38% of operating expenses for FY2000; the remaining 93.62% (\$37.7 million) was dedicated to international development activities (FHI 2001).

Those revenues were spent in the following ways: FHI supports 27 projects and programs in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Cambodia, China, the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Kenya, Laos, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Nicaragua, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Tajikistan, Thailand, Uganda, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam. The largest programs with respect to dollars spent are those in Bolivia (which comprised 20.5% of FHI's expenses), Ethiopia (another 20.5%), Kenya (5.2%) and Mozambique (7.5%). The remaining 46.3% of funds were spent on development activities in the remaining 23 countries (FHI 2001).

FHI's Title II programs began in 1985 in Bolivia and have been active since that time. The USAID International Food Assistance Report for 2000 notes that Title II commodities support FHI development programs in Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique and Bolivia (USAID 2001). All of these programs contain a monetization component, though the proportion of commodities monetized varies for the four programs. The Bolivia program remains the largest with respect to number of field staff; 250 employees work on that program. Ethiopia is second with 220 employees; Kenya third with 120; and Mozambique fourth with 100. In sum, FHI employs nearly 700 individuals to work in these programs in the field. At the headquarters level FHI maintains a five person Food Security Team concerned with Title II and other aspects of food security.

International Relief and Development (IRD)

Since 1998 IRD has been working “to reduce the suffering of the world’s most vulnerable groups and provide the tools and resources needed to increase their self sufficiency” (IRD 2001). In time that IRD has been active, they have worked in Southeast Asia, the Caucasus and Eastern Europe to provide support for development activities in primary health care, food security, agriculture, micro-enterprise, community development, capacity building and media training.

A staff of over 80 employees in six different countries around the world works to complete IRD’s goal of implementing “cost-effective relief and development programs that improve the lives of the worlds most vulnerable groups.” At Headquarters, IRD employs 13 staff, 10 of which are female. There are 9 expatriate staff members in IRD field offices.

Funding for FY2000 grew to 24 million dollars, coming from over 30 different donors and partners. Gifts-in-kind accounted for about 65% of the total budget. Private funding accounted for 6.78% of IRD’s cash budget. US government sources including the USDA, the US Department of State, and USAID provided 90% of the cash budget and additional commodities for development and relief activities. Title II commodities make up 1-2% of IRD’s total budget; Food for Progress makes up another 20%.

IRD used resources for a number of relief and development activities, including the development of local Municipal Advisory Councils in Serbia that “act as decision-making bodies that collectively identify beneficiaries most in need of humanitarian aid” (IRD 2001). IRD’s presence in Serbia is extensive, focusing on community development, infrastructure repair projects, refugee relief for internally displaced persons, micro-enterprise projects and household livelihood security programs. IRD programs in other nations focus on primary health care (Macedonia, Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan), school feeding (Macedonia), agricultural development (Serbia, Macedonia), economic development (Serbia, Indonesia) and targeted food distribution (Indonesia).

Field Offices are located in the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Ukraine, the Republic of Indonesia, the Republic of Macedonia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. IRD’s activities are divided among these areas in the following ways: 39% of activities are in the Balkans. 35% of activities are in the Caucasus (13% Azerbaijan, 3% Armenia and 19% Georgia). The remaining 26% of activities are in Indonesia.

Title II funding began for IRD in Sept 2001, to support a relief program in Serbia. This program distributed of 75 metric tons of commodities to supplement already existing distribution programs. The program is for the “receipt, delivery and distribution of a shelf-stable prepackaged food commodity (prepared, stockpiled, and made available by the Breedlove Dehydrated Foods Organization) to needy individuals in foreign countries.” IRD employs 5 full time Title II specialists in the field, and one at headquarters.

Mercy Corps (MC)

For 22 years, Mercy Corps has alleviated suffering, poverty, and oppression by helping people build secure, productive, and just communities. With more than 1000 staff, volunteers, and partners worldwide, Mercy Corps has reached more than 5 million people in 29 regions and countries. A Mercy Corps human resources specialist reports that 92 headquarters staff and 89

expatriate staff are working in the field on projects. Mercy Corps's activities focus on civil society, health, economic development and private enterprise, and emergency and disaster assistance (Mercy Corps 2001). The relative priority of these activities varies with events, issues, geography and time.

Mercy Corps has offices in six regions: Africa, the Americas, the Balkans, Central and South Asia, East Asia, and the Middle East/Caucasus. In Africa, there are programs in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Mozambique. In the Americas, programs exist in Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, the US, and Venezuela. In the Balkans, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia and Serbia have operating programs. Central and South Asian programs are in Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Programs in China, Indonesia, Mongolia, North Korea and Russia fall under the East Asian region. In the Middle East, Mercy Corps supports programs in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Lebanon (Mercy Corps 2001).

In FY2000, those programs were supported by a 128.6 million dollar global budget, 36% higher than FY1999. Mercy Corps itself had revenues of 113.7 million, of which 41.8 million dollars (36.8%) came from the US government in cash or commodities. Eleven percent of Mercy Corps's revenues came as grants from international organizations or private grants. Private contributions and other revenue made up 6.4 million dollars, or 5.7%. The remainder of Mercy Corps's revenues arrived as material aid valued at 52.9 million dollars, or 46.6% of income (Mercy Corps 2001).

In FY2000, Mercy Corps spent 107.4 million dollars on project activities. That is 94.6% of Mercy Corps's operating budget. Support services expenditures totaled only 6.2 million dollars, 5.4% of the operating expenditures, split between administrative support and resource development (Mercy Corps 2001).

Mercy Corps's Title II activities began in 1998 with an emergency program in Kosovo. USAID's International Food Assistance Report shows that in 2001 Mercy Corps received Title II

commodity support for three emergency relief projects in Indonesia, North Korea and Yugoslavia (USAID 2001), none of which monetized commodities. About six individuals are involved with this program, focusing on urban food for work and food distribution through maternal/child activities and neighborhood clinics. Mercy Corps representatives noted that the program in North Korea is currently inactive, and the program in Yugoslavia to support people in Kosovo was completed in spring 2001.

Opportunities Industrialization Centers International (OICI)

OICI was incorporated in Pennsylvania in 1970 to provide humanitarian services and "help people help themselves and improve their lives through the development of sustainable institutions that provide appropriate training and services in developing countries around the world" (OICI 2001). OICI provides support for local NGOs to create and implement skills training programs for individuals in search of employment in developing countries. OICI's decentralized network of affiliates includes over 30 skills training centers in 18 countries in Africa, Asia and Europe. To complete its mission of creating sustainable training centers, OICI provides flexible, context-specific assistance to its affiliates (OICI 2001). This training could be in vocational skills, natural resource management, agriculture, micro-enterprise development, micro-credit, or any number of other appropriate skills.

There are eighteen OIC partners operating 46 programs in 18 countries (16 in Africa, 1 each in Europe and Asia): Cameroon, Central Africa, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Lesotho, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, the Philippines, Poland, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo and Zimbabwe. Most of these centers are self-sufficient; they receive no support from OICI's central accounts (OICI 2001). Those independent centers receive support from "local communities, host governments, multilateral and bilateral agencies and a wide range of foundations and NGOs" (OICI 2001).

Along with a number of field-based employees, a headquarters staff of over 20 (including 12 technical staff) links OICI's programs to each other. OIC local organizations employ over

1200 local individuals to achieve their programmatic goals, focusing 100% on human resource development in a non-traditional, non-formal education format. Activities focus on literacy and numeracy training, basic health and nutrition education, communication skills and conflict resolution training, career advising and counseling, apprenticeships and job placement, on-the-job training, and follow-up support. New technical and vocational training modules focus on agricultural development, health and nutrition, natural resource management, small business development, war-trauma healing, peace education and post-conflict reconstruction and reintegration. Over 50% of individuals taking advantage of OICI's programs are impoverished or socially and politically disadvantaged (OICI 2001).

The majority of OICI's funding comes in the form of grants of cash and commodities from the US government. Revenues for FY2000 were \$6.04 million, of which \$5.11 million (84%) came from the government. Private sector grants and gifts in kind amounted to \$762 thousand dollars (12.6%). Other income, from contract revenue, interest and unrealized gain amounted to only \$166 thousand, about 2.75% of OICI's income. These funds were spent supporting OICI activities at their Headquarters in Philadelphia, as well as supporting activities in Liberia, Guinea, Ghana, Togo and Sierra Leone (OICI 2001).

Most of OICI's expenditures supported programmatic activities (\$5.69 million dollars, 96.44%). The largest proportion of resources supported activities in Guinea, Togo and Ghana in descending order of resources allocated. The remaining \$210 thousand (3.56%) were spent on management/administration (3.36%) and fundraising (0.202%).

In FY2002, OICI operated two Title II development programs in Ghana and Guinea. These programs receive \$2.15 million dollars in commodities, which account for 36.5% of OICI's total income. OICI's activities in Ghana focused on post-harvest management, women's micro-enterprise, and water and sanitation. Their activities in Guinea focused on sustainable agriculture and natural resource management. Both programs monetized to generate cash for development

activities. In FY2002 OICI also operated four USDA Food for Progress programs in Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Chad.

Project Concern International (PCI)

Project Concern International is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit health and development organization that saves the lives of children and families by preventing disease and providing access to health care, clean water and nutritious food. Headquartered in San Diego, PCI has been serving people in need for the past 40 years. Each year PCI's highly effective, low cost programs reach more than 3 million people.

In FY2002, PCI operated in eleven countries on five continents (United States, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Indonesia, India, Mexico, Nicaragua, Romania, Zambia and Ghana). There were approximately 500 employees worldwide, including 36 at the International Headquarters in San Diego, eight expatriate field staff and three host country national directors.

The FY2000 budget totaled \$23.7 million with \$10.9 million in US government cash support (46.1%) and \$6.13 million in donated commodities (26%). Public contributions amounted to \$3.68 million (15.6%) and foundation and corporate giving provided \$1.2 million (4.9%). In-kind contributions valued at \$1.06 million (4.5%) and an additional \$715,572 from investment income completes the revenue breakdown for FY2000.

