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CULTURE IN ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE CHILEAN THIRD SECTOR

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ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this text is to understand the cultural factors and changes that any organizational culture has, as well as characterizing the organizational culture of Chilean Third Sector organizations, and outlining the important changing processes that these cultures have experienced. For this reason, it starts defining what we understand as organizational culture and changes, paradoxes and contradictions that could arise, in a rigorous way. Next, the culture of three different non profit organizations aimed at giving services of general or common interest (Hogar de Cristo, Un techo para Chile y Cooperación de Ayuda al Niño Quemado COANIQUEM) is analyzed and then, the case of a significant non profit organization aimed at membership service (Mutual de seguridad de la Cámara Chilena de la Construcción). Finally, looking at the analyzed cases, it draws a global evaluation of the changes made in organizational culture of the Chilean Third Sector, specially referred to the concept of achieving the goal and management methods.

SUMMARY

1. EXORCISM AGAINST GURUS

2. CHANGES IN ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

3. THE THIRD SECTOR

4. DIFFERENT CULTURES, SAME CHANGES

1. EXORCISM AGAINST GURUS

So much has been written about organizational culture, that it is imperative to rigorously define the concept and to define its features, so as to return it all its value as an explanation tool and to exorcise the constantly renovated gurus which use ambiguity as a disguise for their ignorance. The simplistic and unclear use of terms such as culture, entails the risk of inflation, which as in economic matters, involves the devaluation of such terms. For this reason it is so important to define, in a rigorous way, what we understand as organizational culture. Only in this way will we be able to embrace the mast of science and hear the off-key chants of gurus without any risks, gurus, which as modern-sirens, invite us to follow their easy paths.

Any autopoiethical system is a network for producing components which in turn produces in its working, the components of which it is composed. Living beings are autopoiethical because they are a cellular network geared to elaborating its own cells (Maturana and Varela, 1984). Organizational systems are autopoiethical because their communications relate decisions which have already been taken or to be taken, the information necessary for decision taking, prepare decisions or go on connecting these with other more specific decisions, until these become actions which fulfill the tasks decided upon. In summary, an organization is a communications network which produces the decision communications of which it is formed. (Luhmann, 2000:39-80).

Each decision leads to new situations where decisions must be taken, becoming a premise for the latter. Culture in all organizations is made up of a particular type of premises. It is constituted by undecided and undecidedly premises of the organizational deciding (Rodriguez, 2002). With this apparently strange formulation, we want to say that the elements making up the culture do not seem to be the result of any decision whatsoever, and for this reason, it is not thought possible to change them through simple decisions.

Culture is the decanting of the history of the organization , its achievements and difficulties. Jan Assmann makes a distinction between history – what can be demonstrated - and memory - the account transmitted through generations, which becomes mythical and is thought to be truthful, although it is not possible to prove it. Culture nurtures on memory and it keeps nothing but a dis-

tant and pallid link with history. (Assmann, 2003; Assmann, 2005). Culture is the "today" of an orga-nization´s memory.

In an organization that we were called upon to diagnose, there was a culture of fear. There was a great mistrust and nobody expressed their opinions. When attempting to discover the rea-sons for this fear, we were told that in that environment everything was arbitrary, and that was why they had to be cautious at the time of decision making. When requesting to be given examples of cases, nobody could refer to a single proven fact. It was not a question of history, but of memory. Finally, we were able to find a clue. In this company, repression and lay-offs had been harsh in 1973, following the military uprising, and the culture had learned. Although at the time of our diagnose there were no employees from those times, as all employees had been hired much later, fear per-sisted as a strong premise in decision-making (Rodriguez, Bozzo etal., 1999).

 Organization culture contains the schemes of distinctiveness with which the organization looks at its environment and at its own operation. The environment is increasingly more complex than the organization, therefore, in order to stay in business, the organization must reduce its com-plexity. It does so by increasing its sensibility towards certain factors and becoming indifferent towards the rest. The distinction schemes make the organization "see" some aspects of the environ-ment, and to be blind to others.

2. CHANGE IN ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Some people believe that the cultural change, although permanent, cannot be planned. This is not so. Others think that the change consists in modifying the entire culture of the organization. This is a view which does not understand what culture is and is naïve because to attempt to do so would be unconductive.

The paradox of organization culture lies in that it is possible for some members of the orga-nization – and even all of them – to criticize the organization for being negative, yet all base their actions on the organization. For elucidate the paradox, as Luhmann, 2007, would say, it is enough to remember than in a small village ("big hell"), the villagers always complain about their neighbors gossip.

It is formed with the passing of years, it is impressed by various phenomena, and very diffe-rent people play important roles, leaving their trace. The result is not a coherent system. On the con-trary, it puts together elements which have little relation between them, but who, as a whole offer ways to get out of trouble in different situations. As Levi-Strauss would say, a real "*bricolage"(do-it-yourself)* of different components (Levi-Strauss, 1964). Some of these factors may even be openly contradictory: "no matter how early one rises, the sun will not rise any earlier", and on the other hand "the early bird gets the worm". The way to avoid contradiction between these two contradictory cul-tural keys consists in never using them at the same time.

However, it may bother Edgar Schein, whose obsolete concept of culture reminds us of that of the first functionalist anthropologists who studied insular cultures and, thus it is not adequate for organizations within a certain environment. The elements which form an organizational culture are not characterized for having shown their usefulness (Schein, 1988; Schein 1996). Although a number of elements in our culture may be functional, there are also many others which are clearly dysfunctional. One need only talk with some Emergency Room doctor, to know that frequently they treat patients who have gotten worse in their ailments after taking medicines which popular culture deems as unfailing. What is interesting about this example is that never have these supposed remedies proven to be useful, yet, people continue transmitting these "secrets" with total faith.

On the other hand, if Schein were right, it would not be possible to change any of these cultural components, because in doing so, something probably efficient would be lost. As any guru, Schein continues reaping adepts, and it is clear that at least for him, his theory has proven to be useful, because gullibility may be anything but scarce.

It is known, on the other hand, that in organizational cultures which maintain incoherent and contradictory remnants, some of which may even be damaging, it becomes relatively easy to impel the change in traits which hinder what is sought, by getting support from other features of the same culture opposed to the former ones. Leading the cultural change consists in explaining the values, standards, attitudes, stereotypes, etc. of the organization and in using its strength. This is the dilemma, and not the false disjunctive between changing or not changing.

