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ABSTRACT
                Research on the relationship of communication to
national development is at a standstill because theorists have
assumed that effective communication will modernize the attitudes of
individuals in underdeveloped nations and will eventually result in
changing the political, social, and economic structure of their
country. Unfortunately, change is unlikely to occur in backward
countries since the citizens are bound by restrictive structures
which are controlled by self-serving elite groups. Future research in
this area should be directed at how organizations, not individuals,
use communication (through mass media, pressure groups, community
groups, etc.) to control the direction of change. Communications
specialists must research means of altering the routine habit or
organizations to only seek information which supports the status quo.
(EE)

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH
IN COMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
FROM THE STUDY OF INDIVIDUALS
TO THE STUDY OF FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

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"New Directions for Research in Communication and
International Development" is an intriguing and challenging
subject for discussion--intriguing because it seems to me that
research in this area is at a theoretical standstill, challenging
because the puzzle of what to do next must be solved if we as
researchers are to be able to give advice on how to use
communication to stimulate economic and social development.

Why do I think research on communication and development
is at a standstill? Perhaps if I list some areas of research
which are no longer needed I can make myself clear. We no
longer need research on the relationship of mass media
development to national development, the diffusion of innovations,
freedom of the press in developing countries, empathy, modern
values, modernizing attitudes, cultural change and restrictions,
literacy, achievement motivation, rising expectations, want/
get ratios, the two-step flow, opinion leaders, traditional
and transitional individuals, numbers of theater seats and
radios, etc., etc., etc.

At this point, I realize I have butchered a number of
sacred cows and have probably alienated the majority of
members of this panel (alienation, by the way, is another
area where no further research is needed). The areas of
research which I have excluded include the majority of the
studies which have been done to date on the relationship of
communication to national development. But if we as researchers

ask ourselves a simple question, I think my initial point can be made: What would we tell a professional communicator or government official in Colombia or India, or Afghanistan to do if he wants to improve communications in his country?

In the first chapter of their book, The Political Economy of Change, Ilchman and Uphoff make a similar point about political science theory as it applies to developing countries. They ask what a political scientist could have told Colonel Gowon when he became president of Nigeria in 1966:[1]

> Colonel Gowon would have found small consolation
> in the assurance that advancing differentiation
> would probably usher in a new Nigeria eventually
> marked by achievement, universalistic and affectively
> neutral norms, and functionally specific institutions.
> Nor would it have helped him to be told that
> "transitional" periods are difficult and
> unavoidable. What he needed was assistance in
> shaping productive, constructive policies of
> the sort normally employed by statesmen.

Research on the relationship of communications and development is at a standstill because theorists have assumed for too long that messages can be given to traditional individuals that will change those individuals to make them more modern. These researchers assume further that modern individuals can change the political, social, or economic system to make it more modern also.

Unfortunately, however, individuals in nearly every underdeveloped country are bound in by restrictive system structures which they as individuals are powerless to change. Even if communication could endow them with more modern attitudes,

the structure would not allow them to change their behavior or more importantly to change the system.

Change in system structure rather than individual change, then, is the essence of national development. And it is structural change that communication directed at individuals is almost powerless to effect. What, then, is the needed new direction for research? Obviously, it should concern how communication can bring about structural change.. And since individuals alone seldom change a structure, the unit of analysis for this research should be the organization--including formal communication organizations, the mass media, pressure groups, and communities.

Two Competing Paradigms

In the early years of research on the relationship between communication and development, a single paradigm tended to dominate the field. I need only mention the names of researchers such as Lerner, Rogers, Pye;, and Schramm to bring the paradigm to mind.

That paradigm, simply stated, held that communication causes change (development, modernization, etc.). Researchers applying this paradigm have spent years correlating mass media exposure and other individual communication behaviors with various indices of individual modernization and national development. Most of the findings have been purely descriptive, and many--e.g., Lerner's--basically tautological. For example, it helps little to learn that a lower order concept (media

development) correlates highly with a higher order concept
(national development) which subsumes the lower order concept.

