

## Chapter 10

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# Organizational Strategies to Foster the Adaptation and Integration of Technology in Grassroots Social Justice Organizations

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### INTRODUCTION

Much attention has been paid to the existence of the digital divide not only for poor populations but also for the nonprofits that serve them. Research shows that organizational access to technology is improving: increasing numbers of nonprofits are using technology as a part of their everyday work. They may maintain donor databases, track employee records, or use e-mail to simplify communications.

But there is a difference between simply having technology and having the capacity to use it effectively. Furthermore, there is a large difference between using technology to support administrative operations—using products designed for a specific purpose so application is more straightforward—and utilizing technology as an integral part of the organization's mission. Here we look at small grassroots nonprofit organizations that use technology to advance their missions, especially in particular what differentiates nonprofits that are successful in the use of technology from those that are struggling. Our focus is not on the specific technology so much as it is on the organizational capacity that fosters or inhibits its use. As such we draw selectively from the large literature base of the for-profit arena that looks at strategies that foster technological innovation. We augment this literature with



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sociological analysis of net or lin ages Our aim is to e plain hy organizations differ in their capacity to use and sustain the use of technology

## RELEVANT LITERATURE

Much of the literature on technological innovation loo s at ho a for profit organization is a le to sustain mar et presence in light of a changing environment One segment of the literature is concerned ith issues internal to the organiza tion Tushman and O Reilly 1997 for e ample e amine ho the successful implementation of technological innovation is ased on the a ility to align organi zational structure culture and personnel They argue that hen organizations adopt ne technological innovations they are successful only under the conditions that internal structural arrangements organizational culture and staff no ledge are in alignment Their analysis implicitly recognizes that organizational change is different from organizational maintenance Organizations may e a le to sustain the status quo at least in the short term in a conte t of changing e ternal cir cumstances Ho ever the organization ill definitely e una le to sustain itself in the long term unless it rings the aforementioned three elements into alignment

Other organizational theories focus on e ternal environmental factors Resource dependence theory is the est no n see feffer and Salanci 1978 It focuses on the limited importance of internal managerial decisions on organiza tional outcomes Because organizations are dependent on e ternal suppliers clients and other sources of resources they ultimately depend on an e ternal e of decisions that may e unrelated to the internal activities of that organization

A related point is made y Christensen 1997 in his ritings on the dilemmas of innovators He differentiates et een sustaining and disruptive technologies Sustaining technologies spea to already esta lished mar ets they are simply more efficient or other ise productive ays of performing the same tas as old technologies and do not re uire ma or ne e uipment or other investment Dis ruptive technologies on the other hand may e much etter at performing the same tas ut re uire significant change on the part of users As such they are et ter adopted y ne clients ho do not have investment financial or other ise in the older ay of performing the activity For this reason firms that adopt disrup tive technology must either develop ne clients or must invest significant resources in persuading old clients that the ne technology is prefera le Internal capacity is less important in determining the successful use of technology than is receptivity y current clients or e pansion of the clients that are served

These theories all assume a for profit organization The organizations of inter est in this study are small not for profit and typically chronically under resourced As such they face another e ternal factor the availa ility of volunteers and dona tions of technology and e pertise Thus the organization s technology capacity is dependent on its a ility to attract individuals e cause of its mission or through other ties as ell as the availa ility of these resources in the e ternal environment



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The social network literature particularly Granovetter's 1983 work on the strength of ties highlights the ways that the structure of individuals' personal relationships helps determine their ability to access those personal relationships in order to mobilize necessary resources. Such networks that link people to a broader set of individuals provide bridging mechanisms to multiple groups of people and potential multiple types of assistance.

The literature then sensitizes us to the basic dimensions of our analysis which follow:

**Issues internal to the organization** Under what conditions does the use of technology require organizational change? For those that do require internal change, how does the need to align personnel, culture, and structure to accommodate change affect the successful use of technology?

**Issues external to the organization** To what extent do the interests of external funders and other resource providers determine their capacity to acquire and support technological capacity?

**Bridging issues** How do the social networks of staff and others help the organization command necessary resources to acquire and use technology?

**Success in achieving mission** To what extent is the success of using technology determined by external client receptivity? When agencies adopt new technology, does it serve the needs of existing clients or does it necessitate a new client base that is more receptive to it?