The existing culture must be valued. It is convenient to bring to light its potential and to establish difficult but obtainable goals. This means that the intervention must be focused to action. Culture is not changed in abstract, nor with a statement of intentions not even with the signing of clear commitments. It is required to steer the change positively after achieving specific goals, able to be measured and effectively measured. One of the axioms of management is: *you get what you measure* . In doing so, in measuring what has been achieved, cultural change begins. So as to reinforce it and have it installed, the triumph must be celebrated, presenting it as a triumph of all that could be achieved because the organization has a culture of excellence. This means that it is necessary to evaluate, and to do so it is imperative to design indicators which, in short, will be measured. (Fantova Azcoaga, 2005: 139.145).

3. THE THIRD SECTOR

The term Third Sector attempts to separate its members from the public and private sectors. It is formed by various voluntary non-for-profit organizations, geared to satisfy economic, social or cultural needs, and which have a cooperative or communitarian nature. (Favreau and Ninacs, 1992:117). Those fiscal entities or private organizations whose purpose is to make money, therefore, do not belong to the Third Sector.

At a simple glance, it is possible to perceive that the Third Sector is constituted by two different, although strongly intersected groups (Archambault and Chadeau, 1992: 94-97):

a) The first of these groups is composed of non-for-profit organizations, geared to render services of general or communitarian interest, such as charitable and humanitarian organizations; non public nor non-for-profit educational organizations; voluntary organizations for assistance to the ill, the poor or other persons in need, etc.

b) The other such group also includes non-for-profit organizations but geared to the service of its members, such as those inherent to the cooperative movement and the mutuals.

Bellow we will present three cases of organizations corresponding to the first group and afterwards that of an important organization of the second group. In Chile, for a long time, Third Sector organizations established themselves as a way of palliating the ills caused by the profit seeking and the selfishness which they blamed on the private companies, the market and the capitalistic system. This position gave their cultures an apparent attitude of rejection of all orientation to efficiency. In the organizations of the first group, on the other hand, the value of charity precluded any form of publicity. Assistance should be rendered, received, and distributed within the greatest anonymity possible. At the same time, these organizations sought to reach the maximum possible number of persons in need, and to that end, they had to be efficient, raise the awareness of the public opinion and know exactly the recipients of their action. The contradiction between the constituting elements in their culture was so clear, that it made the necessary cultural change possible.

It is well known that: "All organizations - including non-for-profit ones – must have its design coincide with the mission they pursue": (Magretta, 2002:112). However, the mere idea of applying efficiency criteria, a part of modern management, for managing non-for-profit organizations generated all sorts of suspicions and misunderstandings within cultures filled with horror for all of what would be a reminder of the impersonal coldness of the market laws. For its part, as Weber has shown, the spirit of capitalism in its origins, also mistrusts charity (Weber, 1984). In view of this mutual dislike, it is understandable that it was considered incompatible to bring to the generous sphere of deeply personalized charity, tools inspired on the rational estimation of costs.

Chile is a country which traditionally has given free hand to the State for solving communitarian problems. Fiscal entities extended education, built ports and roads. It was also the State which

proposed the task of modernizing the country by pushing industrialization. Only at the end of the XX century did the State forsake its protecting function and there are still claims to the government authorities demanding their help. The recent Chilean economic growth has been lead by private initiative, which now demands that the State becomes modernized at a faster pace (Rodriguez,2004; Rodriguez, Cerecedas, Wormald and de los Rios, 1997).

There is also a slowly advancing cultural transformation tending to have private parties to also deal with problems affecting the community, instead of making claims to the State.

In the 90´s of the XX century, strategic alliances took place between the State and Non-Governmental Organizations (ONG) so as to increase the efficiency of non- profit activities. Special importance was attached to training and to fostering human capital in terms of agreements with fiscal organizations geared to rescue young people and workers from poverty. An example of this type of alliance is Interjoven, a project which attempts to identify the best methods for eradicating poverty and instilling efficiency concepts in poor young people. For this challenge, the project is endowed with German funds and it involves two public agencies, The National Institute of Youth (INJUV) and the Fund for Social Solidarity (FOSIS).

3.1 Voluntary organizations for Assistance to Poverty

We have selected two important organizations which have been prominent in their work. Both focus their labor on individuals in situations of extreme poverty. They have different cultures as they have various origins, also different are their history and seniority.

A poor person is an individual who lives on less than US$2 a day and has not had any opportunity to develop his natural talents. In Chile there are 2,907,916 people under these poverty conditions. A homeless person or extremely poor individual is the person who lives on less than US$1 per day. In Chile, (1) extreme poverty has decreased from 17,4% of the country's total population in 1987, to 4.7% in 2003. This means that there are still 728,063 extremely poor individuals in the country, whose incomes are less than one dollar per day. Depending on their age, these individuals are distributed as follows:

Older Adults	4.6%
Adults	30%
Young people	22.8%
Children	42 %

Source:http://www.christhome.com/institution/financial/_background/pdf/Account%20Annual%20Activity/s%202006pdf

[1] Data about poverty in Chile and also those for the Home of Christ have been taken from the web visited in June 2007; http://www.hogardecristo.com/institution/financial_background/pdf/account%20Anual%20Activities%202006.pdf.

To their extreme poverty, these individuals must add the lack of opportunities. In the quarter from May and July 2004, the country unemployment rate was about 9.7%. However, for 6% of most impoverished citizens this unemployment reached 53%.

The average education in the country is eight years of schooling. But 10% of the most impoverished population only have six years of schooling on the average.

The two organizations we have selected have as their goal to contribute to this diminishing of this painful social problem.

3.1.1. Home of Christ[2]

The Home of Christ has become modernized. The powerful culture imprinted by its founder has been able to change with the times. The Foundation Directorate is formed by successful businessmen and executives, who, without receiving any pay for their work, have been able to transform it into an organization managed in accordance with efficiency and effectiveness, something which is clear in its mission: "The Home of Christ shelters with dignity the poorest among the poor to improve their chances for a better life. It calls on and enrolls the community with enthusiasm in its responsibility towards those excluded from society. It is a transparent organization, efficient and effective, which encouraged by San Alberto Hurtado's spirituality, promotes a culture of respect, justice, and solidarity".