Importantly, little real theory has evolved--theory
being distinguished from what Brown calls an empirical
generalization.[2] A theory exists, according to Brown, when
the question of "why" an observed phenomenon occurs can be
answered in terms of increasingly more abstract concepts which
apply to many situations. It is because of the absence of
theory, I believe, that researchers have a difficult time
turning their descriptive findings into prescriptive advice
for professional communicators.

In contrast to the predominant communications paradigm,
however, it is possible to interpret most of the existing
literature on communications and development in precisely the
opposite fashion. Communication does not cause change. Change
creates the need for communication. This simple reversal of
the cause-effect relationship of communication and development
has been the basis of a new paradigm developed by the author
and others. Essentially this paradigm holds that structural
change must come first and that communication then enlarges
and supports the consequences of that change by making more
and more individuals aware of new opportunities.

The results of several studies have supported this
hypothesized relationship between communication and development.
During two years of research in Colombia, I conducted two
studies relating communication behavior to decision situations

of large landowners (latifundistas) and then of peasants
(minifundistas). In both studies I used a set of decision
concepts to predict information seeking.[3] The concepts are
based on two dimensions--the openness of the individual and
the openness of the structure:

Structure

	Open	Closed
Open	Problem Solving	Constrained Decision
Closed	Routine Habit	Fatalism

Individual

As the above diagram illustrates, the model holds that a
decision situation contains two dimensions which affect
information seeking and giving. The model predicts that
individuals will seek information when they perceive a
problem (the individual is open). To have a problem simply
means that an individual recognizes that he has a choice
between alternatives. Secondly, the model predicts that
individuals will seek information only about alternatives which
are feasible within their situation or environment. The comb-
inations of these two dimensions yields four types of decision
situations and/or decision modes.

Problem solving is a type of decision situation in which
the individual recognizes that alternatives are present and
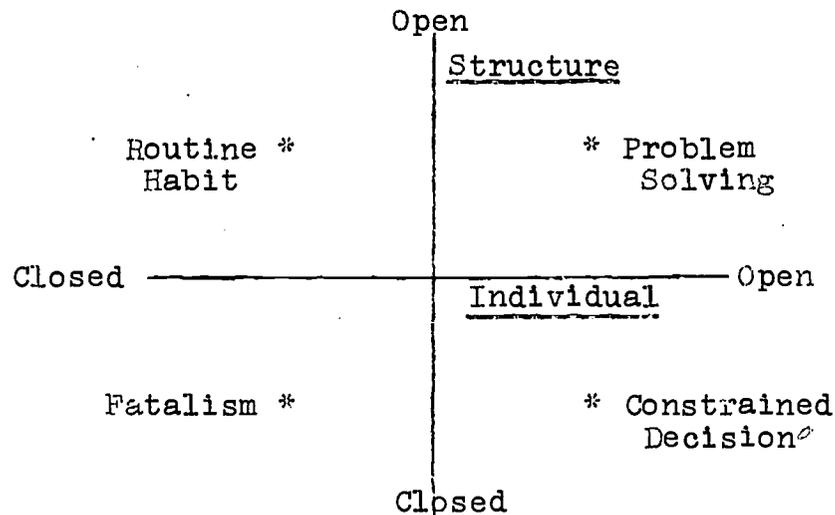therefore that a problem exists. Alternatives are also

available within the structure. This individual in this
situation is "rational." He weighs alternatives and chooses
among them. Volition, or perceived volition, in making a
choice exists. Because the individual evaluates alternatives,
information in useful, and information seeking and giving are
important aspects of problem solving. This is the only decision
mode which is "modern" in nature.