## DESIGN

This research is part of a larger study looking at the adaptation of technology in three regions in California: San Francisco Bay Area organizations were recruited through solicitations to online user groups and technical assistance organizations and through word of mouth. Case study organizations were small, defined as having a budget of under \$500,000 per year, engaged in social justice work and using technology to help advance their mission—that is, for more than simply administrative work. In each organization, we conducted interviews with the executive director and/or the person most responsible for the decision to use technology as well as with technological support and other staff. Interviews were conducted by the authors in 2004 and early 2005, and each interview lasted between thirty and sixty minutes. The interviews were taped in all cases, but one where the interview occurred in a truck as the executive director took care of agency errands and later transcribed.

Interview questions asked how the organization obtained the technology they used to deliver services, who was responsible for the technology, how they learned to use the technology, and whether they achieved the anticipated results. Interview probes focused on examining both good and bad outcomes, unanticipated costs and barriers, comfort with technology, and any other issues relevant to understanding the organization's experience acquiring and implementing technology.

In all we conducted interviews in ten organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area. These organizations served a number of diverse populations and missions. Two focused on immigrant or ethnic populations. Two worked with youth. One performed advocacy and distributed information to social service professionals serving children. Three were community development organizations. Finally, one organization provided recreational services for physically disabled youth, and one was a peace advocacy organization.

The organizations can first be divided into two groups based on the centrality of technology to their mission and accompanying activities. Three of the organizations' missions involved technology. One organization refurbished computers and donated them to schools and children. Another trained non-English speakers in basic computer applications as well as computer repair. The third organization taught video production to low-income youth.

For the other seven organizations, technology was a means to reach their missions. One organization provided an online advocacy newsletter and calendar, and another provided some assistance in job preparation and searching using the Internet and intended the technology to help issue calls to action and share resources with its three sites as well as sister organizations. One organization used technologically assisted equipment to permit physically disabled youth to participate in sports. One organization used its database as a way of organizing a large amount of information that it provided to teachers. One was an Internet-based peace group that used an online discussion board to augment its face-to-face meetings. Because the group's membership was largely national and international in scope, its online presence had accordingly increased in importance.

Finally, the two community development organizations used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) on their websites as tools to perform community development work.

## ISSUES INTERNAL TO THE ORGANIZATION

There was a basic division between those nonprofits that were founded to provide technology to their target population or included technology as an integral part of their service delivery model from the outset and those that introduced technology at a later time to assist them in their work. The organizations that started with technology being central to their missions had an advantage in that they did not require later realignment in order to successfully adopt new technological challenges. They started with a staffing plan that supported the technology staff with the requisite skills and a culture that embraced rather than feared technology. All of the organizations using technology from the outset were either founded by a technologically proficient person or involved such a person as part of their start-up. In one case, the executive director was a retired IT professional; in another, an IT professional who was a friend of the executive director helped with the acquisition and installation of hardware and software on weekends. A third organization

included professionals in video production as well as other technically proficient personnel. Several of them were able to take advantage of the downturn in the technology market and bring in people who were right out of school or who had lost positions.

When there were hardware or software problems, these organizations needed their equipment well enough to fix it themselves or, in the case of the video production group, to recognize the magnitude of the problem and send the equipment out for repair. Although there might be more technically advanced solutions, they were able to get their hardware and software to perform the functions they asked of it.

Two other organizations depended on technology from the outset to realize their missions. Because technology was not central to their missions, they were not staffed with technologically savvy personnel, but they had solutions in place from the beginning. The peace organization used a volunteer to establish the initial website and e-listing services to host their e-mail newsletter and discussion board. The sports organization used well-established technology such as specially designed wheelchairs to permit youth to compete in sports. Because they simply purchased the technology and used outside vendors to repair it, technological proficiency was not an issue.

In all cases, the decision to use technology was a part of the initial plans for the organization. The actual programs provided might have expanded over the existence of the agency; the organization that provided instruction for immigrant women for example, started by training them in simple applications such as word processing or spreadsheets. Their programs grew as the students themselves requested instruction in new software and as the major technologically proficient staff person decided that they were capable of learning to repair computers.

Organizations that added technology to the core that was already under way had more trouble. Later we discuss how internal interests dictated the ability to secure the hard resources of hardware and software, which proved to be less of an issue for these organizations. Instead, the problem was that they did not have the internal capacity to use the technology to its fullest potential.