Health Access and Services projects were completed in nine of the ten countries (90%) PCI served in 2001. Nutritional programs were implemented in four countries (40%), water improvement and sanitation projects in five countries (50%), and health education projects in ten countries (100%), often in association with complementary development activities (e.g., income generation, food security or basic construction projects).

Program services were 89% of all expenditures, while management and general operating expenses were 9% and fundraising amounted to 2% (PCI 2001). Project Concern has received the highest rating from the National Charities Information Bureau (now the Better Business Bureau) for their quality programming.

Title II Development programs began at Project Concern in 1993 in Bolivia. Title II commodities were donated by USAID to support development activities in the Departments of Cochabamba and Potosi in Bolivia and four municipalities of Jinotega in Nicaragua (USAID 2001). Title II programs continued until the end of FY2002 in Bolivia and until 2006 in Nicaragua. PCI monetizes to provide cash support for activities in both countries.

Save the Children (SAVE)

Founded in 1932 as a nonprofit child assistance organization, Save the Children has been changing children's lives in the United States and in 47 other countries for more than 70 years. SAVE's development activities in health, education, economic development and natural resource management are coupled with emergency assistance to provide comprehensive support for children and their families. In 2001, SAVE employed 2975 individuals worldwide. Headquarters workers were 257 of those, and American field staff comprised another 42. The remaining 2,676 were overseas field staff. At the headquarters level, the average age of a full-time employee is 42 and the average tenure is 4 years.

In addition to US management, there were four area directors for Asia, Africa, Latin American and the Caribbean, and the Middle East/Newly Independent States/Eurasia. There were also 34 field offices in Albania, Angola, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Bosnia/Montenegro, Dominican Republic, East Timor, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, Guatemala, Haiti, Himalaya, Honduras, Indonesia, Jordan, Kosovo, Lebanon, Malawi, Mexico, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nicaragua, Pakistan/Afghanistan, Philippines, Sahel, Sudan, Tajikistan, Uganda, Vietnam and the West Bank/Gaza (SAVE 2001).

The SAVE FY2000 budget totaled 140.3 million dollars. The US Government provided 51% of the funding through grants and contracts, about 71.3 million dollars. Private donations totaling 40.9 million dollars made up 29% of the operating budget. Child sponsorship of 24.5 million dollars and other revenue of 3.6 million dollars make up the remaining 20% of SAVE's revenues. Those revenues were divided among SAVE's five primary activities as follows:

Education programs made up 21% of the operating budget, amounting to 24.2 million dollars. Primary health care operations made up 24% of the budget, or 27.1 million dollars. Economic development comprised 8% of the operating budget (8.5 million), and agriculture and natural resource management made up another 5% (5.2 million). The largest portion of the budget, 42%, was allocated for emergency, refugee and civil society projects, totaling 47.6 million dollars. All of these program expenses made up 83% of SAVE's budget, with fundraising at 11% and management costs at 6% of total expenditures (SAVE 2001).

SAVE works primarily in Africa, with 30% of funds allocated for that region. Second is the Middle East, with 20%, followed closely by the former Soviet states, with 16%. Latin America and the Caribbean area garnered 12% of SAVE's support, and Asia another 10%. The United States and Europe were allocated only 9% and 3% of SAVE's FY2000 resources, respectively (SAVE 2001).

SAVE's Title II activities began in 1991 and in FY2002 SAVE had 4 full time headquarters employees dedicated to Title II activities. SAVE received Title II commodities to support development activities in seven countries: Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Guatemala and Nicaragua, Bolivia and Haiti. SAVE also receives Title II commodities for emergency programs in Afghanistan, Sudan and Georgia. SAVE monetizes in all countries to provide cash resources for programming (USAID 2001).

TechnoServe (TNS)

For more than thirty years TechnoServe, Inc. has supported the entrepreneurial aspirations of hundreds of thousands of poor small-scale farmers, their families, and other rural citizens of Africa, Latin America and Central Europe. Serving as a trainer, a mentor and a catalyst, TechnoServe has helped people in twenty-one nations create and build hundreds of small and medium-scale rural businesses and advised them in their operation and management. With improved incomes and jobs, people can better house and clothe their families, improve their diets, pay school fees, and improve overall living standards. TechnoServe helps entrepreneurial men

and women in poor rural areas of the developing world build businesses that create income, opportunity and economic growth for their families, their communities and their countries.

TechnoServe focuses on broad-based rural economic growth because they see private, sector-led rural development as an essential and driving component of overall economic development and social progress in the developing world. Because the problems of economic underdevelopment require long-term solutions, TechnoServe is program-focused, not project-based. By maintaining a diversity of funding sources, they are able to develop and pursue program strategies and activities beyond the limiting confines of shorter-term project definition and funding.

This long-term strategy enables them to develop stronger relations and partnerships with local institutions, businesses and other leading economic actors. TechnoServe has always worked with and through a variety of local agencies, both public and private, profit making and not-for-profit. They also leverage the pro bono services of world-class business leaders, some of America's leading firms, who share their desire to make globalization inclusive. They apply leading-edge information technologies to the problem of rural poverty.

TechnoServe, a 501(c)(3), is a membership corporation, registered in the State of New York. Its membership of 95 meets annually to elect and advise the Board of Directors. TechnoServe's Board is made up of 24 individuals drawn primarily from the senior executive ranks of agribusiness, finance and advertising/marketing, who share their vision and mission. TechnoServe has an international staff of 330 working in ten Country Program offices, supported and supervised by a U.S.-based staff of 35 operating out of their Headquarters in Norwalk, CT, and a program office in Washington, DC. In 2001 total budget expenditures were \$15.3 million.

In FY2001, the US government, through USAID, FFP, the USDA and other subagreements provided 10.4 million dollars for TechnoServe, comprising 71.8% of TechnoServe's revenues. Individual contributions of 1.7 million dollars made up another 12% of revenues, while contributions from foundations, corporations and religious organizations made up

8% at 1.2 million dollars. Income from multilateral and bilateral institutions, host country institutions, other nonprofits, project fees, interest and other sources account for another 8% at 1.2 million dollars as well. Program services accounted for 81% of the operating budget, with program support and fundraising making up the remaining 19% (TNS 2001).

TechnoServe currently has program activities in 11 countries: El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, & Peru; Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania & Uganda; and Poland. Past countries of operation include Belize, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Guatemala, Panama, Mexico, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sudan and Zaire. Title II activities began in 1997. Currently, the USAID International Food Assistance Report notes that TechnoServe receives Title II commodities for development programs in four countries: Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and Peru (USAID 2001). TechnoServe Monetizes in all countries to provide resources for development activities.

World Vision (WV)

World Vision is a Christian nonprofit organization that has been providing community based relief and development programs to help children. World Vision's activities, often in conjunction with international partners, reach more than 1.7 million children, and even more adults in 89 countries (World Vision 2001).

The World Vision FY2000 annual report notes that contributions and revenue totaled 469.1 million dollars. Private contributions of 216.5 million dollars made up 46.1% of those revenues. Gifts-in-kind made up another 33.2%, valued at 155.6 million dollars. Public cash and commodity grants from US government agencies were 90.2 million dollars (19.2%), and other income from annuities and investments made up the remaining 1.5%, at 6.9 million dollars. 82.8% of expenditures (\$388.4 million) were spent on program and ministry activities, 10.8% (50.9 million) on fund raising, 5.9% (27.6 million) on management, and 1.5% (7.1 million) on retirement of previously amassed debt (World Vision 2001).

Ministry services and programs fell into the following categories: Child sponsorship, relief and rehabilitation, community development and Christian outreach and leadership projects, Gifts in kind, domestic programs, public awareness and education, sponsorship ministries and grants to other ministries. Child sponsorship activities cost 78.4 million dollars, or 16.7% of total expenditures. Relief and rehabilitation, community development, Christian outreach and leadership activities totaled 135.7 million dollars (28.9%). Gifts-in-kind were 34.8 million dollars, 7.4% of expenditures. Domestic programs made up 12% of expenditures, at 56 million dollars. Public education and sponsorship ministries both made up 0.5% of expenditures at 2.3 and 2.2 million dollars, respectively. Grants to other ministries, totaling 79 million dollars made up the remaining 16.8% (World Vision 2001).

Title II commodities supported World Vision in a number of international emergency and development activities. Sierra Leone, Sudan and Indonesia receive World Vision emergency support. Nine development programs are supported by Title II commodities: Angola, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda, Bangladesh, and Indonesia (USAID 2001).

World Self Help and Relief Exchange (SHARE)

The Food Aid Management website describes World SHARE as “a nonprofit social business serving a multinational network of organizations strengthening their communities by helping people to help themselves and others. As a social business, World SHARE generates revenue by and for the purpose of engaging people in self-help activities that improve their own lives, the lives of others and their community” (FAM 2002). SHARE participates in food assistance, community development, economic development, and education activities here in the United States and abroad (World SHARE 2002).

For 15 years, WorldSHARE has been providing development assistance internationally, helping individuals see themselves “as their own best resource” (World SHARE 2002). With eighteen headquarters employees and two field officers in Guatemala, WorldSHARE is one of the smaller international development organizations. Domestically, SHARE helps individuals and

families exchange community service for discounted food, including fresh fruits and vegetables, lean meats and staples. Internationally, using an Integrated Rural Development model, SHARE combats the root causes of poverty, improves family health, nutrition and management and strengthens community structures that support long-term improvements (World SHARE 2002).

For fiscal year 2000, the operating budget was 26.9 million dollars. Of that 26.9 million dollars, 4.8 million (17.7%) dollars came in the form of grants and commodities from the United States Government. SHARE representatives report that the annual budget is dedicated to domestic development work in the United States and to their project in Guatemala, where two field officers have been overseeing Title II monetization and distribution activities for eleven years.