We would like to call attention to some aspects. The modern strategic management considers extremely important to define the missions which will allow the addressing of organizational cooperation. The mere fact that the Home of Christ has a mission gives clear indications about the way in which its management is led .When referring to the extremely poor, it is talking about social exclusion, a contemporary phenomenon which, as Luhmann has shown, is a product of the function-

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[2] The Home of Christ dates back to the end of 1944. Its founder, the Jesuit priest Alberto Hurtado, was canonized by Pope Benedictus XVI in 2005. The story goes that this priest having found children living under the bridges of the Mapocho river that runs through the city of Santiago one night, dedicated the rest of his life to collect funds, jewels and lands to avoid such ignominy to continue. In the memory of Chileans is famous the green old truck in which night after night he looked for homeless children, to take them to one home , the Home of Christ. On August 14, 1952, at age 51, four days before his death from cancer, Saint Alberto Hurtado defined in this way what had been his work: "In the measure that needs and pains of the poor appear, the Home of Christ, which is an anonymous group of Chileans with a generous heart, will seek how to help them, as they would help the Master" .
Although extreme poverty has diminished in percentages and its traits have changed, the founder´s charisma is still alive in the current Foundation.
The Home of Christ knows that today´s poverty reality is very different from that of the 40´s, when it was founded. The diagnose of this change is stated, in the Home of Christ Foundation Internet pages, as follows: "In the last ten years the country has become modernized and it has joined the global market, economy has grown and employment has increased, however, there are still pockets of extreme poverty, and in addition new forms of expressing violence have sprung from marginal sectors". "Modernity produces a new type of poverty: poor by being behind (those which progress is leaving behind) and poor by modernization (produced by development itself".

al differentiation in worldwide modern society itself (Luhmann, 1998; Luhmann, 2007). Finally it uses the terms "transparent, efficient, effective" in defining the organization; all central values in the management of modern organizations.

Instead of pointing out the enormous achievements attained by this important organization, considered as one of the most efficient in the world in its field, we wish to show – through some examples – that its culture takes into account a professional management which uses all the tools inherent to such culture.

So as to finance its work, San Alberto Hurtado used his excellent social links – his was a high class Chilean family – and solicited donations from the country´s richest and most powerful people. Once a year, a national collect could be taken, which was also a contribution. Publicity was practically inexistent. Times have changed. Some years ago, an aggressive and innovative campaign was started for collecting funds. The possibility of becoming "a partner of the Home of Christ" was instituted, with the commitment of providing a certain amount of money monthly. In supermarkets, the cashiers would ask their customers whether they wanted to donate "the change", that is, the small coins which are given to customers who pay in cash, to the Home of Christ. This proposal, difficult to reject, has generated considerable amounts of money. There is, additionally, colorful publicity distributed country-wide, including motivations to work as volunteers under the motto: "No work is better paid". Other posters invite to make donations with the slogan: "It is better to give than to receive".

Volunteers must fulfill clear and strict standards, which make them professionals. Their activity has nothing to do with an attitude of charitable welfare which is given when it is convenient. Those who wish to participate voluntarily, must commit to doing so permanently, for as long as their commitment lasts. It is only in this way that it has been possible to make out of this gigantic enterprise an organization which fulfills the three values in its mission which we pointed out. The transparency with which it is managed makes that not one single dollar trickles in the wrong direction. Never has the suspicion of corruption stained the name of the institution or its members. Efficiency is shown by the scope of its multiple programs. Efficiency has been totally proven both in fund collection as in the destination of large sums of money. The Home of Christ is the pride of Chile.

As we stated, the cultural change does not need nor could be total. The case of the Home of Christ shows clearly that those undecided or undecideable premises which have remained engraved in the memory of the organization can be respected. The figure of the founder, the holiness of his purpose, his old green truck, his statements filled with self-denial and love for the poorest among the poor, are the most valuable inheritance of this cultural memory. The deep cultural change has not touched any of that, but making it its treasure, has been supported by it in making a modern and professional reading of its goals. The result is a welfare foundation managed in the model of productive companies. There are not few of those who think this latter model is totally opposed to the first model, for this reason it was necessary to perform this cultural change which brings together the best of both models, without their differences hindering them mutually.

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3.1.2 A roof for Chile[3]

In 1997, a group of college students worried about the extreme poverty situation of some of their compatriots, decided to invite students from all colleges to join them in a specific project: build 350 houses for extremely poor families in the south of the country. This experience was successful in many ways:

a) They accomplished their project, as they succeeded in building those houses and giving them to the families for whom they had been built.

b) They discovered that the cooperation with students from other universities and different degrees was possible and gratifying: the value of diversity.

c) They wanted to keep alive the fire of friendship and commitment which had filled them.

d) They were enthusiastic about undertaking a greater challenge.

e) They assimilated that the problem of inhumane poverty could not only be the responsibility of the State , but it was also their responsibility and they wanted to deal with it.

They then planned a project of greater scope, which would require the cooperation of many other college students. They wanted to build 2,000 sloping-roof houses in which to receive, once finished, the year 2000. Despite its ambition, this new goal was attained in1999 and their owners could wait till the arrival of 2000 already occupying them.

Both projects had been carried out satisfactorily, and the initiative seemed equally concluded. Yet, within the framework of the Jubilee, the year 2000 brought an even more demanding proposal. The Archbishop Office of the Catholic Church wanted to make out of the construction by the young students of sloping-roof houses, a campaign as symbol of the Church, as it has seen in those college student volunteers the values the Church wanted to highlight. And the students accepted, making it known that the summons would have to be open, accepting and respecting the differences not only in colleges and degrees but also in religious beliefs, politics, or any other. This condition was also in accordance with the Church wishes, that was why the challenge to build 2,000 sloping-roof houses by the year 2000 was planned.

Communication efforts were unexpectedly reinforced by a very rainy year which made visible the tragedy those people in need lived. Shocked by the painful images on television showing so many human beings affected by the severe weather without a roof over them and their small children heads, Chilean people gave their support to the project in such a manner that on that year 2000, it was possible to build 5,701 basic housing. That same year 2000, the project "One roof for Chile" enlarged its coverage at the national level. From 2001 forward, this juvenile initiative has continued building housing but the close contact of the young people with the humble has made them becoming aware of their many needs, as well as the privileged situation that a group of college students, characterized by their diversity, by offering their professional knowledge. They then

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[3] Information on this program has been obtained from: http:/www.untechoparachile.cl/visited in June 2007.

complemented the sloping-roof houses construction process, with educational plans, work training, productive promotion, legal counsel, health care and promotion, etc. In this way, taking advantage of the very meaning of their being students, of belonging to that old institution which in its midst unites diversity–"Uni-versity"–the project started to offer a complex response to a problem which is also complex. At that time, the project proposed to fight poverty in its multiple expressions.