They were not staffed to support the technology; instead, technology was an add-on to the core that they already did. Many used volunteers, but some projects required more than could be asked of a volunteer. Because the organizations were small, they could not afford to hire a new permanent staff position or to devote substantial time of an existing staff person to technology. They had to continue doing the core they always did with the staff they always had and also utilize technology. Typically, there was never the capacity to budget the time necessary to learn the technology or to make full use of what was available. Instead, staff's existing capacity to use technology, willingness to experiment, and organization of core tasks determined the outcome.

Some had staff that either already knew how to implement and use the technology or were capable of learning it. Here, the difficulty was that their time was

already stretched relative to the work that needed to be done. Technology added new sets of demands to be met before there was any possibility of it enhancing the organization's work.

The advocacy organization proved an instructive case study. Its small staff were far from being Luddites. One had a background in programming and the other was proficient in software applications as well as HTML, but they struggled with installing and maintaining their hardware and networking capacities, learning as they installed the system or as things failed rather than hiring consultants.

In discussing their work, they were all aware that there were technological solutions that could appreciably cut down their workload. In order to avoid spam limitations, for example, they sent e-mails out in batches of ten only. Rather than automate this task, they did the work manually. Reduction of their newsletter required importing and exporting files from several different applications. Again, this task was done manually each time. However, they did not have the time required to research, develop, and test a more technically sophisticated solution that could have saved them time and perhaps made the operation more sustainable.

The disability organization provided another instructive case. It had purchased software designed to improve its capacity to manage finances and fund raise, but the organization had not budgeted the necessary time to learn the software. As a result, it went unused, wasting the time that might never come when they could take time away from so-called normal activities to learn it and convert their existing less adequate systems to it.

For these reasons, some organizations made the deliberate decision not to upgrade what already worked well, even though there were obvious upgrades that were new to them. The organization that assisted science teachers, for example, maintained separate copies of its database on each staff person's computer. When the database was updated with new information, someone would copy the new file onto a disk and drive to the homes of the other staff and reinstall it.

Even when the organization was able to change staffing patterns sufficiently to devote resources to learning and using the technology, they were faced with the problem of staff turnover. The economic development corporation, for example, was still learning the capacity of the mapping software that it possessed. Although it did not have the capacity to produce the full range of maps it might ultimately desire, it was producing maps as input for community meetings. However, the corporation was all aware of the difficulties in keeping a trained staff to meet its technological demands.

I haven't been here long enough to know this directly, but my sense is that that's really one of the biggest challenges for technology in nonprofits is

when you have a turnover, the rough transition from one person to the next in using all these technology tools gets really amplified the more technology you have. Interview with a Program Manager.

Greater problems were caused when there was no proficient staff member and when staff did not feel they had the capacity to learn the technology. In this case

they needed to raise dollars to create a position. Such funding tended to be time limited and insufficient to the need of the organization that did not have the internal capacity to use and maintain the technology itself. The immigrant service advocacy organization for example faced an uncertain future. It was losing the grant funding for its part-time student who provided technical support. The organization's computers were old and beginning to fail. The group had successfully netted or led its main office but was still having problems netting its satellite offices. Furthermore, none of the remaining staff was proficient with some of the basic data base and mail merge software used and the organization was concerned about how it could be able to continue given the problems it was already facing.

These examples illustrate one of the great tragedies of technology troubles in small organizations. On numerous occasions our staff interviewees could talk about how much more they could accomplish if they could get the technology working. On one occasion this frustration actually brought an executive director to tears. From our observations it was clear that many of these organizations could save significant time and resources in the long run if they could just find a way to install and maintain simple technologies. Given limitations on staff hours, they needed to realign priorities and in some cases reassign staff responsibilities in order to learn the technology they had and research acquire and develop more efficient ways of accomplishing tasks. Some were limited in their capacity to do this or by their own feelings of inadequacy to the task. Many were limited because there was no slack available given current resources and activities.

A basic issue in all these examples was the extent to which the organization had been able to anticipate what would be required to use and maintain the technology. To the extent that they 1 devoted time in advance to making sure that there was sufficient time to train staff in the use of technology, 2 were not totally dependent on one staff person or volunteer who might leave, and 3 had staff that were at least comfortable with the technology even if they had reduced responsibility for it, they were better able to make use of it.