Table A-1: Organizational demographics

Organization	Age	Title II Age	Number of Employees	HQ Staff	Dev. Workers	Field Offices	Field Staff	Title II Projects	Title II Staff	% Gov't Funding	Private Funding	Other Funding	% Funds for Dev	Ratio: HQ to field
ADRA	18	36	4400	203	4197	97	4197	9		50	47	3	88	0.048
Africare	31	29				26		9		68	26	6	80.5	
ACDI/VOCA	29	10	370	83	273	30	45	3	128	99	1	0	100	1.844
ARC	96	12	175	85		55	90	3		7	28	72	2	0.944
CARE	55	48	12550	275	12000	58	275	16		56	14	30	90	1.000
CRS	49	48	4157	319	3500	52	338	17		57	32	11	92	0.944
CNTPT	37	1	300	75	225	17	225	1		89	4.5	6.5	99.3	0.333
FHI	25	17	1600	33	122	27	122	4	705	44.5	55.5	0	93.6	0.270
IRD	4	1	80	13	58	8	9	1	6	90	7	3		1.444
Mercy Corps	22	4	1000	92	181	29	89	3	7	37	11	52	94.6	1.034
OICI	32		1200	20	20	18	1180	2		84	12.6	3.4	96.4	0.017
PCI	41	9	495	36	44	9	8	2	155	72	20.5	7.5	89	4.500
SAVE	70	11	2975	257	2676	34	2676	10	4	51	29	20	83	0.096
TNS	30	5	365	35	330	11	330	4	1	72	20	8	81	0.106
SHARE	15	11	20	18	2	1	2	1	2	27	73	0	100	9.000
WVRD								12		19.2	46.1	34.7	99	

Note: These data have been approved by each FAM member organization to be correct as of fiscal year 2002.

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRES AND RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Questionnaire One: Title II Food Aid Context

1. In your opinion, what pieces of legislation are most important in Title II work? What about international congresses or resolutions? For each of these listed, what makes them important? How do they affect the work that you do with your organization?
2. In your opinion, what are the major forces that you have to deal with in applying for, designing, coordinating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating a Title II project? Here, I am thinking of environmental forces, commodity amounts, governmental decisions, agriculture industry, and others. How do each of those forces affect your operations?
3. Could you briefly describe the process by which a project is designed, implemented and evaluated. Just sketch for me the basic parts and how they fit together, and what other stakeholders are involved in each phase.
4. With all the different factors that must be considered in Title II work, how stable do you feel? On a scale of one to ten, with one being least unstable, and ten being most unstable, where would you rate the organizational environment in which you work?
5. Are there any ways in which your organization has tried to control some of the uncertainty that arises as a result of the political, economic, and other forces that it has to deal with?

Questionnaire Two: FAM History

1. Could you briefly sketch for me the history of FAM as you know it? What are the crucial events in the establishment, development, and continuing operations of FAM?
2. On a scale of one to ten, with one being least and ten being most, how affected by environmental uncertainty is FAM? In other words, how much is FAM's history linked to external developments like changes in legislation, trends in food aid and development projects worldwide? How are the major events in FAM's history linked to those major developments in food aid legislation, world trends in relief and development work, etc?
3. There seem to be two distinct FAM eras. What are the differences? What are the similarities? What themes have continued through the history? How has FAM encouraged collaboration, cooperation, and constituency building during its history?
4. 1997 was a big change year for FAM. What happened then? What led to the changes, the establishment of the Working Groups, Listservs, and other activities?
5. How did the recent organizational vacancies affect FAM? What led to those vacancies?

6. What place do you see FAM in at the end of the ISA. If FAM had a renewed ISA, what changes would take place, what different activities would they participate in?

Questionnaire Three: FAM Evaluations, Uncertainty Scale, Collectivism Scales and Network Elicitation

This questionnaire supports the FAM/CARE Constituency Building Project. It consists of a number of research instruments that provide quantitative evidence to support or refute findings based on archival and interview data collected in Phase One of the project. This questionnaire includes some questions about your individual characteristics, some questions about your knowledge of organizational interactions among FAM members, some questions about your position on group activities, and some questions about your perception of the food aid environment. These questions are to help me understand the positions of the FAM constituents; there are no right or wrong answers. However, you do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Your individual responses will not be reported. Only aggregated responses from the constituency will be presented in any final report.

Thank you very much for your time and attention. Your cooperation and participation will ensure the reliability and validity of these findings for use by the Steering Committee and the FAM member organizations.

1. Individual characteristics

- a. What is your age?
- b. What is your gender?
- c. What is the highest academic degree you have earned?
- d. Which FAM member organization do you or did you work for?
- e. How long have you or did you work for that particular organization?
- f. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 least and 5 most, to what extent do you participate in FAM activities?

2. FAM Evaluation

The following questions refer to FAM's current collaboration and information exchange activities. Using a scale of 1 to 5, please evaluate how well you believe that FAM is performing regarding the various activities listed below. Is FAM meeting your needs and standards for developing, promoting and distributing technical information; facilitating forums for discussion and information sharing; and developing and promoting food aid standards? The number 1 means that FAM is doing poorly, 3 means that FAM's performance is average, and 5 is very good.

Steering Committee	1	2	3	4	5
Working Groups in general	1	2	3	4	5
Environmental	1	2	3	4	5
Local Capacity Building	1	2	3	4	5
Monetization	1	2	3	4	5
Monitoring and Evaluation	1	2	3	4	5
Listserves in general	1	2	3	4	5
All FAM	1	2	3	4	5
Commodity Management	1	2	3	4	5

Environmental	1	2	3	4	5
Local Capacity Building	1	2	3	4	5
Monetization	1	2	3	4	5
Monitoring and Evaluation	1	2	3	4	5
Nutrition	1	2	3	4	5
FSRC in general	1	2	3	4	5
Specific Information Requests	1	2	3	4	5
Food Forum	1	2	3	4	5
Website in general	1	2	3	4	5
Information content and online resources	1	2	3	4	5
Links to other information sources	1	2	3	4	5

3. Questions about Collective Activity

These questions are based on the Wagner (1995) and Earley (1994) scales of Individualism and Collectivism. They refer to your beliefs and activities about cooperation and collaboration. Please answer truthfully and to the best of your knowledge. Some of the questions refer to your perspective on cooperation in general; others refer to your perspective on cooperation in the work environment. The responses are based on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you strongly disagree, and 5 means you strongly agree. Feel free to skip any question that you believe does not pertain to you.

1. Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life. 1 2 3 4 5
2. To be superior, a person must stand alone. 1 2 3 4 5
3. If you want something done right, you've got to do it yourself. 1 2 3 4 5
4. What happens to me is my own doing. 1 2 3 4 5
5. In the long run, the only person you can count on is you. 1 2 3 4 5
6. I feel that winning is important in both work and games. 1 2 3 4 5
7. Success is the most important thing in life. 1 2 3 4 5
8. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do. 1 2 3 4 5
9. Doing your best isn't good enough; it is important to win. 1 2 3 4 5
10. Working with a group is better than working alone. 1 2 3 4 5
11. People should be made aware that if they are going to be part of a group then they are sometimes going to have to do things they don't want to do. 1 2 3 4 5
12. People in a group should realize that they sometimes are going to have to make sacrifices for the sake of the group as a whole. 1 2 3 4 5
13. People in a group should be willing to make sacrifices for the sake of the group's well-being. 1 2 3 4 5
14. A group is more productive when members do what they **want to** rather than what the group wants them to. 1 2 3 4 5
15. A group is more efficient when members do what they **think is best** rather than what the group wants them to do. 1 2 3 4 5
16. A group is more productive when its members follow their own interests and concerns. 1 2 3 4 5
17. If a group slows me down, it is better to leave it and work alone. 1 2 3 4 5
18. One does better work working alone than in a group. 1 2 3 4 5
19. I would rather struggle through a personal problem by myself than discuss it with my friends. 1 2 3 4 5
20. An employee should accept the group's decision even when personally he or she has a different opinion. 1 2 3 4 5

21. Problem solving by groups gives better results than problem solving by individuals.
1 2 3 4 5
22. The needs of people close to me should take priority over my personal needs.
1 2 3 4 5

4. Questions about the food aid Environment

This portion of the questionnaire is based on the Miles and Snow (1978) Perceived Environmental Uncertainty scale, though adapted for Title II activities. The following questions refer to your perceptions of the food aid environment, its volatility and its instability. The idea is to provide information regarding how well you understand changes in the food aid environment and how much you think those changes can be predicted. Once again, these questions are based on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means very volatile, uncertain or unstable, and 5 means very certain or very stable. Answer to the best of your knowledge.

1. Suppliers of your raw materials and components (Title II commodities)
 - a. Activities of agricultural commodities providers are 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. Raw or processed commodity quality is 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. Commodity management regulation changes are 1 2 3 4 5
 - d. Introduction of new materials or commodities is 1 2 3 4 5
2. Other PVOs
 - a. The PVO community's activities in general are 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. Changes in PVO programming quality are 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. PVO program design changes are 1 2 3 4 5
 - d. PVO growth (new activities or geographical areas) is 1 2 3 4 5
 - e. PVO community staff turnover is 1 2 3 4 5
3. Food Aid Recipients and/or commodity purchasers
 - a. The recipient community in general are 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. their acceptance of current commodities is 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. their desire for new commodities is 1 2 3 4 5
4. The resource, donor, private funding market/finance
 - a. availability of short-term funding is 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. availability of long-term funding is 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. changes in private funding sources are 1 2 3 4 5
 - d. changes in government funding sources are 1 2 3 4 5
 - e. changes in availability of commodity support are 1 2 3 4 5
5. Government regulatory agencies, changes in laws or agency policies (AID, USDA, etc)
 - a. changes regarding commodity prices are 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. changes regarding commodity shipping are 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. changes regarding commodity benchmarks are 1 2 3 4 5
 - d. changes regarding product standards or quality are 1 2 3 4 5
 - e. changes regarding financial practices are 1 2 3 4 5
 - f. changes affecting marketing and distribution 1 2 3 4 5
 - g. changes regarding acceptable accounting procedures 1 2 3 4 5
 - h. changes regarding monetization are 1 2 3 4 5
 - i. changes regarding environmental compliance are 1 2 3 4 5
 - j. changes regarding monitoring and evaluation are 1 2 3 4 5
 - k. staff turnover at the government level is 1 2 3 4 5
6. Actions of your own PVO employee work force
 - a. changes in wages, hours, and working conditions are 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. changes in employee security are 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. changes in HR procedures are 1 2 3 4 5

d. staff turnover within your organization is

1 2 3 4 5

5. Questions about Interorganizational Relationships

You have been identified as an organizational representative who participates to some degree in the activities of Food Aid Management. As a result, I have contacted you to discuss your perceptions of organizational relationships among the FAM member organizations. The following questions will ask you to mark those organizations that you believe your organization interacts with both within the bounds of FAM activities and outside the bounds of FAM activities. Below the questions, you will find a list of the FAM member organizations. Some of these organizations you may interact with quite frequently; others you may not interact with much at all.