The construction of sloping-roof housing is geared to provide a fast solution to the most urgent needs of the people whose poverty leads them to group together in camp sites with sub-standard houses which offer no protection from the harsh wind and rain. The flooded sand floors keep the humidity and cold temperature is endless. Very small huts, without separate spaces make stacking of people the rule. The university students of "One roof for Chile" know that building one sloping-roof house does not help much in getting these families out of their bitter situation. It is only an emergency solution, but one that opens a door for the trust of the occupants. In effect, these occupants, seeing the students give them needed and specific help, create with these students a link which makes it possible to continue helping so that they can get out of this camp site where life has relegated them. This long term job has as its goal organizing the occupants and sup-plying them with tools which will allow them to take the initiative of dealing with their own lives and symbolically abandoning the camp site. With generosity, young college students of various degrees, ages, courses, universities, and social origin, voluntarily donate each week part of their time to visit the camp sites where they are already known and welcome with love, as their generosity is acknowledged along with the enormous value of the knowledge they want to donate .

Knowing that education, such as wealth, is unequally distributed, college students offer their professional services to promote the development of small children, act as children tutors to create study habits and improve their school performance , as well as conduct courses of school leveling for adults, directing them to the existing training alternatives.

Social exclusion has a great integrating strength .Who is excluded from a subsystem of soci-ety runs a high risk of also being excluded from the others (Luhmann,1998; (Luhmann 2007). For this reason "One roof for Chile" has established a Legal Plan geared to allowing access to justice for those excluded people who are far from being able to obtain it. They are made aware of the rights and obligations of citizens, the mechanisms to have these put into practice, and the institutions they can turn to.

"One roof for Chile" has signed an agreement with Banco de Santander Banefe to establish a Micro-credit Program whose objective is to promote the enterprising capabilities of camp site occupants through specialized counseling and small loans geared to developing existing business or establishing new ones. Each consultant is a college student who deals with three micro-business. The student teaches them to prepare a budget and to defend their initiatives and projects before a Credit Committee. If those projects are approved, the consultant personally delivers the credit money to his "counselees", collects the payment amounts weekly, and follows up the management of the undertaken business.

The plan for health support deals in promoting healthy habits and creating a family aware-ness on the importance of health and its care. The initiative attempts to have the occupants take on their personal, family, and community responsibility for self-care. Each of these levels-individual, family and community –must deal with their own responsibilities for facing an adverse atmosphere with a pro-active attitude instead of the passivity of despair.

Once the community is organized, it is technically and socially supported for it to find a de-finite solution to the dire need of its members for a house. The help consists then, in activating the social networks of the foundation itself and also those of each one of its members, so that occu-pants may have access to the housing subsidies offered by the State and move to a new neighbor-hood where the community will keep united and may use the tools learned. But support does not end there. When moving to their new home, activities with the families are developed so as to find, in a participative way, solutions for the habitability of their houses. This starts by developing habits as lighting, cleanliness, order, prevention of home accidents, care of the house and the importance of creating a neighborhood for the community life. Afterwards, counseling is given on the planning, design and consolidation of community spaces, parks and recreational areas.

The impact of the foundation on Chilean society has been so considerable that people not belonging to the college community made their wish for contributing known. So, in order to effec-tively channel this wish, new programs were established:

a) High School students: secondary education students from high schools and lyceums from all over the country who wish to commit to work in the same way as college stu-dents, so as to contribute to overcome poverty.

b) Building in family: the possibility is offered to families so desiring, of buying , building, or donating a sloping-roof house to another family needing it. Both families, working toge-ther with the volunteers, during a week-end form a community of effort, cohabitation, and joy. The idea is to approach families whose realities are different so as to encounter themselves in their humanity.

c) Business: it is oriented for business volunteers to make the effort of building these basic houses, for the purposes of uniting business with the world of poverty and boost the social conscience of their members.

The year 2001 brought about a new challenge. Disasters caused by Nature in El Salvador and Peru made for these initiatives to be exported. Chile college students from "One Roof for Chile", together with college students from each of the other countries, developed important projects directed at providing basic housing to people suffering from extreme poverty in those countries. In doing so, the first stone was being laid of what would later become "One Roof for my Country", a non-for-profit organization which includes eight Latin American countries and which seeks to mak-ing their society commit itself with its most dispossessed members. That is, the strength of the

organization can cross borders because it is convincing and proves that changes in culture can be achieved.

As it is primarily formed by young college students, this foundation makes it possible to provide youthful intelligence, professional knowledge, generosity, and dedication to place these at the service of the excluded. This organization is itself a young organizanization filled with vigor and enthusiasm, for which the impossible does not exist. Its organizational culture is based on the value of solidarity. None of this would seem extraordinary, because youth has always been characterized by their generosity and spirit of service to the dispossessed. What is worth stressing, however, is that the organization culture of "One roof for Chile" holds the seeds of a new class of youth, different to the preceding generations. It is a new pragmatic youth, oriented to achievement, knowledgeable of the importance of management and a professional contribution. This makes that their initiative can show results and is not satisfied with just good intentions. It deals with the problem knowing all its sharp angles and of the need to face it in a planned and integral way. This youth lacks the dreamy and fruitless idealism of other generations, their projects are firm, specific and, programmed, and they are fulfilled. All advances are measured and evaluated meticulously, so as to continually improve their performance.

One surprising thing in "One Roof for Chile" is the seriousness and efficiency with which all is planned and performed. There is no space for improvising, much less for negligence. Whoever wants to participate can do so. Their commitment is voluntary but that does not mean that once taken on it would be possible to fail. Who voluntarily commits himself knows he is strongly obligated to fulfill the commitment. Organizational culture stresses, additionally, respect for the professions each one of its members is studying. This is why none of the students attempt to make his contribution in a lax way, without caring for quality. All of them are testing themselves as to the kind of professionals they will get to be and none of them would accept to be a second-rate professional.