## ISSUES EXTERNAL TO THE ORGANIZATION

The actual acquisition of equipment and software was not a problem for most of these organizations. Many already had computers but upgraded their capacity to use them. Some received donations of computers from for-profit organizations upgrading their equipment, others as in the case of the organization that provided opportunities for sports activities to disabled youth were the recipients of special grants from government or foundations. They also were able to take advantage of the widespread availability of e-listing services and applications that required no specialized knowledge. The advocacy organization for example used e-listing applications and rented space on an external server to establish the discussion board. The immigrant services and advocacy organization used its telecommunications provider to net the office.



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That was more problematic for them as securing funding to maintain the equipment and software over time and to provide technical assistance to less informed staff. Here organizations were constrained by their funders who often did not permit line items for technology or who funded time limited projects when the funding ended they did not have the capacity to keep staff or to upgrade what they had in place. To the extent that they were dependent on transitory foundation funding they were unable to make plans that permitted stable technical assistance. The advocacy organization for example had to abandon its online discussion boards when the computer server crashed and all data were corrupted. Because this crash happened after the end of a grant period the organization did not have the resources to investigate whether the data could be restored.

### BRIDGING ISSUES

Volunteers played key roles in organizational success adopting new technology. Some took advantage of technologically proficient students in some cases graduates of their own or other training programs who helped as interns or volunteers. Thus one of the community development organizations used graduate students at University of California Berkeley to build its website. Others called upon board members who had some technical expertise.

The volunteer labor sometimes found the organization. In several cases student assistance was volunteered by the local university or college. In other cases organizations were able to capitalize on the general technological proficiency of the Bay Area. Someone on their board or perhaps a relative could have a needed skill. Sometimes social networks provided access to the assistance. One organization relied on the volunteer labor of a professional technical assistance provider. Hence the organization through the spouse of the executive director and led its mission.

However this sort of assistance was most helpful when that was required as a limited project that did not require continual maintenance or improvement. To the extent that they used volunteer labor they had to be able to count on this labor to continue with them or to help them find and train a replacement. The community development corporation CDC that used student labor to build its website upgraded only content rather than the basic architecture of the site after they could no longer rely on the assistance. A number of the organizations when asked for examples of how they kept their websites current stated that they returned to the volunteer who had originally built it when that volunteer was no longer available they struggled to find a replacement sometimes with no success.

The nonprofits also did not have the capability to evaluate the quality of the volunteer labor. The advocacy organization for example had its satellite offices networked as a class project by a local college but the networking was prone to failures at the time the interviews were conducted. The class was over and there was no one to contact about how to resolve the problems that had been left behind.



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Interestingly the sophisticated nonprofit technical assistance community found in the Bay Area was less often mentioned in the interviews. Several organizations did not know about it. Others successfully made use of it to train a staff person or volunteer in a necessary task such as database creation but then were dependent on the availability of that particular staff person.

### SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING MISSION

It is relatively easy to judge whether an organization can successfully use technology. A map produced by a GIS application for example can always be more sophisticated in the information it includes its use of spatial statistics or the cartographic design that portrays the information. However the organization either has the capacity to produce a map or it does not. Similarly an organization can refurbish a computer so that it is usable or it can not. That is more difficult to judge is whether the use of technology advances the mission of the organization. A key element of this use of technology is receptivity to the technology by the clients the agency serves.

Here a distinction must be drawn between organizations whose mission is technology and those who use it to advance other activities. For those whose mission is technological it is seemingly easy to measure success. For example the organization is successful because they are able to acquire used computers that they refurbish and then donate to schools and children. Students learn to make videos. Immigrants learn software and computer repair.

To a large degree client needs and interests determine what is meant by success. An outsider for example might assume that technical training for immigrant women means that they can more easily enter the wage labor force and increase their own and family incomes. However when the women are largely undocumented their ability to obtain or secure these skills is restricted. Success may mean the ability to create baptismaliums for family and friends using Photoshop or perhaps to repair their own and neighbors computers when they need. Success may also mean an increased sense of competency something that is more difficult to measure with so-called hard outcome measures. Students may learn to produce professional quality videos and other media. Does this achievement translate as a youth developer might hope into other academic success? The answer is not clear.

