

**THE IMPACT OF ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION ON PUBLIC AND
NONPROFIT MANAGERS' PERCEPTION OF RED TAPE**

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ABSTRACT

Communication has crucial impacts within or among workgroups in that organization communication can be a channel to flow information, resources, and even policies. Given the importance of organization communication and its managerial impacts, further research is needed to explore this topic as it relates to the public administration field. To this end, this study assesses the impacts of organizational communication on the perception of red tape by comparing internal communication with external, especially client-oriented, communication in both public and nonprofit organizations. This study is based on the questionnaire data from the National Administration Studies Project (NASP)-III, closed in January 2006, gathered from a survey of public and nonprofit managers in the states of Illinois and Georgia. Results show that frequent communication with clients plays an important role in reducing perceived red tape, and sector-based differences between public and nonprofit sectors influence the impact of communication type on red tape perception. The analysis controls for the organizational characteristics, job characteristics, and personal characteristics.

INTRODUCTION

Communication has crucial impacts within or among work groups in that organizational communication is a channel to flow information, resources, and even policies. Organizational communication can be broadly defined as communication with one another in the context of an organization (Eisenberg & Goodall, 1997; Shockley-Zalabak, 2006). This type of communication, in turn, includes activities of sending and receiving messages through various layers of authority, using various message systems, and discussing various topics of interest to the group we belong to or the company we work for. Organizational communication research has mainly been conducted both in the business management field and in the communication field; however, researchers in the public administration field have provided little knowledge about organizational communication and its roles and effects.

Several studies emphasize that effective communication can enhance organizational outcomes (Garnett, Marlowe, & Pandey, 2008; Pandey & Garnett, 2006). Communication can influence on the perceptions and opinions about persons, communities, organizations, governments, and even society. One of the outcomes of administrative communication is related to the flow of information, regulations, policies, and procedures. As a managerial tool, communication is frequently expected to share information with members, to coordinate activities, to reduce unnecessary managerial burdens and rules, and ultimately to improve organizational performance. While the literature is contributing to establishing an understanding of how the context of the organization influences communication processes and how the nature of communication differentiates it from other forms of organizational behavior, theoretical and

empirical work still remains to be done to answer how organizational communication operates in public and nonprofit organizations and how it influences managerial issues and outcomes.

The goal of this study is to develop and test an exploratory model of communication and its impact on red tape, one of managerial issues, in public and nonprofit sector. The next section explores organizational communication in more detail and summarizes the current state of knowledge about it. Then, the study develops a measure of organizational communication and constructs a theoretical model to analyze the relations between communication and red tape. This model features communication types as the prominent variable with data from the National Administration Studies Project Phase III.

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION and RED TAPE

Public administration has focused on issues such as how to reduce the weight of the mammoth government organization, how to make public organization businesslike, how to improve effectiveness, responsiveness, accountability, cost-efficiency, and so on. Among them, red tape is considered as bad rules that cause negative consequences, and efforts for cutting red tape have been one of the prominent issues (Gore, 1993). Red tape is defined as “rules, regulations, and procedures that remain in force and entail a compliance burden but do not advance the legitimate purposes the rules were intended to serve” (Bozeman, 2000, p. 12). Several studies have dealt with red tape as an independent variable that can influence various organizational issues, including motivation, satisfaction, work alienation, and innovation (DeHart-Davis & Pandey, 2005; Pandey & Bretschneider, 1997; Pandey, Coursey, & Moynihan, 2007; Scott & Pandey, 2000; Walker & Brewer, 2008). Also, other studies focused on factors that can cause and determine perceptions of red tape (Bozeman, 1993; Brewer & Walker, 2006;

Pandey & Welch, 2005; Rainey, Pandey, & Bozeman, 1995b). In terms of sector-based differences among public, private, and nonprofit, the majority of studies were conducted to compare red tape in the public sector with that in the private sector (Bozeman, Reed, & Scott, 1992; Pandey & Kingsley, 2000; Rainey et al., 1995b) but research on red tape in the nonprofit sector has been ignored. Government is likely to have higher degrees of perceived red tape in general due to “external control, the need for accountability, and the shift to interorganizational governance arrangements for the delivery of public service” (Brewer & Walker, 2006, p. 2). Red tape has been considered as a barrier to improve benefits provided to clients (Scott & Pandey, 2000). This study seeks to advance the research on red tape by assessing the impact of organizational communication types in both the public and nonprofit sectors. Is the perception of red tape really different according to persons with whom employees communicate? If then, what kinds of other factors mediate the relationship between communication types and red tape?