In a country where, until the middle of past century, there was a reliance on the State for the solution of any communitarian problem, it is remarkable for an organizational culture not to demand anything from the State, but which assumes as its own this social obligation towards the poor. The organizational culture of "One Roof for Chile" is a clear indication of the change being experienced by the country´s culture in its process of an accelerated incorporation into world society.

3.2. non-for-profit organizations for services to the community.

In Chile there are a large variety of Non-Governmental Organizations oriented to serve the community in different ways. We have selected one which has an interesting culture as its selection criteria which constitute it as a system, do not make its blind to other perspectives – as would be expected because that is the function of any selection criteria – but induce it to seek and find the interest in very varied organizations, for the purpose of cooperation within the framework of an alliance.

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3.2.1. Corporation for assistance to the Burned Child COANIQUEM[4]

In the culture of COANIQUEM, there is a deeply rooted idea that for extending its existence, it must be reinvented, adding new services that contribute to the integral treatment of the patient and his family. The organizational culture also takes it for granted that to do so specific alliances are required to allow for challenges to be undertaken in each new life. This is how in its 25 years of existence COANIQUEM has succeeded in creating an amazing network of alliances through which the institution has been able to fulfill its mission, projecting and achieving new goals.

From the beginning of the foundation, Dr.Rojas was aware that it had to obtain large sums of money so as to be able to meet its main objective: to provide rehabilitation to children without any cost to their families. The way to achieve it consisted in forming alliances with private companies which would find some usefulness in such alliances. Only alliances where both sides would see their interests reflected, that is, win-win alliances, would be stable and ensure a lasting financing.

An alliance with ESSO Chile, a subsidiary of EXXON Mobil, allow for the financing of the construction and equipment of the first phase of the Rehabilitation Center of the Pudahuel commune. In order to support a cause, ESSO demanded that it should be relevant for the needs of the community, politically neutral, and of a non-controversial nature. COENIQUEM met all these features to perfection. On its part, ESSO needed to establish a good relationship with the press and it saw in COENIQUEM, a trump card so as to create a good disposition in the communication media and its journalists. Equally, COENIQUEM built its public relations under the ESSO shade. Profits doubled. Finally the campaign "Help us to Help", in which ESSO donated approximately one tenth of a dollar cent (US 0,001) for each liter of gasoline sold in the entire country met with an impressive success. COANIQUEM received US$220.000 and gasoline sales increased 5% with a continuing effect even after the campaign had ended.

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[4] COANIQUEM is officially established on April 19, 1979 as the initiative of Dr. Jorge Rojas Z. Its main assistance installation located in the Pudahuel, community, a populous commune in the western sector of Chile´s capital, started its work in 1982, as a small outpatient clinic for services to the neighbors, and it has been progressively growing in the amount and complexity of its attention, becoming a center of reference for rehabilitation of children suffering from burns.
Up to this time, 4,250 square meters of installations had been built for general out-patient attention, including surgical operations under a transient day-hospitalization system. Health services are rendered through clinic units – doctors – surgery, rehabilitation, nurse care, and clinical, therapeutic and diagnosis support. The center has close to 100 employees , of which 40% are health professionals (doctors, surgeons, physiotherapists, dermatologists, pediatritians, anesthesists, registered nurses, kinepsycologists, occupational therapists, psychologists, social assistants, music-therapists and medical technologists) and 25% are therapeutic support technicians.
Next to the rehabilitation center, is Casacubierta, name of the installation where children from far away locations and even foreign countries, accompanied by one of their parents, are sheltered and can continue their education at a school within the hospital known as Welcoming Center. More than 75,000 Chilean children suffering from burns have been treated at the clinic, free of charge. In the last years attention to other countries in the Continent has been started, and already over one hundred foreign patients have been treated. Each year 5,000 consultations are given and 25,000 therapeutic procedures are performed by the center´s professional team.
Psychological support is fundamental in the result of rehabilitation treatments initially helping the parents and then the children who suffer seeing their corporal image affected by some sequel. Support to the child and his family also allows for the continuity of the treatment and correct compliance with therapeutic activities to be carried out at home.

But things do not end there for COANIQUEM; a second alliance this time with the advertising agency Zeegers DDB, helps the consolidation of the organization and to increase the effectiveness of the alliance with ESSO Chile as it improves the visibility of actions undertaken together. Also, the freedom lent by COANIQUEM to its advertisers has won numerous awards for Zeeger DDB.

And the alliances continue, in 1995 two such alliances were entered into, one with the inter-urban bus company Tur-bus, which allows for the travel of its patients free of charge from anywhere in the country to the treatment centers. The other alliance is established with Cristalerias de Chile, a firm that required the improvement of its recycling in order for its Santa Rita vineyard to comply with environmental requirements to enter international markets, which have high demands on this matter. The sole use of "green marketing" had not achieved good results.

The campaign "Recycling… glass helps", is carried out together with Cristalerias Chile which provides the means to conduct it, and buys the collected material, for reusing it later. The funds collected from this activity, cover some of the operational expenses of Openhouse, a center for sheltering children from distant places who come with one of their parents.

The joining of the concept environmental care and generosity, makes this campaign a very successful program, by avoiding that several tons of glass end up thrown in dumps each year, while at the same establishing a commitment with the costly and long rehabilitation of a burned child.

All of this is achieved thanks to the network made up by the media which publish and broadcast the initiative, the city halls and supermarkets which authorize the placing of containers, and thousands of people who no longer throw their glass containers in the garbage bin.

The outcome of the campaign has been impressive. 12 thousand kilograms of glass were recycled in the first month, today over 800 thousand kilograms are recycled monthly, which means that Cristalerias Chile succeeds in recovering 35% of its production material. It is estimated that, thanks to recycling, COANIQUEM receives approximately 10 million monthly, which has made it possible to build more installations and to improve its services.

The reinvention installed in COENIQUEM culture does not stop, but continues ahead with a new project, this time continental. So as to reach all children in America, it has established a new alliance which entails the support of the airline company LAN and in addition has created a new institution in the USA - COANIQUEM BCF (Burned Children Foundation) with the support of the Rotary Clubs in the Continent and the Chile Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We have deemed it important to mention this because it clearly shows that it is possible to build cultures where change is a value, instead of change being seen as an evil which must be avoided and against which all kinds of barriers are placed. It is a question, additionally, of a pragmatic question which does not hesitate in establishing mutually fruitful relationships with private companies.