Please answer the questions to the best of your abilities by placing a check in the space to the left of the organization's name. Please check as many organizations as may be appropriate. If there is only one organization that you interact with, only mark that organization. If there are several, check those several organizations. If you do not believe that your organization interacts with any of the organizations, then feel free not to check any.

You are free not to answer any question that you prefer not to answer, and you may also mark N/A if the questions are not applicable to your organization. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Remember that these questions are about your perceptions of interaction, so work with your own knowledge.

1. Which of the following PVOs does your organization collaborate with on FAM activities in general?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

2. Which of the following PVOs does your organization collaborate with regarding Steering Committee activities?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

3. Which of the following PVOs does your organization collaborate with regarding the monitoring and evaluation working group?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

4. Which of the following PVOs does your organization collaborate with regarding the monetization working group?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

5. Which of the following PVOs does your organization collaborate with regarding the local capacity building working group?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

6. Which of the following PVOs does your organization collaborate with regarding the environmental working group?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

7. Which of the following PVOs would your organization contact for advice or help with Title II issues?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

8. Which of the following PVOs does your organization have a written formal agreement to collaborate with *on Title II activities* outside the FAM context? This could be a group DAP, monetization consortium or a mentoring relationship through the ISA program.

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

9. Which of the following PVOs does your organization have informal ties with in the Title II context?

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

10. Which of the following PVOs do you think that your organization may have a written formal agreement with to collaborate *on any other activities* outside Title II and FAM context? This can be any formal cooperative relationship that extends outside the bounds of the Title II context, including InterAction, or the Food Aid Coalition.

ACDI/VOCA	CARE	IRD	SAVE
ADRA	Counterpart	Mercy Corps	TNS
Africare	CRS	OICI	SHARE
ARC	FHI	PCI	WVRD

Basis for Questionnaires and Scales

The following previously validated and published scales and methods were used whole or in part. Copies of the original research instruments are not appended to conserve space.

1. Individual Demographics
Card 19 of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey: Cross Section (study number 7689). Available to download from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). Principal Investigators: Quinn and Staines.
<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu:8080/ABSTRACTS/07689.xml?format=ICPSR>
2. Individualism/Collectivism
 - a. Wagner, John A. 1995. Studies of Individualism/Collectivism: Effects on Cooperation in Groups. *Academy of Management Journal* 38(1):152-172.
 - b. Earley, P. Christopher. 1994. The Individual and Collective Self: An Assessment of Self-efficacy and Training across Cultures. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 39:89-117.
3. Perceived Environmental Uncertainty Scale
Miles, Raymond E., and Snow, Charles C. 1978. *Organizational Strategy, Structure and Process*. New York: McGraw Hill.
4. Organizational Network Elicitation Questions
 - a. Krackhardt, David. 2001. Organizational Network Elicitation Examples published on the World Wide Web at: <http://www.heinz.cmu.edu/~krack/academic/> Accessed September 15, 2001.
 - b. Kwait, Jennafer, Valente, Thomas W., and Celentano, David D. 2001. Interorganizational Relationships Among HIV/AIDS Service Organizations in Baltimore: A Network Analysis. *Journal of Urban Health, Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 78(3): 468-487. September 2001.

APPENDIX C: SCOPE OF WORK
FOOD AID MANAGEMENT CONSTITUENCY BUILDING STUDY

FAM Background

In 1989 five U.S. private voluntary organizations (PVOs) created Food Aid Management (FAM) to promote the efficient and effective use of food aid resources to help alleviate hunger and contribute to food security. In September 1998, a five-year follow-on Institutional Support Assistance (ISA) agreement between USAID Office of Food for Peace and CARE, the grant holder, was awarded to FAM to continue supporting P.L. 480 Title II-funded Cooperating Sponsors (CSs) in their existing or planned activities. Eleven years later, while the goal of FAM remains the same, the FAM membership consortium has grown to include 17 U.S based PVOs. FAM works with these 17 CSs to achieve this goal by managing the following three objectives:

- Facilitate and promote the development of food aid standards.
- Promote the food aid and food security knowledge base of PVOs, USAID staff, and other collaborators through information exchange and coordination.
- Facilitate collaboration between PVOs, USAID, and appropriate development and humanitarian professionals by organizing forums for discussion.

FAM does not implement P.L. 480 Title II food programs, its Cooperating Sponsor members do. FAM's objectives and activities were designed to support the USAID Office of Food for Peace's Strategic Objective 2 (SO2): Increased effectiveness of FFP's Partners in carrying out Title II development activities with measurable results related to food security with a primary focus on household nutrition and agricultural productivity. FAM accomplishes its goals while focusing its efforts on activities that support the achievement of FFP's Intermediate Result 1 (IR1): Strengthened capabilities of PVOs, USAID Missions, and FFP to design, monitor, and support programs.

As a consortium, FAM works closely with its members to define activities, and to actively promote the progress of activities to agreed-upon goals. These activities include the implementation of working groups collaborating on common themes, which are priorities for members, namely: Monitoring and Evaluation, Monetization, Local Capacity Building (LCB), and the Environment (EWG). FAM also manages the Food Security Resource Center (FSRC), publishes the *Food Forum* bulletin, maintains an active website, and implements several other food security information sharing activities including interorganizational workshops.

Measuring the links to how FAM activities directly or indirectly impact Title II food security programming is beyond the scope of FAM's ISA objectives. As a nonimplementing, information sharing, coordination body, FAM's efficiency depends upon the consistent monitoring of activities directly related to FAM objectives. In the case of the FAM workshops, publications, and website FAM has set up mechanisms to track how the information is being disseminated, used, and potentially revised. By effectively managing and monitoring information exchange, collaboration, improved food aid standards, and the other capacity building activities by encouraging collaboration and information exchange among its 17 PVO members, FAM's contribution to Title II programming, through support of FFP's Objective and Intermediate Result is unique.

The FAM members have viewed and continue to perceive FAM, created largely as a forum in which Title II PVOs could collaborate and exchange food aid/security program information, to be a uniquely valuable venue for exchange of new tools and best practices.

Building a Diverse Constituency Dedicated to Ending Poverty

Over the past few decades, the international development community has come to better understand the factors that underlie and the means to end poverty. The development world has also become more of a community, in the sense of convergence around common goals.

Consistent with CARE's mission of serving individuals and families in the poorest communities in the world, CARE USA embraces the international development community's 1996 target of reducing by half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. CARE has chosen to adopt this poverty reduction target as the overarching goal of CARE USA's FY2002-2006 Strategic Plan and become an active contributor to this global effort as they believe that poverty will be overcome only if all parts of the international community work together in concert toward that end.

In assessing how to most effectively and meaningfully contribute toward this overarching goal, CARE USA has chosen three strategic directions designed to put CARE USA on a path toward its vision of a world without poverty. The strategic directions: Adopt Rights-Based Approaches to Achieve Greater Impact on Poverty and Social Justice, Build a Diverse Constituency Dedicated to Ending Poverty, and Increase Resources to End Poverty, are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

CARE's strategic direction to Build a Diverse Constituency Dedicated to Ending Poverty seeks to leverage the influence, support, and moral authority of a diverse constituency that will act as a global force within a worldwide movement to better advance the collective goal of ending poverty.

For CARE, constituents are defined as individuals, institutions, corporations, donors, project participants, Board members, and others who share this common goal and can engage in addressing poverty and social injustice. Constituency building here means increasing not only the breadth of network relationships that CARE has with like-minded organizations but also the depth of those relationships.

The critical activities associated with this strategic direction include: learning from other organizations and movements that have used constituency building to advance a global cause; building an understanding of constituency building among CARE staff; facilitating practices,

policies, and systems that encourage constituency building; targeting possible organizational allies; and, developing new relationships and strengthening existing ones.

Goal of the Study

FAM's program activities are necessarily cooperative ones, and as such, FAM has been active in constituency building for its entire twelve-year history. The goal of this study is to document, reflect on, and learn from FAM's experience in constituency and alliance building activities both in the past and in the present, with an eye toward strengthening those activities in the future for both FAM and CARE. This goal arises directly from: the FAM FY 02-03 Annual Operation Plan Objective to contribute learning from FAM experience in constituency building; the CARE USA Program Analysis and Development unit FY 02-03 Annual Operation Plan Objective to contribute to the organizational learning about constituency building and consolidate existing collaborative relationships; and the previously mentioned CARE USA FY2002-2006 Strategic Plan, in which one of the primary strategic directions is building a diverse constituency dedicated to ending poverty.

Secondly, since FAM's current funding will be ending soon, the output of this study will be used to inform the FAM strategic planning process and subsequent funding decisions that the FAM Steering Committee will be coordinating in the near future.

Study Objectives and Methodology

Constituency building is about developing relationships, and about understanding the depth and breadth of those relationships, which ultimately falls into the realm of organizational interaction and network formation. This project, then, is a holistic evaluation of FAM's activities and how those activities encourage network formation and organizational interaction. The three primary FAM activities to be investigated are: the development, promotion, and distribution of technical information regarding Title II projects, facilitation of forums for discussion and information sharing by organizations active in Title II projects, and the development and promotion of food aid standards for Title II projects. These activities will be investigated using a

combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods, creating an unique picture of FAM's constituency building practices and processes while highlighting the challenges and achievements of their experience.