Organizations that used technology as a mechanism to advance their mission had more mixed results. The disability organization depended on technology to permit physically disabled clients to play sports. An industry that created sports equipment and sports chairs for the disabled supported them in this effort. They had no difficulties in meeting their clients' needs to the extent that the technology was there to support those needs.

For other organizations it was difficult to judge client receptivity because they had not been able to fully implement their use of technological advances. The economic development group feels that it is premature to evaluate its success in using



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maps as a way of engaging community participation in the planning process. The group's hope is to be able to generate on the fly maps in community meetings documenting various urban problems or opportunities. Instead they have spent a year simply attaining the hardware and technical capability to produce maps. They are producing some maps and the community is enthusiastic about them but they also know that simply having the capacity to use maps is not identical to economic development. Although the economic development group has used maps in community meetings it is too early to state whether it will successfully fully integrate mapping into its work of organizing communities to ward needed action.

In some cases the community was simply unreceptive and the technology then failed. The advocacy organization had envisioned an electronic discussion bulletin board as the flagship of its online presence where it could serve as a town square for its membership. The organization also placed its newsletter online and created an online calendar of events. The assumption was that the e-mailed information could serve to direct people to the discussion board which would then be self-sustaining. Slightly over a year later when its server crashed the organization concluded that the discussion board was not worth maintaining because very few people used it and therefore it had not served its intended function.

In speculating why the discussion board never became popular the staff recognized that more resources might have led to an increased ability to contact people and promote the board to them directly. However they also recognized that the concept itself might not speak to the needs of their intended audience. The executive director talked about how her membership came late even to the concept of using e-mail. Use of an online discussion board was not something they could necessarily think of as a resource. More importantly she felt that they did not have the time or the immediate need to participate on such a forum. They constituted diverse constituencies comprising education, health care, social services, and the like and did not always see themselves as a unitary interest. In addition such a board was not a part of their day to day work or given the heavy time constraints on nonprofit staff participation in such a board would be a distraction from getting the work of the nonprofits accomplished.

Similarly the immigrant services organization had a series of program expansions that it wished to accomplish with technology. It wanted to provide Internet training for youth in the communities it served as well as for adults who were losing their employment because of homeland security concerns. The organization discovered that the youth had better access at school. The adults had some success in searching online but were largely disinterested in gaining more substantial computer training, feeling that they were too old for it to translate into any real economic opportunities.

It is instructive to compare these organizations' experiences to those where the clients themselves determined the use of technology. The executive director of the organization that trained immigrants to use and repair computers had thought that it could add a program that would train the women to use computerized

sewing machines so that they could establish a home industry. She obtained a grant to conduct a feasibility study and had the students in the program conduct the actual study. The students concluded that the program would not be worth the cost given the limited space they had in their homes along with the need to protect the equipment from their children. It would have been difficult to keep expensive equipment in their homes. Furthermore, it was unlikely that they could economically compete with the seatshop industries in the Bay Area.

The community itself made the decision about the use of technology. The executive director recognized that she did not know the community's needs as well as it did. A similar point was made by a staff person in discussing how other technology training programs were less successful with their students. He noted that other programs did not recognize that traditional school requirements such as homework were not possible given the home environments of their student population.

The organization that rehired and donated computers hired someone who had worked with the communities it served for a long time. Although he had some technical proficiency, his real contribution was working with the communities who received the computers and understanding their needs and potentials.

All the challenge is just to get the people in the community to understand the value of this facility and how they could maneuver their energies better into securing this facility as an instructional site for the growth and development of people in the community. You have to work on an individual basis.

Clients' needs actually dictated the direction the peace organization took in upgrading its software capability. Its model was based on local face-to-face meetings with the assisted information and discussion. When the organization audited the location of those who regularly participated in its services, it discovered that it was really a national and international organization. The organization wanted to capitalize on this presence and create local chapters.

We want to have message boards and move from the discussion e-mail groups to actual boards and password-protected areas where people can find documents relating to the organization. Not all the infrastructure of the organization needs to be stored online so people from different regions can access it. Interview with a Communications Director.

Thus, technology seemed to be most successful when it responded to clients' needs. In the language of Christensen (1997), it sustained existing activities rather than required clients to act in ways that were different. For example, older immigrants were not going to learn to use a computer sufficiently well to secure employment if this skill was not already one they desired. Busy child advocates were not going to spend time on a discussion board. These agencies chose not to see new clients to use the technology. Unlike for-profit organizations, their mission was to serve their designated clients rather than to see new markets.