Instead of requesting donations which may be one-time only, fleeting, or at very the least unstable, the option is taken for negotiating agreements which private companies find clearly useful.

To do so, it has been necessary to seek methods of cooperation inside the area of interest of the allied companies themselves. Corporate Social Responsibility, Public Relations, Image and sale of gasoline with ESSO , Advertising with Zegers DDB, Transport with Tur-Bus and with LAN; glass recycling with Cristaleria de Chile. This matter has a great relevance as it shows a highly flexible organizational culture where imagination is a key issue. With a view on their mission, COANIQUEM executives are capable of assuming the business perspective of their potential allies, in order to offer them a cooperation project which provides a mutual benefit.

As in any other self-poiethical system, organizations operate inwardly (Luhman 2000).This means that they only accept as information that which echoes their structures. In accordance to the required law of variety, no system is as complex as its environment. Between system and environment there is, consequently, a gradient of complexity which forces the system – so as to avoid being destroyed by the variety of its environment (*only variety can destroy variety)* (Ashby 1958: 207) – to reduce the environment complexity selecting only some contact points where to allow to be irritated by certain types of events in their environment.

We have seen that organizational culture contains all the distinction schemes with which the organizations look at their environment. Culture acts the great complexity reducer which makes it possible for the organization to move in an environment in agreement with the organization´s potential. It also allows for coordination among the organization members that is easy to carry out, as all share similar viewpoints and values. This same advantage of all organizational cultures, however, becomes a disadvantage at the time of establishing alliances with organizations whose culture – the set of distinction factors – differs substantially. In effect, it is extremely unlikely that they may coincide regarding the definition of problems or that they may have points in common. What for one organization is of vital importance, for the other may be insignificant or invisible. If for one, profit seeking is a valid motor, for the other one it may appear as something almost reprehensible. In short, cultural differences cause a not small part in the difficulties of business merging.

For the foregoing reason, COANIQUEM's organizational culture is of particular interest. The undecided and undecidable premises which constitute it, facilitate its taking on, in an empathic way, schemes of distinction similar to those of its possible ally. Only in this way can it find methods for making cooperation attractive to it. It is highly likely that this very peculiar feature of COANIQUEM's organizational culture derives from its operation itself. The treatment of burned children requires an enormous empathy by professionals and officials dealing with it. It is easily seen, in hospitals and organizations whose function is alleviating pain, that this capability of placing oneself in the others place becomes an important premise – undecided and undecidable - in the decisions and behavior of all members, not only of those, such as doctors and nurses who require it by the nature of their activity itself, but also by administrative officials who do not require it for performing their tasks. So, it is likely that a culture based on such premises enables its executives to

assume other perspectives - putting themselves in the place of the other company executives –seeing in this manner opportunities which they would not see otherwise, as they are totally foreign to their quests.

3.3 Organizations for Services to their Affiliated

From the set of non-for-profit organizations geared for services to their affiliates, we have selected one of the three Mutualities existing in the country. Also contributing to this task is the Institute of Previsional Standardizing (INP), which as it is State run, differs from the three Mutuals. The relevance of these organizations is key at the time of evaluating security conditions at work, as well as prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation from illness or work accidents. The law regulating them, establishes as obligatory a social insurance on accidents and occupational illness risks. All workers, even independent hired workers, whatever the type of their work, must be insured. At present 72% of active workers are protected, a figure much above the worldwide average which reaches 41% , that of Latin America which is 40%, Asia 23%, Africa 16% and developing countries 23%. It is only below developed countries (86%)[5]. As pointed out by the RH Management magazine in its issue of May 2007: "Thanks to the contribution by the mutuality system in Chile and the incorporation of new demands, health and occupational security take a relevant position in company strategies".

3.3.1. Security Mutuality of the Chile Chamber of Construction[6]

New labor groups appear, such as independent and temporary, and new forms of productive business also appear. The generalized practice of -*outsourcing*- for all labor considered not directly related to the businessess -*central competence*- led to complex situations of labor security. Cases of workers from a contract company who would work at the installations of another, where they would render their services, started to be frequent. Since they are different companies, it could happen- and it so happened – that the contracting and the contracted companies would have different protection at work. At the time of an accident, however, both companies attempted to deli-

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[5] Source : http.//ciberconta.unizar.es/alf/casosbsc/M.AngelesMartinez_ ACHS/Chile.pdf. visited in June 2007.

[6] Information on the Security Mutualty of the Chile Chamber of Comstruction has been obtained from its 2005 Annual Report. The Security Mutuality was founded in 1966 by Chile Chamber of Construction. The concern for the high rate of work accidents prompts the initiative to establish a Security Mutuality geared to the prevention, treatment and rehabilitation of the affiliated company workers.
Forty years after its foundation, the Security Mutuality can point out with pride that this accident rate has been reduced from 40% in 1966 to 6.41% in 2005, and it is estimated that this decrease will continue. This figure of 6.41% placed Chile within protection standards of more developed countries. Decrease in accidents goes along with another important achievement through the work developed. In its Annual Report for 2005, it is outlined: "to have been generating within companies an increasing awareness of business social responsibility towards their collaborators, on the concern for their risks and the commitments with ethical duty which involves creating security and health conditions within the work environment, which would allow improving the quality of life of workers.
The Security Mutualiy has an annual average of 1,065,069 affiliated workers, which causes that its tasks influence a great number of people. It is for this reason that at the present time, it is facing the challenge of presenting solutions to problems which start appearing as product of the accelerated change in the country's economy.

mitate responsibilities. The situation reached the point where it was necessary to enact a law for subcontracting which made the contracting company jointly responsible.

Also all kinds of differences have been taking place: salaries, protection, security, benefits, etc., among workers which carry out similar tasks at the same work place, because some of them belong to the company, they are hired by the company, and others belong to a contracted company which only renders one service which the large company has outsourced. The clear inequality that this brings about has caused concern at high level management in the Security Mutuality which sees the need to seek ways for extending the benefits of the system to all workers, by giving them the opportunity of being covered for work accidents prevention, occupational illness, and the required care in the case that these occurred.

On the other hand, the massive incorporation of technology, has generated occupational illness and new type accidents. Work contract have a lesser stability and massive lay-offs are frequent, which increases the labor stress and illness and related accidents and illnesses. All this makes it imperative to precisely determine the causes which have led to the development of an occupational illness.