Constrained decision is characterized by physical or
structural blocks within the system which rule out all but
one alternative or a limited range of alternatives. The
individual has little perceived volition, even though he
recognizes alternatives that are excluded by constraints in
his situation. Because alternatives are constrained, infromation
seeking will be low, although information concerning presently
excluded alternatives will not be avoided.[4]

Routine habit is characterized by a closed-minded individual
in an open structure. This individual considers only a habitual
alternative. His cognitive process is rigid, and his information
seeking is negligible and directed only toward messages which
reinforce his habitual alternative. He readily gives
information, however, when his alternative is threatened.

In fatalism, the individual neither recognizes a problem
nor has alternatives available within his structure. He feels
that he has no control over his environment and he has lost
interest in contolling it. For these reasons, he is not an
information seeker.

Some readers may object that these decision modes are too idealized and like most typologies, too inflexible (i. e., there may be middle points between them. This is a valid criticism and for this reason, some may prefer to interpret the decision modes as discrete points on two continuous scales (see below).

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                          Open
                            | Structure
                            |
         Routine *          |         * Problem
         Habit              |           Solving
                            |
Closed ─────────────────────┼──────────────── Open
                            | Individual
                            |
         Fatalism *         |         * Constrained
                            |           Decision
                            |
                          Closed
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To apply this model in the Colombian studies, I used Q-factor analysis of survey data (correlation and factoring of people rather than variables) to develop six types of large landowners and six types of peasants. In the analysis, I included three types of variables: 1) pre-cognitive variables, to indicate the opportunity structure and individual differences, 2) cognitive variables, the decision modes and communication variables, and 3) post-cognitive variables--consequences of cognitition such as income, adoption of technology, productivity, (all of which become pre-cognitive variables in a continuous process. The conclusions from the latifundista study were:[5]

Information seeking was negatively related to routine
and ignorant habit and had little function for the
traditional types discovered in the study. But
information seeking was strongly related to problem
solving; information was important to and sought
by already entrepreneurial types...exposure to the
mass media was not related to entrepreneurial
development. In contrast, the most traditional
type was the most noted for its newspaper exposure.
All of the latifundistas interviewed possessed the
minimum educational and literacy requirements for
media exposure. But the media normally carry little
situationally relevant information and thus are of
little functional use to them. Media use instead
seemed to serve more of a diversionary or
entertainment role.

The conclusions from the minifundista study were similar:[6]

For the typologies with available opportunities,
communication behavior was an important determinant
of the typology; for those without opportunities
it was nonexistent. Communication behavior and its
concomitant social-psychological variables are a
function of the situation in which an individual
performs. Communication can have little effect
in modernizing peasants unless situational changes
first make modernization possible...structural
rigidies exist in Colombia and similar under-
developed countries because of elite control of
political processes, the mass media, and other
communication channels--a control accompanied by
elite desire to preserve the status quo. In a
country like Colombia, real peasant progress will
never occur given the present social and political
structure of society. Under the present structure,
the potential role of communication in development
seems extremely limited.

Several other studies can be cited to support this

paradigm. For example, Fett measured the degree to which

peasant farmers in Brazil sought various types of market

information.[7] Peasants sought information about crops where

several alternative markets existed. They did not seek

information when the market structure was closed.

In a study in Afghanistan, Whiting found that structural factors--lack of supplies of new technology and lack of finances--were more important reasons for not adopting new technology than was attitudinal resistance.[8] He also found that "Since media exposure was very low and characerological modernity surprisingly high it seems clear that mass media are not necessary conditons for characerological modernity."[9]

Likewise, Sultana Krippendorff has used historical analysis to show that the mass media in India resisted religious change and supported the status quo when Britisn missionaries entered the country.[10] Marceau, similarly, has shown that social conflicts in French communities prevented communication messages from bringing change:[11]

> Conflicts mean that instead of clear guidance for action, confusing messages are sent out concerning innovations of all kinds...There will be conflicts over the aims, means, and results of social, economic, and political change and the desirability of even technical innovations, conflicts which will be reflected in the messages mass media, "experts," and ordinary individuals receive and transmit.