Communication is essential to any kind of organization and information plays a crucial role in effective communication. Theory on organizational communication has evolved from the concept as a tool of management designed to facilitate task completion and as such was to operate as one of many organizational variables (Shockley-Zalabak, 2006). As a tool of management, communication is “the central means by which individual activity is coordinated to devise, disseminate, and pursue organizational goals” (Gardner, Paulsen, Gallois, Callan, & Monaghan, 2001, p. 7). From the scientific management viewpoint, communication is a tool of organizational design to facilitate and operate task completion so that the theorists had emphasis on communication flow from supervisors to subordinates (Shockley-Zalabak, 2006). Likewise, Taylor’s scientific management was operated by a well-defined chain of command and specific division of labor. These two principles were developed based on work standards and

measurement of standards. From his point of view, communication can be explained as a tool to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the chain of command, rules, and regulations

On the other hand, many scholars view communication as a core process of organizing (Jones, Watson, Garner, & Gallois, 2004; Orlikowski & Yates, 1994; Weick, 1987). As the human behavior perspective has been important in the atmosphere to emphasize cooperation, participation, satisfaction, and interpersonal relationships among workers, communication-related issues have also been recognized for organizing processes. Effective communication was a cornerstone of the human behavior perspective, so theorists emphasized interactive communication among employees to improve mutual trust. They also recognized the importance of both formal and informal communication. This perspective has provided an idea about communication as an organizing process of human interaction and has influenced the theoretical backgrounds of communication theorists. Weick (1987, pp. 97-98), for example, said “Interpersonal communication is the essence of organization because it creates structures that then affect what else gets said and done and by whom... the structures themselves create additional resources for communication such as hierarchical levels, common tasks, exchangeable commodities, and negotiable dependencies.” Orlikowski and Yates (1994, p. 541) also understood communication as “an essential elements in the ongoing organizing process through which social structures are produced, reproduced and changed.” As an organizing process, communication is not just a tool of management but a critical element to affect management.

With regard to the levels of research, a plethora of research has been done at the micro-level, as Jones and her colleagues (2004, p. 740) mentioned, including studies on 1) superior-subordinate communication in one organization, 2) the areas of conflict and negotiation tactics,

and performance feedback, and 3) computer-mediated communication. However, at a more macro-level, particularly at the organizational and inter-organizational levels, the trend that the boundaries between organizations are more fluid has influenced recent works with more interest in communication beyond the organizational boundaries. Examples of macro-level research include 1) a stakeholder perspective, 2) strategic alliance and network theory to organizational communication, and 3) crisis management and strategies by organization.

In terms of the relational aspect, organizational communication can be divided into two dimensions: internal (intra) organizational communication and external organizational communication. Goldhaber (1993, p. 14) defines organizational communication as “the process of creating and exchanging messages within a network of interdependent relationships to cope with environmental uncertainty.” The concepts and perceptions of organizational communication covers messages, characteristics of senders and receivers and their relationships, functions, medias, environment, and so on. Among them, this study explores the notion of organizational communication by looking at the two types of internal and external communication and considering some ways in which those types could be described.

Internal communication

Many authors have attempted to offer their conceptualization of organizational communication *within* one organization (Foltz, 1981; Greenbaum, 1971; Knapp, 1969; Redding & Sanborn, 1964; Thayer, 1968). According to the direction of information flow, communication has been trichotomized into downward, upward, and horizontal directions, which depends upon who initiated the communication and who received it. The boss-subordinate transaction through downward or upward communication is probably the most common communicative situation

within a work organization.