The epidemiological profile of labor risks in Chilean organizations has changed from the greatest relative importance of labor accidents to a greater relevance of occupational illnesses, both derived from classical risks (hypoacusis, sylicosis) as those resulting from emerging risks, especially muscular-skeletal illness.

For its part, the accelerated process of globalization of the Chilean economy, faces its companies with demands for security and occupational health, which go beyond the regulations in force so that preventive care for security and health of the workers is attributed the character of moral imperative, making it a part of companies' social responsibility.

All these changes imply that the scene where the Security Mutuality develops its activities has changed significantly, and that although the Mutuality itself has been an important actor in support of its affiliated companies to achieving an adequate response to the new challenges, its authorities deem it imperative to deepen and fasten the cultural changes initiated.

The annual report for 2005 shows that the "programs for risk control for 2005, continued showing their effectiveness, which is reflected in the decrease of the work accident rate from 6.79% in 2004 to 6.41% in 2005". The success attained by this organization, could reflect that in a slow but sure way the mutual system has been changing the culture of prevention in Chilean organizations. It has a result, also, that it has become imperative to make a sudden rudder change, which will mean changing the priorities in the Security Mutuality management, because as an outcome of its successful work, the type of problems which it must face as part of its daily operations has dramatically changed.

In effect, this Annual Report shows that until recently there was an extended idea among workers, business, and Chilean public opinion in general, that mutual companies were basically dedicated to dealing with work accidents.. Due to the huge investments by these organizations in health structures, with modern and well equipped hospitals which through their notorious visibility, became even synonymous with the entire company, public opinion understood, consequently, that a mutual company was little more than an enormous and modern hospital.

In workers´ language it was said : "take the accident-victim to the Mutua" meaning to the hospital the company had for treating the accidents of its affiliates. The drastic reduction in the rate of accidents together with the advances in medical treatment which allow for ambulatory treatment of accidents which earlier required admission to the hospital for rest and inmobilization, has as a result, that the treatment centers of the Mutuality system have become oversized to care for the needs of their affiliates. The Report for 2005 shows that at present 95% of accident victims taken to care centers receive ambulatory treatment, and that it has been decided to use the infrastructure and professional surpluses as open services to the community as a whole.

The change consists on giving priority to the assignment of resources for risk prevention, security at work, and the occupational health of the workers. With this new definition of priorities it is sought, additionally, that the various stakeholders of the Security Mutuality realize that the main task of the organization deals with the prevention of accidents and the increase of the occupational health of workers. This is not a minor change, but rather the definitive change of Chilean organizational culture. In effect, although the decrease in accident rate from 40% to 6.41% shows that it has been successful in introducing prevention in the culture of Chilean organizations, top executives in the Security Mutuality plan to achieve a deeper and more definitive change. As stated in the Report for 2005, the purpose is eliminating the "idea of prevention as a mere obligatory function in compliance with the Law and (incorporate) in management and workers the concepts of security and occupational health as an imperative value, inherent to the human being quality which all workers have , where prevention is understood as an integral part of the right of all people to work in safe conditions and a healthy environment".

So as to advance in such direction, the Mutuality has organized its activities under the concept Security and Occupational Health, for the purpose of allowing the participating companies to incorporate it, in turn, in accordance to their particular reality. There are already companies whose organizational culture considers the promotion of conditions, behavior, and attitude of safety at work and occupational health, while others have focused on obtaining an integrated certification on quality, environmental protection and safety and occupational health. There are also companies which request support for strengthening and developing their own risk prevention programs, while other companies prefer adopting the Programs created by the Mutuality. The methods may be varied, but all have contributed to prevent work risks , improving the quality of life of workers and the productivity of companies.

We have briefly referred to some of the many achievements of the Security Mutuality, because we wanted to show the way in which a Third Sector organization has succeeded in decisively influencing the culture of affiliated organizations, and through these, in the organizational culture of the entire nation. On the other hand, the success of its task, leads it to face new challenges , such as incorporating into culture the value of safety and occupational health (SSO) and to open to the community its hospital care installations. These are tasks which will require an important cultural change within the organization itself, but its high level executives consider it necessary and are determined to achieve it.

4. DIFFERENT CULTURES, SAME CHANGES

For reasons of space, we cannot continue describing the selected organizations, the successful results nor their transformations. However, the brief references we have made, seem to us sufficient to consider our objective accomplished. We wanted to characterize the organizational culture of organizations of the Chilean Third Sector, and to sketch, with a few brush strokes, the important change processes which these cultures have experienced. Additionally, we wanted to show how a rigorous definition of the organizational culture concept, makes out of this concept an appropriate tool for understanding the cultural factors and the modifications any organizational culture entails. We considered particularly necessary this latter, since this useful concept is in serious danger of becoming trivial, due to the shameless handling it has been subject to.

The four organizations we have selected have incorporated professional knowledge to their management. This is probably one of the most important reasons for their success. Specialists know that this is central: "The history of volunteer organizations for social intervention is not written. What each one and their networks attain to being and doing, will depend on a great number of variables. Among which, is their management" (Fantova Azcoaga 2001:123).

Cultural changes in these organizations have been possible because, in all of them, their mission has been the main priority over any other secondary considerations. This priority of the mission is something knowingly relevant for any organization, also those of the Third Sector (Drucker,1992:1-8). Fulfilling the mission within the changing conditions in the environment of a growing country and its accelerated incorporation into a worldwide society, required the transformation of the respective organizational cultures. It must be understood that a cultural change is an intentional process, which is not performed through decrees nor in the short term, but which must be gradually integrated into the memory of organizations and requires an adequate length of time for the change of attitudes and organizational behavior.

An important change in the organizational culture of the Chilean Third Sector has been the acceptance that these organizations be managed in accordance with administration principles as applied in productive organizations with profit purposes. This has not been entirely easy, especially when some of the executives counseling them used a language which originally was anathem for

those cultures: for these executives to speak of "clients" or "users" instead of "beneficiaries" sounded as blasphemy to the ears of oldest volunteers.