In a study of road building projects in 31 Colombian communities, Felstehausen concluded that:[12]

> ...information and technology were available at the operational level, a conclusion attested to by the fact that local groups often undertook and completed road projects without outside technical assistance. The principal obstacle did not appear to be information. Rather, the rules, rewards, and sanctions of the system were organized in such a way that they did not foster the desired action.

Elsewhere, I have conceptualized that communication has two different functions for systems in general--it either

changes the system or controls it.[13] What the above studies

show is that system control is by far the most/communication
common

function in underdeveloped countries. We might go so far as

to say that it is "natural" for communication to support the

status quo, unnatural to change it.

This conclusion sharpens our theoretical perspective on

the relationship of communication to development. But the

conclusion is a sobering one for a communications researcher

because it means that the only thing he can recommend to a

professional communicator is to wait for change to occur so

that he can then communicate information about new opportunities

created by structural change. But in underdeveloped countries

change is unlikely to occur because social and economic elites

control the system and have little desire to change it except

when change improves their own situation.

Lest pessimism overwhelm us at this point, let's turn now

to some ideas for research on what communication can do to

bring about development.

From Receivers to Messages and Sources

One of the first things I found in my Colombian research

was that information produced by most communication organizations

such as the mass media, extension services, etc. did not even

articulate alternatives for individuals who were in an open

structure--e.g., entrepreneurial large landowners. In other

words, the messages produced had little situational relevance

either for large landowners or for peasants. Even problem

solvers and information seekers could not obtain relevant messages.

Fett obtained similar results in a content analysis of the agricultural pages of several Brazilian newspapers. "Of the 725 items coded," he reports, "only 64 had high situational relevance."[14]

In a Venezuelan study, Mathiason found that the mass media gave people attributes (facts) about objects in their situation, but did not tell them how to organize and utilize these facts. He concludes:[15]

> It seems to me that the mass media, rather than
> dealing with attributes (our classical conception of
> news), could deal in modes of discrimination. They
> could teach...how individuals do and/or can cope
> with situations. They could show, not the big
> picture nor the view from the instituion, but
> rather the picture from the viewpoint of the
> individual who is trying to cope...In a sense
> the parables in the New Testament are a demonstration
> of how people should organize reality. It seems
> certain that this technique placed in a mass
> communication medium had great effect for many
> centuries in altering peoples' way of structuring
> reality, leading to rapid social change.

Finally, Brown has found that if content is relevant, even printed messages can reach illiterates.[16] This occurs through "dependent literacy" in which a literate family member or friend reads to the illiterate.

The conclusion that can be reached from these studies is that the first thing we can tell professional communicators is to produce messages which are situationally relevant to the audiences they are attempting to reach. Then they should use devices such as parables, examples of success, illustrations, etc. to show how the information can be applied.

The tricky part of this advice is, of course, finding out what messages will be situationally relevant. In a paper presented to the Organizational Communications Division of ICA a year ago, I suggested that the answer lies in the communicator's ability to learn from his clientele:[17]

> We need to measure the extent to which the organization understands the clientele's view of what the situation is and what ought to be done about it. And in instances when the clientele does not itself understand its situation, we need to measure the extent to which the organization can think through the clientele's situation from the standpoint of the needs and values of the clientele and then bring in new information which would help clients to better evaluate consequences facing them...This means that both the organization and its clientele must learn from each other. But the organization must learn from its clientele before the clientele can effectively learn from the organization.

To be able to think through the recipient's situation requires a set of theoretical concepts which allow the professional communicator to empathize with his audience and to seek information from that audience. The decision situation model outlined above has worked well for that purpose. In the Colombian studies, for example, the model made it possible to outline the information needs of the types of peasants and large landowners.