While the following list is not exhaustive, research focus and activities will likely include the following:

- A. Prepare an implementation plan for the research study in agreement with CARE representative and FAM Coordinator. Meet on a regular basis with CARE representative and FAM Coordinator to review implementation plan, research progress, and findings. Midpoint report will be presented to CARE and FAM staff for input and feedback. The final report will be presented to CARE and FAM for input and feedback.
- B. Review FAM's: ISA proposal document, Annual Performance Reports, Detailed Implementation (DIPs) and Annual Operating Plans (AOPs), website and Food Security Resource Center (FSRC), M&E-related plan and data, website use reports, working group and other meeting minutes, and other relevant information that indicate/record the status of FAM's activities and performance.
- C. Determine the historical and current context in which FAM operates, including the general atmosphere of international development as well as the specific context of Title II projects from archival and ethnographic sources.
- D. Distill and refine FAM's history from archival sources and ethnographic interviews with member organization representatives and other primary informants.
- E. Chronicle FAM's current activities through participation in working group and other meetings and ethnographic interviews with member organization representatives.
- F. Profile FAM using archival and ethnographic sources (including but not limited to age, size, funding sources, primary activities, diversity of activities, scope of activities).
- G. Profile member organizations using archival and ethnographic sources (see above).
- H. Visualize links between and among FAM and its member organizations (network breadth).
- I. Determine content and strength of interorganizational ties (network depth).
- J. Determine changes in network depth and breadth over time using archival sources and current activities. Nonparametric statistical tests will determine if trends are significant.
- K. Investigate associations between member organization characteristics and network characteristics (i.e. are larger organizations more central, or considered more central by other organizations).
- L. Determine the amount of interaction that member organizations have that are non-FAM related (Is FAM encouraging interactions outside of the FAM environment that will strengthen organizational ties in the larger community of organizations addressing poverty?).

In categories I and J above, research will be subdivided by FAM's major program

objectives/activities:

1. The Development, Promotion, and Distribution of Technical Information.
 - a. Determine number of unique contributors to FSRC and the FAM website, previous and current (breadth).
 - b. Determine number of resources associated with each contributor to FSRC and the FAM website, previous and current (depth).
 - c. Determine number of unique visitors to FSRC and the FAM website, previous and current (breadth).
 - d. Determine frequency of repeat visits to FSRC and the FAM website, previous and current (depth).

2. Facilitation of Forums for Discussion and Information Sharing.
 - a. Determine number of participants and organizations for all forums organized by FAM, including the working group meetings.
 - b. Track trends in organizational participation in these forums over time.
 - c. Determine member representatives' opinions of the importance of the work groups and other forums, and whether that has changed over time.
 - d. Determine member representatives' and Steering Committee ideas about which organizations are most active in each of the work groups and other forums, and why.

3. The Development and Promotion of Food Aid Standards.
 - a. Identify food aid standards developed by FAM.
 - b. Determine the process by which food aid standards are created, focusing on the degree of collaboration involved among Title II organizations. This includes determining which projects were cited during the development (and which organizations implemented those projects), as well as which organizations were active in creating the standards.
 - c. Trace the promotion and implementation of FAM-created food aid standards within the Title II context and within the larger food aid context, including the number of Title II projects that incorporate those standards and the number of organizations that incorporate those standards consistently.
 - d. Determine member representatives' and Steering Committee opinions of the success of FAM's food aid standard development procedure, from the perspective of interorganizational collaboration and consensus building.

The data collection methods for this project will be both qualitative and quantitative. As the structure of the project develops, a more detailed categorization of which methods are used for which objectives will emerge. For now, a brief listing will have to suffice. Archival research, primary observation, and open-ended ethnographic interviewing will be the primary qualitative data collection methods. Quantitative research methods will include but will not be limited to systematic semistructured interview techniques, ratings, rankings, and pile sorts. Various methods from cognitive anthropology and social network analysis will be used for network visualization.

Archival Research will provide qualitative and quantitative data for analyses and description of FAM's activities. This data will be compiled primarily from the archival sources listed in objective B above. Data will include but not be limited to members present at meetings, feedback from the FAM Steering committee, involvement and activities of various member organizations in FAM's general activities as well as in each of the working groups and in the FSRC. Demographic data for the member organizations as well as for FAM will also be gathered from these sources.

Primary Observation, including participation in working group, Steering Committee, FAM annual, and other general interest meetings will provide first hand knowledge of organizational activities and will reinforce data gathered from archival sources. In addition, observation of current activities will provide clues as to how FAM's activities have changed over time. Participation in workshops and seminars will help to provide a context for the project with respect to food security and development research. Use of the FSRC will provide hands-on experience, leading to an understanding of how easily organizations may gather technical information about Title II food aid.

Open-ended interviews will allow the researcher to learn about FAM's history, gain demographic information for member organizations, and learn more about current organizational activity within FAM and FAM's members. This portion of the research will provide the basis for a holistic understanding of FAM's activities in constituency building.

Semistructured interviews, implemented in the second half of the project will allow for the collection of the majority of quantitative data. These interviews will provide the opportunity to collect any demographic or organizational data that was not evident in archival sources. Ratings, rankings, free lists, organizational network generation tasks, and other simple tests will generate data for statistical analyses. Here, the researcher will gain information on which organizations are considered more active, where organizations are situated in the organizational network relative to FAM and to each other, and how member organizations envision FAM within this organizational network.

Data analysis methods for this project will also be both qualitative and quantitative. Initial analysis of qualitative data will be qualitative, guiding the research toward additional questions and systematic investigation of those additional questions. Qualitative analysis of the qualitative data will also provide a basis for valid and reliable interpretation of quantitative results. Quantitative analysis of qualitative data will include but not be limited to text analysis of interviews and questionnaire responses, statistical analyses of nominal and categorical data (like ratings and rankings). Nonparametric statistical tests will be used along with categorical data analysis to provide the most power in determining results of the various quantitative tests. Analysis of social network data will follow most traditional analyses, using matrix algebra approaches and multivariate statistics to determine both the structure and content of the networks.

Time Schedule and Deliverables

Period of Performance: 15-20 hours per week from August 1, 2001 through May 2002.

Location: FAM headquarters in Washington D.C. No travel outside of the D.C. area planned.

This study will have two primary products, an interim report that summarizes research to date on history and current activities and a final report that presents all findings and interprets

them in light of the achievements and challenges of FAM's practices and processes of constituency building and cooperative activities.

REFERENCES CITED

- Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA)
2001 The Heart of Change: Annual Report 2000. Silver Spring, MD: ADRA. 26 pp.
- Africare
2001 Africare 2000 Annual Report. Washington DC: Africare. 40 pp.
- Agresti, Alan
1996 An Introduction to Categorical Data Analysis. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Agricultural Cooperative Development International/Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (ACDI/VOCA)
2001 Expanding Participation in Free Markets: ACDI/VOCA 2000 Annual Report. Washington DC: ACDI/VOCA. 28 pp.
- Alexander, Jeffrey, Beverly Nichols, Joan Bloom, and Shouu-Yih Lee.
1995 Organizational Demography and Turnover: An Examination of Multiform and Nonlinear Heterogeneity. *Human Relations* 48:1455-1480.
- Astley, W. Graham, and Andrew H. Van de Ven
1983 Central Perspectives and Debates in Organization Theory. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 28:245-273.
- Baker, Andrea J.
1982 The Problem of Authority in Radical Movement Groups: A Case Study of Lesbian-Feminist Organization. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 18(3):323-341.
- Bamberger, Michael
2000 Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research in Development Projects. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Baril, Galen L., and J. Timothy Cannon
1995 What is the Probability that Null Hypothesis Testing is Meaningless? *American Psychologist* 50(12):1098-1099.
- Barnett, William P., and Glenn R. Carroll
1987 Competition and Mutualism Among Early Telephone Companies. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 32:400-421.
- Bate, S. P.
1997 Whatever Happened to Organizational Anthropology? A Review of the Field of Organizational Ethnography and Anthropological Studies. *Human Relations* 50(9):1147-1175.