In professionalizing their management, these organizations have succeeded in coming out of the narrow framework of operations, narrowness which prevented them from improving their financing sources. In effect, until a couple of decades ago, the Third Sector was financed with public funds, membership fees, fund drives, sponsorships, patronages, special activities for collecting funds, sale of services, and in some cases, payment by the users. This form of financing seems to be customary in a large part of the world (Fantova Azcoaga,2001:137). Professional management has developed an aggressive and innovative strategy for obtaining a greater and sustained financing. Although it is obvious that the missions of the organizational systems of the Third Sector require enormous amounts of money, it did not seem possible to find sources other than the traditional ones and these did not increase in number nor in the amount of the contributions. Institutions of the Third Sector were extremely reluctant to developing marketing strategies, something that also seems to be customary (Drucker,1992 53-58). Relationships with profit making companies were limited to the terms of the sponsorship or patronage; there were one-way relationships, as it was not seen which could be the usefulness that those companies could obtain. The results of professional management have been amazing. The Hogar de Cristo succeeds in pharmacies and supermarkets actively joining their funds drives, requesting from their customers to donate their change. The campaign slogan, "To Help is Simple" makes a words pun as in Chile small coins,change, are called "simple". Cashiers and sales clerks in these shops say that they like to participate because they contribute to a good cause and that they are glad each time they accumulate a somewhat important sum at the end of their working day. "A Roof for Chile" allows for the families to live an unforgettable solidarity experience, they themselves finance a house, to build it later in close cooperation with their future dwellers . In addition to this, it has made it possible for the automatic cashier networks to propose, every time someone makes a deposit: Would you donate one thousand pesos (almost two dollars) for "One Roof for Chile" ? COANIQUEM offers an attractive alliance to different types of companies making them lasting members. The glass recycling campaign, for example, has met with a great social backing, because in addition to benefitting the two allied organizations it contributes to diminish the environmental damage. The Security Mutuality also finds a new financing way by opening its care centers to the community. Not only does it render an important service, it also makes total use of its great installed capacity which was being infra-used as a result of the advances in medicine and its own preventive performance.

Another remarkable change in the sector has been going from an assisting concept of mission accomplishment to one of intervention. This latter is concerned with generating networks among the interested parties themselves, for them to take on the responsibility they may deal with in the solution of their problems. All the organizations selected and many others belonging to the Third Sector have stopped focusing their activities to remedy or palliate some social afflictive situation, to deal mainly with its prevention. This change on emphasis has had as a result the need to interfere in the culture of those affected themselves who have been obligated to leave aside their

passive and powerless attitude to take an active part, in either a rehabilitation treatment, or the building of a better life.

The cultural transformation described, although deep, has not been total. The mission of each organization remains whole, as well as the values which inspire their volunteers and employees. It would have been wrong and useless to attempt a radical change. Neither has it been necessary to import new values. This is impossible in any self-poiethical system which operates in a closed environment. All that has been done is simply to promote elements present in such cultures letting, at the same time, that the opposing elements which are also present, lose strength. In effect, along with the values of service, love for one's neighbor, giving, and self denial, in each one of the cultures, ideas can be found which negatively evaluate any action which may appear as belonging to another type of organization. Even the terminology which could remind of profit companies was bothering, something which, on the other hand seems to be more characteristic of the sector than of Chile itself only (Drucker:1992:65)- At the same time the cultures of these organizations were directed to an ideal situation, in which the problem motivating them no longer existed. The scarcity of resources, the intermittent collaboration of the volunteers, the administrative inefficiency and disorder were seen as natural and inevitable, almost as these were the distinctive seal of the sector. Behind these there were in hiding sub-understood cultural elements, undecided and undecidable premises of the organizational deciding , which we could amply summarize as: "non-for-profit organizations deal with things that are really worth it: life, the human being, dignity, alleviating poverty, and your neighbor´s suffering, etc. In those organizations there is no place for minor material considerations such as money, administration, or efficiency. These are rather the main occupation of those organizations which in their excessive want for profit have no concern for the human being".

For many of the volunteers it was disheartening to see that all their efforts did not succeeded but just offered a weak palliative for the miseries that they would like to see disappearing. They were also disheartened by the hard heart of so many who being able to make a generous contribution were satisfied by giving some coins or none. So much was wanted to be done with so little, but it was not considered valid to seek efficiency nor leave the scheme of welfare contributions to search alliances with lucrative organizations. Also forbidden to them were marketing and advertising , because it was suspected that these had dark purposes, or at least, incompatible with theirs. However, those who had such thoughts participated without any problem as entrepreneurs, executives, professionals, employees and customers of those same organizations that were so distant from the principles which they believed they were upholding in these others. They could live in totally separated dimensions and even do so without remorse, because in one they carried out what they could not in the other. This schizoid vision means that the same values co-existed in the same culture, only these received different consideration in one than in the other. As we have said, any culture is a incoheren set of elements. The change of culture was then, much easier than we would have thought. It was enough to show that efficiency, advertising, marketing and modern management are tools which have no preference whatsoever for a single type of organization. That it was possible to successfully managing a profit-making organization increasing its economic value and

that it was also possible to lead a non-for-profit organization to success by increasing its social impact. It was not a question of incorporating values opposed to those it always had, that is impossible. What was required was to update undecided and undecidable premises from decision taking which were inadequate, and let the dust of forgetfulness fall on the others, those which until then had been shining.

All this fast process was carried out in the only way possible: through communication. Social systems, as well as organizations, are made up of communications, therefore, if communications are modified, the systems these form is also modified. (Fantova Azcoaga, 2003).

Communications are not changed by just talking about them. This is another error of the gurus and their pupils. Each time they diagnose a communications problem in an organization (which is not difficult as they are abundant) they offer their miraculous cure. Then they transfer personnel to a comfortable and distant resort, where with all kinds of games and digressions, teach them to communicate. Those are cathartic moments which make everybody happy until they go back to their daily routine and discover that all is still the same, although not so for the sorcerer apprentice who is counting his coins.

As always, the recipe is far simpler. Any change in communications is achieved by communicating about the real problems of the organizations, not about communications. Communications should never be an issue, always a backing, as they are the cells of the social systems. Some undecided and undecidable premises in the organizational decision taking, become relevant when communicating the objectives, the goals, the mission, and the vision which inspire the tasks of the system when adopting decisions directed at achieving such goals and objectives. When these decisions are communicated, the organizational auto-poiesis goes on, and although no nobody has required to mention them, the undecided and undecidable premises which have caused them, are also part of the communications. The others, the old undecided and undecidable which prevented deciding according to the current way, are neither mentioned, they increasingly become old by the vital strength of successful organizations, which can take pride in showing off achievements which earlier they had thought impossible.

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