The model tells a communicator that if he knows his clientele are problem solvers then he can expect them to seek information relevant to their problem orientation (their most important perceived problems). If they face a constrained decision, then they will seek little information unless the information tells them how to remove the constraints.[18]

If they are in a routine habit or fatalism situation, communication
will do little, and a drastic change in their situation must
come before the communicator can communicate with them.
For example, in Colombia I recommended that taking away
most of a traditional latifundista's land would provide this
drastic change in his situation.[19]

In summary, these findings show that professional
communicators should <u>seek</u> information from their audiences
so that they can in turn <u>give</u> relevant information to these
audiences.[20] This, then, is my first recommendation
for new directions in research: to study means of improving
the information <u>seeking</u> abilities of professional communicators
in underdeveloped countries.

But this advice still doesn't take us far enough. I
had reached this stage in my thinking four years ago when I
left Colombia. What was frustrating to me was the realization
that few if any Colombian agencies would pay any attention
to my advice--assuming that the advice is good and that the
agencies hear about it. Why would they ignore the advice?
Simply because the professional communicators in these agencies
would have to recommend behavior inconsistent with the value
systems of the formal organizations and reference groups of
which the communicators are a part.

It was at this point that I realized that the decision
model I had been using to predict communication behavior of
client or recipient individuals could also predict the commun-
ication behavior of the formal organization or mass medium
sending the message.

Chaffee and McLeod's coorientation paradigm provided the framework for this new means of analysis.[21] In the coorientation paradigm, one stops looking at sources, messages, media, and receivers and starts looking at the communications dialogue between two individuals or systems. Applying this framework to my decision model led me to look at combinations of decision modes in coorientation situations. These combinations should predict when communication will take place and what its effects will be.

Of the 10 possible combinations of the four decision situations, only the combination of two problem solvers facing the same problem would seem to allow for communication interaction and success in achieving accuracy, understanding, or agreement--the dependent variables in Chaffee and McLeod's scheme.[22]

On the other hand, two individuals in a routine habit situation could communicate with and reinforce one another if they are attached to the same alternative. Two individuals facing a constrained decision could communicate about a common constraint or could share frustrations about being constrained. And it is feasible that a problem solver could communicate with any individual in one of the other three situations to the extent of achieving accuracy (being able to predict the cognitions of the other person). But this accuracy would be one-sided--i.e., the other persons would not seek information from the problem solver. In none of the other

combinations of decision situations could communication occur
with any degree of success.

Thinking in terms of these combinations became especially
intriguing when I asked myself, "In what decision situation
are most Colombian mass media and organizations sponsoring
development programs?" My answer: routine habit. Then,
"In what situation are most poor individuals in Colombia?"
My answer: constrained decision.

That combination--routine habit and constrained decision--
is a situation in which successful communication would seldom
occur. An individual in a routine habit situation seeks only
information which reinforces the status quo and he gives
information supporting the status quo. The individual in
constrained decision communicates little at all except about
means to eliminate the constraint. This combination of routine
habit organizations and constrained individuals seemed to me
to explain the Colombian situation perfectly.

Another necessary direction, then, for communication
research is to find means of jolting organizations out of a
routine habit mode so that they in turn can seek information
from poor individuals in order to isolate their constraints
and organize these individuals to bring pressure on the
political and economic system to eliminate these constraints.

I want to elaborate on this somewhat more, but first
let me stop to make my second recommendation for new directions
in research. That recommendation is to study the formal

organizations which publish the mass media and sponsor change
agents and other professional communicators. Are they indeed
routine habit organizations? And do they staff themselves
with individuals who match this routine habit orientation?

I would predict that the mass media and governmental
agencies in underdeveloped countries are staffed by elite
and middle class individuals or at times by coopted lower-
class individuals. But this needs to be documented.[23] For
the mass media it would be useful to replicate the classic
gatekeeper studies conducted in the United States.