Thus, the best successes seemed to come with organizations that included the communities that they served in their planning or those that hired staff people with real familiarity with these communities as well as with the technology.



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## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The theoretical literature on organizational innovation helps frame the findings of this study even though the organizations were small and in the nonprofit rather than the for profit sector. The organizational alignment literature focused attention on internal organizational change. We found that the capacity of small grassroots nonprofits to successfully use technology in support of their mission depended only in part on internal capacity although internal capacity mattered. Successful organizations were either those that had planned for the use of technology from the outset and thus did not require organizational realignment or those that already had an internal culture that was not afraid of the technology. In other words that could ask the correct questions of knowledgeable outsiders about what would support that technology and that budgeted the necessary staff time to integrate the technology into their work. They might not have the financial capacity to make more than minor changes in the structure of the organization but they anticipated what would be required.

Resource dependence and network theory look at external factors. We found these factors also determined organizational success. All of the organizations depend on volunteers in implementing and/or maintaining their technology. Their success was highly dependent upon how well they could manage and retain their volunteer technology capacity. The interests of external funders determined what types of technology would be supported and thus what was possible particularly in the long term. However this funding tended to be project specific and limited and thus could not be a part of any long term strategy. Organizations that relied solely on external funder interest to sustain technology suffered problems. Only when they possessed the capacity to draw upon and productively use networks were they able to support technology when they lacked internal capacity.

Finally technology was embraced by agency clients only when it fit their own needs when it sustained their interests or was rather than requiring a major change. Agencies that attempted to add technological solutions not called for by their current clients either had problems or as in the case of the CDC using GIS technology, unimpressive success.

Based on these findings we make the following recommendations:

1. The ability to maintain stable funding for technology is important for these organizations. Even organizations with some staff with training were challenged to find sufficient time to fully integrate the technology and apply it to the new purpose. Furthermore for the technology to succeed it needs to be considered a part of ongoing operations and not a time limited special project. One time infusions of funding through technology grants are troublesome for this reason.
2. The interest and capacity of staff to understand technology, the ability of the organization to budget necessary resources to learn and maintain technology and the planning for what organization changes will be required are

important contributors to success. The executive director does not necessarily need to be technologically proficient, but he or she must have stable staff that possesses technological understanding. He or she must also recognize the importance of doing the organizational planning, perhaps with the assistance of outside parties, with better knowledge of what will be required before deciding to institute the use of new technology.

3. Linkages to volunteers can be important, given scarce resources. However, volunteer labor, although essential to the work of the nonprofit sector, may be more problematic when the organization does not have the expertise to evaluate the knowledge of the volunteers or to resolve technical problems that they may leave behind. The organizations that made the best use of volunteers were ones that had technologically proficient staff.

The technical assistance community has a role to play here. However, we found that many groups were not aware of it. Furthermore, when the nonprofits do not develop the internal capacity to work with the technology and to overcome the magnitude of hardware and software difficulties, the technical assistance community cannot be as immediately responsive as the nonprofits' needs dictate. Technology, without sufficient support, can actually make, or less efficient, as scarce resources are devoted to troubleshooting what should be simple problems.

4. Technological capacity in and of itself is not sufficient to assure that the organization will be better able to accomplish its mission. The technology first must be something that makes sense for the community it is meant to serve. A poor fit between technology and clients is not always simply a matter of lack of familiarity and resistance. It can also be grounded in the real immediate conditions of that community.
5. We would be remiss to point out all of these potentially treacherous technology pitfalls without also offering advice about where to find help with an overarching focus on nonprofit technology issues and supported by the nation's oldest and largest nonprofit technology assistance agency, TechSoup ([techsoup.org](http://techsoup.org)). We recommend to any organization struggling with technology challenges. The advice gathered on TechSoup covers both computer technology and management techniques.

Technology is essential to these small nonprofits—they can no longer compete as organizations in a world that assumes that they can research and submit grant applications online. As several organizations told us, they have no real presence until they have a virtual presence via a website. Technology can also enhance the essential work that they do in the community. However, what this reality does is raise the bar on already under-resourced organizations. Whether the raised bar is enough to push an already struggling organization to close is a different research question. The case studies presented here show how important the ability to support technology is to these organizations.



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