- Bedeian, Arthur G.
1980 Organizations: Theory and Analysis. Hinsdale, IL: The Dryden Press.
- Benson, Charlotte
2000 The Food Aid Convention: An Effective Safety Net? *In* Food Aid and Human Security. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke, ed. Pp. 102-119. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Bernard, H. Russell
1995 Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Walnut Creek: AltaMira.
- Boje, David M., and David A. Whetten
1981 Effects of Organizational Strategies and Contextual Constraints on Centrality and Attributions of Influence in Interorganizational Analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 26:378-395.
- Bolger, Joe
2000 Capacity Development: Why, What, and How. *Capacity Development Occasional Series* 1(1):1-8.
- Bonacich, Philip
1987 Power and Centrality: A Family of Measures. *American Journal of Sociology* 92(5):1170-1182.
- Boruch, Robert F.
1997 Randomized Experiments for Planning and Evaluation. *Applied Social Research Methods Series*, Vol. 44. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Boster, James, Jeffrey C. Johnson, and Susan C. Weller
1987 Social Position and Shared Knowledge: Actors' Perceptions of Status, Role, and Social Structure. *Social Networks* 9:375-387.
- Boyd, Brian K., Gregory G. Dess and Abdul M. A. Rasheed
1993 Divergence Between Archival and Perceptual Measures of the Environment: Causes and Consequences. *Academy of Management Review* 18(2):204-226.
- Bread for the World Institute (BWI)
1994 Hunger 1995: Causes of Hunger. Silver Spring, MD: Bread for the World Institute.
- Buchko, Aaron A.
1994 Conceptualization and Measurement of Environmental Uncertainty: An Assessment of the Miles and Snow Perceived Environmental Uncertainty Scale. *Academy of Management Journal* 37(2):410-425.
- Buckland, Roger, Graham Eele, and Reggie Mugwara
2000 Humanitarian Crises and Natural Disasters: An SADC Perspective. *In* Food Aid and Human Security. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke, eds. Pp. 181-195. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Burns, Tom, and G. M. Stalker
1994 The Management of Innovation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Burt, Ron
1992 Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Carroll, Glenn R., and J. Richard Harrison
1998 Organizational Demography and Culture: Insights from a Formal Model Simulation. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 43:637-667.
- Catholic Relief Services (CRS)
2001 Catholic Relief Services 2000 Annual Report. Baltimore MD: CRS. 40 pp.
- Checchi-Louis Berger International
1999 Assessment of the Management of PL 480, Title II, Non-Emergency Resources Strategic Objective No. 2. Washington DC: USAID.
- Christie, P. M., and Robert Levary
1998 Virtual Corporations: Recipe for Success. *Industrial Management* 40:7-11.
- Clay, Edward, and Olav Stokke
2000a Introduction. *In Food Aid and Human Security*. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke, eds. Pp. 1-12. Portland: Frank Cass.
2000b The Changing Role of Food Aid and Finance for Food. *In Food Aid and Human Security*. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke, ed. Pp. 13-54. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Cohen, Jacob
1994 The Earth is Round ($p < .05$). *American Psychologist* 49(12):997-1003.
1995 The Earth is Round ($p < .05$): Rejoinder. *American Psychologist* 50(12):1103;
- Cohen, Mark
2000 Food Aid and Food Security Trends. Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC)
1996 Foreign Food Assistance Programs and The Commodity Credit Corporation's Role in Their Operations, Procurement, and Shipment of Commodities. Technical summary. Kansas City: Commodity Credit Corporation.
- Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE)
2001 The CARE You Know: 2000 Annual Report. Atlanta GA: CARE. 53 pp.
- Counterpart International
2001 Counterpart International 2000 Annual Report. Washington DC: Counterpart. 24 pp.
- Cressey, Donald R.
1953 Other People's Money. Glencoe: Free Press
- Daniel, Wayne W.
1990 Applied Nonparametric Statistics. Boston: PWS-Kent Publishing Company.

- Dershem, Larry, and David Gzirishvili
 1998 Informal Social Support Networks and Household Vulnerability: Empirical Findings from Georgia. *World Development* 26(10):1827-1838.
- Dill, William R.
 1958 Environment as an Influence on Managerial Autonomy. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 2:409-443.
- DiMaggio, Paul J., and Helmut K. Anheier
 1990 The Sociology of Nonprofit Organizations and Sectors. *Annual Review of Sociology* 16:137-159.
- Doornbos, Martin
 2000 Revisiting the Food Aid Debate: Taking a Closer Look at the Institutional Factor. *In Food Aid and Human Security*. Edward and Olav Stokke Clay, ed. Pp. 351-362. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Doty, D. Harold, and William H. Glick
 1994 Typologies as a Unique Form of Theory Building: Toward Improved Understanding and Modeling. *Academy of Management Review* 19(2):230-251.
- Downey, H. Kirk
 1975 Environmental Uncertainty: The Concept and Its Application. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 20:613-629.
- Duncan, Robert B.
 1972 Characteristics of Organizational Environments and Perceived Environmental Uncertainty. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17:313-327.
- Earley, P. Christopher
 1994 The Individual and Collective Self: An Assessment of Self-Efficacy and Training across Cultures. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 39:89-117.
- Earley, P. Christopher, and Cristina B. Gibson
 1998 Taking Stock in Our Progress on Individualism-Collectivism: One Hundred Years of Solidarity and Community. *Journal of Management* 24(3):265-304.
- Emery, Fred E., and E. L. Tryst
 1965 The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments. *Human Relations* 18:21-32.
- Etzioni, Amitai
 1961 A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations: On Power, Involvement, and Their Correlates. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
 1964 Modern Organizations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
 1968 The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Processes. New York: Free Press.
 1972 Workers' Bureaucratic Predispositions and Job Requirements. New York: Center for Policy Research.

Evan, William

1993 Organization Theory: Research and Design. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Faaland, Just, Diana McLean, and Ole David Kohtand-Norbye

2000 The World Food Programme and International Aid. *In* Food Aid and Human Development. Edward and Olav Stokke Clay, ed. Pp. 221-255. Portland: Frank Cass.

Feed the Hungry International (FHI)

2001 Food for the Hungry, International 2000 Annual Report. Annual Report. Scottsdale AZ: FHI. 11 pp.

Ferguson, Donald S.

1990 Building World Food Security: A New Paradigm for United States Programs of International Cooperation and Development. Technical Assistance Review Paper. Washington, DC: US Department of Agriculture. 42 pp.

Fernandez, Roberto M.

1991 Structural Bases of Leadership in Intraorganizational Networks. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 54(1):36-53.

Food Aid Management (FAM)

Archival Grant Binder 1. 1989-1993. Grant Number OTR-0704-G-55-9173-00 Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Archival Grant Binder 2. 1993-1998. Grant Number FAO-0801-A-00-3032-00. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Archival Grant Binder 3. 1999-2000. ISA Grant FY 1999-2003 (Blue). Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Archival Grant Binder 4. 2000-2002. ISA Grant FY 1999-2003 (Yellow). Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Archival Grant Box 1. 1996-1998. Grant Number FAO-0801-A-00-3032-00 Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Food Forum Archives Binder 1. 1989-1996. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Food Forum Archives Binder 2. 1996-2002. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Meeting Minutes Binder 1. 1989-1991. Grant Number OTR-0704-G-55-9173-00 Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Meeting Minutes Binder 2. 1991-1993. Grant Number OTR-0704-G-55-9173-00 Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

Meeting Minutes Binder 3. 1993-1995. Grant Number OTR-0704-G-55-9173-00. FAM Washington DC: Food Aid Management.

- 1989 Food Aid Management Annual Report 1989. Annual Report. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 1993 An Essential Guide to Title II Food Aid Legislation. Legislation outline. Washington DC, September.
- 1994 Food Aid and Food Security: A PVO Perspective. Summary pamphlet. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 1995a Generally Accepted Commodity Accounting Principles. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 1995b Reorientation and Restructuring of Food Aid Management. FAM Historical Archives, Box 1. Washington DC: Food Aid Management, July 1995.
- 1998 Environmental Documentation Manual. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 1999a Monetization Manual: A Guide for Title II Cooperating Sponsors. Washington DC, Food Aid Management, October.
- 1999b Environmental Documentation Manual. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 2000a Food Aid Management Annual Report 2000. Annual Report. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 2000b Food Aid Management Organizational By-Laws. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 2001a Food Aid Management Home Page 2001. <http://www.foodaid.org>.
- 2001b Food Aid Management Annual Report 2001. Annual Report. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 2001c Nutrition and Agriculture Monitoring Toolkit. Washington DC: Food Aid Management.
- 2002 Food Aid Management Home Page 2002. <http://www.foodaidmanagement.org>. January 1, 2002.
- Freeman, Linton C.
1978/1979 Centrality in Social Networks: Conceptual Clarification. *Social Networks* 1:215-239.
- Freeman, Linton C., Douglas Roeder, and Robert R. Mulholland
1979/1980 Centrality in Social Networks II: Experimental Results. *Social Networks* 2:119-141.
- Freeman, Linton C., Douglas R. White, and A. Kimball Romney
1989 Research Methods in Social Network Analysis. Fairfax, Virginia: George Mason University Press.

- Frick, Robert W.
1995 A Problem with Confidence Intervals. *American Psychologist* 50(12):1102.
- Foster-Fishman, Pennie G., Shelby L. Berkowitz, David W. Lounsbury, Stephanie Jacobson, and Nicole A. Allen.
2001 Building Collaborative Capacity in Community Coalitions: A Review and Integrative Framework. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 29(2):241-261.
- Galaskiewicz, Joseph
1979 The Structure of Community Organizational Networks. *Social Forces* 47(4):1346-1369.
- Garst, Rachel, and Tom Barry
1990 Feeding the Crisis: US Food Aid and Farm Policy in Central America. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Goodman, Richard A.
1999 Modern Organizations and Emerging Conundrums: Exploring the Postindustrial Subculture of the Third Millennium. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Greiner, Larry E.
1972 Evolution and Revolution as Organizations Grow. *Harvard Business Review*, July-August 1972, 37-46.
- Grimm, Stephanie, A. Timothy Church, Marcia S. Katigbak, and Jose Alberto S. Reyes
1999 Self-Described Traits, Values, and Moods Associated with Individualism and Collectivism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 30:466-500.
- Hair, Joseph F.
1995 Multivariate Data Analysis with Readings. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Hamada, Tomoko
1999 Practicing Anthropology in Business Organizations. *Practicing Anthropology* 21:2-4.
- Hannan, Michael T., and John Freeman
1977 The Population Ecology of Organizations. *American Journal of Sociology* 82:929-964.
- Hasenfeld, Yeheskel and Benjamin Gidron
1993 Self-Help Groups and Human Service: An Interorganizational Perspective. *Social Service Review*, June 1993:217-236.
- Haverman, Heather A.
1993 Follow the Leader: Mimetic Isomorphism and Entry Into New Markets. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 38(4):593-615.
- Helmar, Michael
1994 Impacts of the Uruguay Round on Agricultural Commodity Markets. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Rural Development.