Journalism researchers have long been interested in
studying freedom of the press in underdeveloped countries. I
would suggest that the media in all countries are controlled
by someone, and it would be more fruitful to study who controls
the media in any country rather than to define "freedom" as
the abscence of government control and then to do research to
determine whether such freedom exists.[24]

For communicators in organizations other than the mass
media, it would be useful to document the social and attitudinal
backgrounds of these communicators. Such studies could be
similar to the one done by Lipsky in the United States in which
he found that "street-level bureaucrats" generally had a
middle-class orientation and thus had difficulty communicating
with their low-income clientele.[25]

Communication Procedures for Emergent Systems

In a recent paper, Carter defines one aspect of communication as the bridging of gaps necessary to bring about an emergent system.[26] An emergent system, in contrast with a given system, does not now exist but for various reasons it might be desirable to bring that system into existence.[27]

This notion of an emergent system made me realize that what I have been calling the change and control functions of communication in a system are really the effects of communication on _individuals_ within a _given_ system. For a system to continue to exist, it must control the individuals within it—i.e., reinforce its values and norms. Systems resist messages which might change their constituent individuals because changing these elements would by definition of a system change the system as a whole.

If, however, an individual who is constrained in a given system can communicate with individuals in other given systems who are facing similar constraints, then they should be able to interact in order to bring about an emergent system with new rules and institutions. This, as I pointed out above, is the essence of development.

Carter says communications researchers should search for procedures which are effective in bridging gaps in emergent systems. This is the basis, then, of my third and most important recommendation for research: Communications researchers should search for organizational and institutional structures

and staffing patterns which have been and/or could result in communication procedures effective in creating collectivities which in turn can pressure for change.

The effect of such communication still will not be an immediate change in system structure throughout the country. Rather its effect will be awareness by some individuals (accuracy in coorientational terms) that there are individuals sharing common problems in other systems who as a collectivity could apply influence to bring about structural change.

Some organizations in underdeveloped countries are problem solvers which have been successful in bringing constrained individuals together. I think, for example, of peasant unions in some Latin American countries and of the Catholic Church in Brazil and Chile. It may even be fruitful to study such organizations in Communist countries or civil rights organizations in the United States.

Also, if one could find a successful agrarian reform agency or community development agency, their structure and communication procedures would merit study.[28] Likewise, there should be mass media which have been successful in bringing about emergent systems in these countries. How have they structured themselves to be both successful information seekers and givers?

I stress formal organizations as units of analysis for this research rather than change agents or communicators as individuals because professional communicators are almost

always a part of a formal organization and because I believe
that organizational structure restricts or enhances the
effectiveness of individuals within the organization more
than the attitudes of these individuals.[29] Organizational
structure is an especially important predictor of information
giving and seeking of individuals within that organization.

At this point, though, one must return to the question
which frustrated me when I left Colombia. Suppose we do find
effective organizational structures and communication
procedures for bringing about emergent systems. How do we
plant and nurture this promising organization within the larger
and generally alien suprasystem of most underdeveloped
countries? Some governments would want such an organization.
Most would not. Some developed countries might support them
with foreign aid, but my experience has been that most will
not.

It's a question I can't answer. But to come back to the
point I made at the beginning of the paper, I can say that at
least we will have some useful advice to give when professional
communicators, government officials, or foreign aid agencies
ask us how to improve communications in underdeveloped
countries.

FOOTNOTES

1. Warren F. Ilchman and Norman Thomas Uphoff, _The Political Economy of Change_ (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 9-10.

2. Robert Brown, _Explanation in Social Science_ (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1963).

3. There are many semantic controversies over what is a decision or what is a decision process. I prefer to talk about decision types as modes of making cognitive discriminations and decision situations as combinations of individual and situational characteristics which generally result in these decision modes.

4. When I conducted these studies I also conceptualized a decision situation which I called ignorant habit. Its only distinction from constrained decision was that the structural block came from a lack of intellectual or educational capacity of the individual. When I began to think in matrix terms, I equated this decision type with constrained decision.

5. James E. Grunig, "Information and Decision Making in Economic Development," _Journalism Quarterly_ 46 (Autumn 1969): 565-575.

6. James E. Grunig, "Communication and the Economic Decision-making Processes of Colombian Peasants," _Economic Development and Cultural Change_ 19 (July 1971): 580-597.

7. John H. Fett, "Infrastructural Factors and Information Search," Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Carbondale, Ill., August 1972.

8. Gordon C. Whiting, "Individual Innovativeness and Agricultural Development: The Afghan Case," Paper presented to the Rural Sociological Society, Denver, August 1971.

9. Gordon C. Whiting, "The Development Role of Mass Media in Afghanistan," Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Columbia, S. Car., August 1971.

10. Sultana Krippendorff, "A Sociological Approach to Mass Media Development in India," Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Carbondale, Ill., August 1972.

11. F. Jane Marceau, "Communication and Development: A Reconsideration," _Public Opinion Quarterly_ 36 (Summer 1972): 235-245.

12. Herman Felstehausen, "Conceptual Limits of Development Communications Theory," Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Columbia, S. Car., August 1971.

13. James E. Grunig, "Organizational Communication and Social Action," Paper presented to the International Communication Association, Atlanta, April 1972.

14. John H. Fett, "Content and Situational Relevance of Agricultural News in Brazilian Papers," _Journalism Quarterly_ 49 (Autumn 1972): 505-511.

15. John R. Mathiason, "Communication Patterns and Powerlessness among Urban Poor: Toward the Use of Mass Communications for Rapid Social Change," Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Washington, D. C. August 1970.

16. Marion R. Brown, "Communication and Agricultural Development: A Field Experiment," _Journalism Quarterly_ 47 (Winter 1970): 725-734.

17. Grunig, "Organizational Communication and Social Action," _Op. cit._

18. Felstehausen says much the same thing: "Seen thus, relevant information for development is that which contributes new institutional roles and relationships." _Op. cit._

19. I have also applied the model in a study of internal communication in a U. S. corporation. James E. Grunig, "Information Seeking in Organizational Communication: A Case Study of Applied Theory," Paper presented to the International Communication Association, Montreal, April 1973.

20. See also Hans C. Groot, "A Diachronic Communications Construct for Information Systems in Development," Paper presented to the International Communications Association, Phoenix, April 1971.

21. For an up-to-date review of coorientational research, see the March/April 1973 issues of _American Behavioral Scientist_ to be published in late April.

22. I did find this relationship in a study of community decision making in a suburban county of Washington, D. C. James E. Grunig, "Communication in Community Decisions on the Problems of the Poor," _Journal of Communication_ 22 (March 1972): 5-25.

23. Two years ago I began to do a content analysis on the relative amount of social change and social control messages in two major Colombian daily newspapers (both "liberal"). I had drawn a sample of 30 newspapers chosen randomly over a six-month period. I found the content analysis of the entire issue of 60 newspapers more burdensome than I had imagined. But after analyzing two issues of each paper, the relative proportions were: 14% social change, 67% social control, 19% neutral.

24. Along the same lines, Ilchman and Uphoff say: "Pool's argument (that communications development is apolitical) neglects the fact that an "apolitical" communications policy that permits, for instance, laissez-faire use of radio, television, and newspapers is in fact political in that it apportions use of communications media to those sectors that have the economic resources to pay for such use, or status to command it. Regime choices of one communications policy or another have political consequences for the community. Op. cit., p. 250.

25. Michael Lipsky, "Toward a Theory of Street-Level Bureaucracy," Paper presented to the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1969.

26. Richard F. Carter, "A General System Characteristic of Systems in General," Paper presented to the Far West Region Meeting, Society for General Systems Research, Portland, Ore., September 1972.

27. Engineers also consider one of their most challenging problems to be that of defining a desired system and then building the necessary structure to achieve that system--e. g., designing a building to withstand tornadoes.

28. I have found that interracial staffing at all levels of a community development agency in suburban Maryalnd seemed to achieve this result. For a brief review of the study see James E. Grunig and Keith R. Stamm, "Communication and Coorientation of Collectivities," American Behavioral Scientist, March/April 1973.

29. For the structural approach to organizations see Charles Perrow, Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View Belmont, Calif., Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1970.