- Heydebrand, Wolf V.
1989 New Organizational Forms. *Work and Occupations* 16:323-357.
- Hirsch, Paul M.
1998 Organizational Effectiveness and the Institutional Environment. *In The Administrative Science Quarterly Series in Organization Theory and Behavior, Vol. 1. Qualitative Studies of Organizations.* John Van Maanen, ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Hollander, Myles, and Douglas A. Wolfe
1999 Nonparametric Statistical Methods. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Holm, Peter
1998 The Dynamics of Institutionalization. *In The Administrative Science Quarterly Series in Organization Theory and Behavior, Vol. 1. Qualitative Studies of Organizations.* John Van Maanen, ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Hubbard, Raymond
1995 The Earth is Highly Significantly Round (p,.0001). *American Psychologist* 50(12):1098.
- Hui, C. Harry
1988 Measurement of Individualism-Collectivism. *Journal of Research in Personality* 22:17-36.
- Ibarra, Herminia, and Steven B. Andrews
1993 Power, Social Influence, and Sense Making: Effects of Network Centrality and Proximity on Employee Perceptions. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 38:277-303.
- Independent Sector
2002 Nonprofit Almanac and Desk Reference. Washington DC: University Press of America.
- Institute of Development Studies (IDS)
1991 Food Security: Concepts and Definitions. Brighton, Sussex: University of Sussex.
- InterAction
1995 InterAction PVO Standards. Washington DC: InterAction.
- International Relief and Development (IRD)
2001 IRD Annual Report 2001. Washington DC: IRD
- Katz, Daniel
1950 Productivity, Supervision, and Morale in an Office Situation. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

1975 Bureaucratic Encounters: A Pilot Study in the Evaluation of Government Services. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

1978 The Social Psychology of Organizations. New York: Wiley.

- 1980 The Study of Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kelleher, David, Kate McLauren, and Ronald Bisson
 1996 Grabbing the Tiger by the Tail: NGOs Learning for Organizational Change. Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Council for International Cooperation.
- Ketchen, David J., James B. Thomas, and Charles C. Snow
 1993 Organizational Configurations and Performance: A Comparison of Theoretical Approaches. *Academy of Management Review* 36(6):1278-1313.
- Kim, Uichol
 1994 Individualism and Collectivism: Theory, Method, and Applications. *Cross Cultural Research and Methodology Series* 18. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Konandreas, Panos
 1987 Responsiveness of Food Aid in Cereals to Fluctuations in Supply in Donor and Recipient Countries. *In Agriculture and Economic Instability*. Margot Bellamy and Bruce Greenshields, eds. Pp. 90-94. Great Britain: International Association of Agricultural Economists.
- Konandreas, Panos, Ramesh Sharma, and Jim Greenfield
 2000 The Uruguay Round, the Marrakech Decision and the Role of Food Aid. *In Food Aid and Human Security*. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke, ed. Pp. 76-101. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Kracht, Uwe
 2000 Humanitarian Crises: Food Security and Conflict Prevention. *In Food Aid and Human Security*. Edward and Olav Stokke Clay, ed. Pp. 120-148. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Krakhardt, David
 1990 Assessing the Political Landscape: Structure, Cognition, and Power in Organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 35:342-369.
- Kwait, Jennafer, Thomas W. Valente, and David D. Celentano
 2001 Interorganizational Relationships among HIV/AIDS Service Organizations in Baltimore: A Network Analysis. *Journal of Urban Health, Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 78(3):468-487.
- Lavergne, Real and John Saxby
 2001 Capacity Development: Vision and Implications. *Capacity Development Occasional Series* 1(3):1-11.
- Lee, Rebecca A.
 1999 The Procurement Puzzle. *Food Forum*, July-August 1999, 8-9.
- Lewis, David
 1999 Revealing, Widening, Deepening? A Review of the Existing and Potential Contributions of Anthropological Approaches to "Third-Sector" Research. *Human Organization* 58(1 Spring 1999):73-81.

- Lincoln, James R.
 1979 Organizational Differentiation in Urban Communities: A Study in Organizational Ecology. *Social Forces* 57(3):915-930.
- Lindesmith, Alfred R.
 1947 Opiate Addiction. Bloomington: Principia Press.
 1968 Addiction to Opiates. Chicago: Aldine.
- Litwak, Eugene and Lydia F. Hylton
 1962 Interorganizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Co-Ordinating Agencies. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 6:395-420.
- Lois, Jennifer
 1999 Socialization to Heroism: Individualism and Collectivism in a Voluntary Search and Rescue Group. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62(2):117-135.
- Lorenzi, Peter, Henry P. Sims, and John O. Slocum
 1981 Perceived Environmental Uncertainty: An Individual or Environmental Attribute? *Journal of Management* 7(2):27-41.
- Mannheim, Karl
 1950 Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction. first published 1935. Edward Shils, trans. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Marine Overseas Services, Inc.
 n.d. Workshop on PL 480/1990 Farm Bill. Workshop outline. n.p., FAM Food Security Resource Center, Washington DC.
- Marsden, Peter
 1990 Network Data and Measurement. *Annual Review of Sociology* 16:435-462.
- Marshall, Catherine and Gretchen B. Rossman
 1999 Designing Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Marx, Karl
 1973 On Society and Social Change. Neil J. Smelser, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1977 Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. New York: Vintage Books.
 1994 Selected Writings. Lawrence H. Simon, ed. Indianapolis: Hackett.
 2002 Marx on Religion. John Raines, ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Mason, John P.
 2001 Mid-Term Evaluation for Food Aid Management Institutional Support Assistance Program. Washington DC: U.S. A.I.D. office of Food For Peace. 39 pp. plus annexes.

- McGraw, Kenneth O.
1995 Determining False Alarm Rates in Null Hypothesis Testing Research. *American Psychologist* 50(12):1099-1100.
- McNeil, Kenneth and James D. Thompson
1971 The Regeneration of Social Organizations. *American Sociological Review* 36:624-637.
- Mercy Corps
2001 Mercy Corps 2000 Annual Report. Portland OR: Mercy Corps. 58 pp.
- Michaelson, Alaina and Noshir S. Contractor
1992 Structural Position and Perceived Similarity. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 55(3):300-310.
- Miles, Raymond E., and Charles C. Snow
1978 *Organizational Strategy, Structure, and Process*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Milliken, Frances J.
1987 Three Types of Perceived Uncertainty about the Environment: State, Effect, and Response Uncertainty. *Academy of Management Review* 12(1): 133-143.
- Mirvis, Philip H. and Edward J. Hackett
1983 Work and Workforce Characteristics in the Nonprofit Sector. *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1983:3-12.
- Mizruchi, Mark S. and Blyden B. Potts
1998 Centrality and Power Revisited: Actor Success in Group Decision Making. *Social Networks* 20:353-387.
- Morgan, Peter
1997 *The Design and Use of Capacity Development Indicators*. Montreal: Policy Branch of the Canadian International Development Agency.
- Mouzelis, Nicos P.
1967 *Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Nelson, G.O.
1981 *Food Aid and Development*. New York: Agricultural Development Council.
- Opportunities Industrialization Centers International (OICI)
2001 OICI Combined Financial Report FY2000. Philadelphia: OICI.
- O'Reilly, Charles A., David F. Caldwell, and William P. Barnett
1989 Work Group Demography, Social Integration and Turnover. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 34:21-37.

- Owada, Hishashi
 1998 Donor Coordination and the Effectiveness of Development Assistance. Transcript of High-Level Open Symposium on Development Cooperation. Tokyo: UNU Headquarters. June 22.
- Pandya-Lorch, Rajul
 2000 Food Prospects and Potential Imports of Low-Income Countries in the Twenty-First Century. *In Food Aid and Human Security*. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke, eds. Pp. 55-75. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Parker, Scott
 1995 The "Difference of Means" May Not Be the "Effect Size." *American Psychologist* 50(12):1101-1102.
- Pennings, Johannes M.
 1981 Strategically Interdependent Organizations. *In Handbook of Organizational Design*, Paul C. Nystrom and William H. Starbuck, ed. Pp. 433-455. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Perrow, Charles
 1967 A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organizations. *American Sociological Review* 32:194-208.
- Pfeffer, Jeffrey
 1983 Organizational Demography. *Research in Organizational Behavior* 5:299-357.
- Pillai, Nita
 2000 Food Aid for Development: A Review of the Evidence. *In Food Aid and Human Security*. Edward and Olav Stokke Clay, ed. Pp. 196-220. Portland: Frank Cass.
- Project Concern International (PCI)
 2001 Project Concern International Annual Report 2000. San Diego CA: PCI. 7 pp.
- Quinn, Robert, and Graham Staines
 2000 Quality of Employment Survey, 1997: Cross-Section. Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research Manuscript 7689. Ann Arbor, Michigan: ICPSR
- Ragin, Charles C.
 1987 *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1994 *Constructing Social Research*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Raikes, Philip
 1988 Food Aid and Food Security. *In Modernizing Hunger: Famine, Food Surplus and Farm Policy in the EEC and Africa*. Philip Raikes, ed. Pp. 170-202. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
- Ratliff, Donald E.
 2002 Analytic Induction as a Qualitative Research Method of Analysis. <http://don.ratliff.net/qual/analytic.html>. August 29, 2002.

- Rosenthal, Robert
 1979 The "File-Drawer Problem" and Tolerance for Null Results. *Psychological Bulletin* 86(3):638-641.
- 1992 Effect Size Estimation, Significance Testing, and the File-Drawer Problem. *Journal of Parapsychology* 56:57-58.
- Rothschild, Joyce, and Raymond Russell
 1986 Alternatives to Bureaucracy: Democratic Participation in the Economy. *Annual Review of Sociology* 12:307-328.
- Rothschild-Whitt, Joyce
 1979 The Collectivist Organization: An Alternative to Rational-Bureaucratic Models. *American Sociological Review* 44:509-527.
- Saran, Ram, and Panos Konandreas
 1991 An Additional Resource? A Global Perspective on Food Aid Flows in Relation to Development Assistance. *In Food Aid Reconsidered: Assessing the Impact on Third World Countries*. Edward Clay and Olav Stokke, eds. Pp. 37-65. London: Frank Cass.
- Satow, Roberta Lynn
 1975 Value-Rational Authority and Professional Organizations: Weber's Missing Type. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 20:526-531.
- Save the Children (SAVE)
 2001 A Century of Concern...It Starts With Us: Save the Children 2000 Annual Report. Annual Report. Westport CT: SAVE. 50 pp.
- Scargle, Jeffrey D.
 2000 Publication Bias: The "File-Drawer" Problem in Scientific Inference. *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 14(1):91-106.
- Scherer, Ross P.
 1988 A New Typology for Organizations: Market, Bureaucracy, Clan and Mission, with Applications to American Denominations. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 27(4):475-498.
- Schiflett, Kathy L., and Mary Zey
 1990 Comparison of Characteristics of Private Product Producing Organizations And Public Service Organizations. *The Sociological Quarterly* 31(4):569-583.
- Sciulli, Lisa M.
 1998 How Organizational Structure Influences Success in Various Types of Organization. *Journal of Retail Banking Services* 20(1 Spring 1998):13-18.
- Scott, John
 1991 *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook*. London: Sage Publications.
- Scott, W. Richard
 1998 *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Shaw, John, and H. W. Singer

- 1995 A Future Food Aid Regime: Implications of the Final Act of the GATT Uruguay Round. Institute of Development Studies Discussion Papers, Vol. 352. Brighton, England: Institute for Development Studies.

Shoham, Jeremy, Fiona O'Reilley, and Jane Wallace

- 2000 Humanitarian Crisis and Conflict: Food Assistance and Nutritional Security Issues. *In* Food Aid and Human Security. Edward and Olav Stokke Clay, ed. Pp. 149-180. Portland: Frank Cass.

Smelser, Neil J.

- 1997 Social Dimensions of Economic Development. Social Assessment Series, Vol. 048. Washington DC: The World Bank's Environment, Social Policy and Resettlement Division.

Smelser Neil J., and Paul B. Baltes

- 2001 Analytic Induction. *In* International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds. New York: Elsevier.

Sphere Project

- 1998 Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response. Geneva: Steering Committee for Humanitarian Response.

Srivastva, Suresh, and David L. Cooperrider

- 1986 The Emergence of the Egalitarian Organization. *Human Relations* 39(8):683-724.

Strang, David, and Nancy B. Tuma

- 1993 Spatial and Temporal Heterogeneity in Diffusion. *American Journal of Sociology* 99(3):614-639.

Syvantek, Daniel J., and Steven E. Ekberg

- 1995 The Earth is Round (So We Can Probably Get There from Here). *American Psychologist* 50(12):1101.

TechnoServe

- 2001 Doing Business in the Developing World: TechnoServe 2000 Annual Report. Annual Report. Norwalk CT: TechnoServe. 24 pp.

Teller, Charles H., and Lucas Owuor-Omondi

- 1991 Summary Report: A Systems Analysis and Baseline Study of the Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition Program. Kenya: CRS/AID/Pragma.

Thirion, Marie-Cecile

- 2000 EU Food Aid and NGOs. *In* Food Aid and Human Security. Edward and Olav Stokke Clay, ed. Pp. 274-288. Portland: Frank Cass.

Torres, Cruz, William A. McIntosh, and Mary Zey

- 1991 The Effects of Bureaucratization and Commitment on Resource Mobilization in Voluntary Organizations. *Sociological Spectrum* 11:19-44.

Triandis, Harry C.

1989 Cross-Cultural Studies of Individualism and Collectivism. Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1989: 41-133.

1993 Collectivism and Individualism as Cultural Syndromes. Cross-Cultural Research 27(3/4):155-180.

1995 Individualism and Collectivism. Boulder: Westview Press.

Triandis, Harry C., Christopher McCuskey, Hector Betancourt, and Sumiko Iwao.

1993 An Emic-Etic Analysis of Individualism and Collectivism. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 24(3):366-383.

Triandis, Harry C., and Theodore M. Singelis.

1998 Training to Recognize Individual Differences in Collectivism and Individualism within Culture. International Journal of Intercultural Relations 22(1):35-47.

United Nations Food Aid Convention (UNFAC)

1995 Food Aid Convention, 1995. Published Conference Proceedings. United Nations Food Aid Convention. Geneva: April 1, 1995.

1999 Food Aid Convention, 1999. Formal Convention Text. United Nations Food Aid Convention. London: April 13, 1999.

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

1992a Definition of Food Security. PN-AAV-468. Washington DC: USAID.

1992b Food Security Discussion Paper. Topical discussion paper. Washington DC: Bureau for Food and Humanitarian Assistance Office of Program, Planning and Evaluation.

1995 Food Aid and Food Security Policy Paper. Policy Statement. Washington, DC: USAID.

1998 Monetization Field Manual: PL 480 Title II Programs. Washington DC: Office of Food For Peace. October.

2000 US International Food Assistance Report 1999. Washington DC: USAID.

2001 US International Food Assistance Report 2000. Washington DC: USAID.

USAID Bureau of Food for Peace and Private Voluntary Assistance (USAID/FFP/PVA)

1985 Background Paper and Guide to Addressing Bellmon Amendment Concerns on Potential Food Aid Disincentives and Storage. Technical Paper. Washington DC: USAID.

USAID Bureau of Humanitarian Response Office of Food for Peace Development Program Team (USAID/BHR/FFP)

2001 PL 480 Title II Guidelines on FY2002 Development Activity Programs. Technical Support Document. Washington DC: USAID.

USAID Office of Procurement

- 1998 Request for Applications (RFA): Title II Institutional Support Assistance Program (ISA). M/OP-98-372. Washington DC: USAID.

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA)

- 1996 The Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996, Title by Title Summary of Major Provisions of the Bill. Washington DC: USDA.

United States General Accounting Office (USGAO)

- 1996 Food Security: Preparations for the 1996 World Food Summit. Technical Review of the process and content of WRS preparations. Washington, DC: General Accounting Office.

United States Office of Management and Budget (USOMB)

- 2001 The President's Management Agenda, Fiscal Year 2002. Washington DC: Executive Office of the President Office of Management and Budget.

Vanderslice, Virginia J.

- 1988 Separating Leadership from Leaders: An Assessment of the Effect of Leader and Follower Roles in Organizations. *Human Relations* 41(9):677-696.

Von Braun, Joachim Howarth Bouis

- 1992 Improving Food Security of the Poor. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Voss, Hanswerner

- 1996 Virtual Organizations: The Future is Now. *Strategy and Leadership*, July/August, 12-16.

Wagner, John A.

- 1995 Studies of Individualism/Collectivism: Effects on Cooperation in Groups. *Academy of Management Journal* 38(1):152-172.

Wagner, John A. and Michael K. Moch

- 1986 Individualism-Collectivism: Concept and Measure. *Group and Organization Studies* 11(3):280-304.

Walker, Michael E., Stanley Wasserman and Barry Wellman

- 1993 Statistical Models for Social Support Networks. *Sociological Methods and Research* 22(1):71-98.

Wasserman, Stanley and Katherine Faust

- 1994 *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waters, Malcolm

- 1993 Alternative Organizational Formations: A Neo-Weberian Typology of Polycratic Administrative Systems. *The Sociological Review* 41(1):55-83.

Weber, Max

1958 From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, trans. New York: Oxford University Press.

1968 Economy and Society. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, ed. New York: Bedminster Press.

Weick, Karl E.

1974 Middle Range Theories of Social Systems. Behavioral Science 19:357-367.

Weller, Susan C., and A. Kimball Romney

1988 Systematic Data Collection. Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 10. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Wells, Miriam J.

1981 Success In Whose Terms? Evaluations of a Cooperative Farm. Human Organization 40(3):239-246.

Williams, Steve

2000 An Empirical Application of Transaction-Costs Theory to Organizational Design Characteristics. The Journal of Psychology 134(1):81-92.

World Food Summit (WFS)

1996 Rome Declaration on World Food Security and World Food Summit Plan of Action. Final conference international agreement text. World Food Summit. Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization, November 13-17, 1996.

World Self Help and Relief Everywhere (SHARE)

2002 WorldSHARE Annual Report 2001. San Diego: WorldSHARE.

World Vision

2001 Your Light Will Shine: World Vision 2000 Annual Report. Federal Way WA: World Vision. 32 pp.

Yamagishi, Toshio, Mary R. Gillmore, and Karen S. Cook

1988 Network Connections and the Distribution of Power in Exchange Networks. American Journal of Sociology 93(4 January 1988):833-851.

Zenger, Todd R., and Barbara S. Lawrence

1989 Organizational Demography: The Differential Effects of Age and Tenure Distributions on Technical Communications. Academy of Management Journal 32(2):353-376.

Znaniecki, F.

1934 The Method of Sociology. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Harold D. Green, Jr. (Hank) was born in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and raised in nearby Bamberg. In 1989, he left Bamberg for the South Carolina Governor's School for Science and Mathematics (GSSM), a state-supported residential magnet school in Hartsville, South Carolina. Hank graduated from GSSM in 1991 with honors. He attended the University of Georgia with the support of a UGA Foundation Fellowship. As a Winship Nunnally fellow, Hank earned a BS/MS with high honors in botany, specializing in plant taxonomy and systematics. His master's thesis was an investigation of the medicinal plants used on the Sea Islands of South Carolina by the Gullah, an African Diaspora culture. As part of the project, he collected the medicinal plants that grow on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, the current epicenter of Gullah culture. That collection is housed in the UGA Botany Department herbarium and in the UGA Anthropology Department Ethnoecology and Biodiversity Lab's ethnobotany herbarium.

In 1996, Hank enrolled in the University of Florida Department of Anthropology to study the African Diaspora culture of Haiti. Hank also began exploring some new interests: research design, research methods and scientific anthropology. With the assistance of a Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowship, Hank studied Haitian culture in Miami, Florida and in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Based on that experience, he wrote the "Port-au-Prince" entry in the 2002 Human Resource Area Files *Encyclopedia of Urban Cultures*. In late 1998, Hank returned to the University to develop a research program focused on field-level cooperation in the international development context. Political unrest in Haiti made returning too risky, and in 2001, Hank chose to shift his focus to headquarters-level cooperation. He spent one and a half years studying cooperation in Washington DC, surviving bombings, anthrax threats, snipers and a completely Republican government, all the while wondering whether Haiti might have been a safer choice.