First, downward communication means the flow of information from superiors to subordinates and it is a dominant channel in accordance with formal communication networks. Garnett (1992) identified four roles of downward communication: conveying a vision, communicating to motivate subordinates, providing feedback on subordinates' performance, and assigning tasks and conveying task-related information. Likewise, Katz and Kahn (1966) indicate five types of downward communication, including job instruction, job rationale, procedures and practices, feedback, and indoctrination of goals. In most cases, task-related messages, such as goals, disciplines, orders, policies, and directions, are dominant. Goldhaber (1993) indicates two intriguing points of downward communication: message overload and filtering. He mentioned "in one organization most of the employees, after eight months of receiving countless messages every day, began to throw every message into the wastebasket before reading it" (p.156). Thus, downward communication can cause message overload to individuals, especially subordinates who usually receive messages, and it leads them to avoid receiving messages from supervisors, senders. O'Reilly (1980) has empirically proved the relationship between information overload and organizational satisfaction and performance. He found that perceived information overload is associated with lower performance but higher job satisfaction. On the other hand, filtering means that messages have chances to be changed or distorted during their travel from top to down within an organization due to "number of links in a network, perceptual differences among employees, and lack of trust in a supervisor" (p.157). Managerial overcontrol results in internal rules and red tape, as Bozeman (2000) mentioned: "Managers' responsibilities for obtaining organizationally sanctioned objectives necessitate

developing tasks and rules ensuring that subordinates will take coordinated action to achieve the objectives” (Bozeman, 2000, p. 95).

The second type of communication within an organization is upward communication, which flows from subordinates to superiors. Upward communication is a channel to know “how work is processing, what problems and opportunities subordinates see, what ideas subordinates have for improving performance, what intelligence subordinates gather about what clients and other organizations are doing and what subordinates feel about the agency, their superiors, and their jobs” (Garnett, 1992, p. 115). Finally, horizontal communication indicates the lateral exchange of information, which flows in accordance with the functional principle among people on the same level within an organization. Upward and horizontal communication are emphasized for employee satisfaction (Miller, 1999). However, upward communication could be another instrument to control and regulate subordinates, as Shermerhorn, Hunt, and Osborn (2005, p. 298) mentioned: “upward communication keeps higher levels informed about what lower level workers are doing, what their problems are, what suggestions they have for improvements, and how they feel about the organization and their jobs.” When the upward communication channel is formalized and becomes a mandatory burden that employees should do, upward communication can cause administrative delay of the subordinate’s job duties and make them perceive more red tape.

With this in mind, Internal communication usually occurs in the context of internal processes where most rules, regulations, procedures, and constraints emerge, develop, and exist. In this context, downward and upward communication within the organization could make employees feel so many burdens on the job that they may want to throw emails into a

wastebasket. Thus, I hypothesize that internal communication is likely to be positively associated with the red tape perception.

External communication: Client-centered communication

External communication processes link multiple organizations and connect the organization to its environment. Organizations exist amidst a complex web of relationships among multiple audiences, which Grunig and Hunts (1984) described as components enabling the environmental sector that controls the allocation of authority (governments, regulatory agencies); the functional sector (suppliers, employees, customers); the normative sector (trade association, professional organizations); and the diffused sector (local community, media). Thus, at the interorganizational level of research, communication is understood in the network relationship. According to Farace, Monge, and Russell (1977), the network property of strength refers to the frequency and length of interactions among linked individuals. Strong links communicate more frequently than weak links and usually have longer periods of interaction.

External communication can also be divided into several types in accordance with the target groups. There are, for instance, external communication types with clients, with private companies, with political parties, with nonprofits, with government agencies, and so on. Among them, this paper focuses on client-centered communication in terms of increased emphasis on improving citizen-centered public service delivery. In light of the interest in the public and nonprofit sectors, a starting point pertains to the concept of client. For the public organization, client means its publics, particularly the clients who are recipients or targets of policy programs and other stakeholder citizens. Nonprofits in the United States, defined under the federal tax code, serve a broad public purpose. Charitable and religious 501(c)(3) organizations and the social

welfare 501(c)(4) organizations make up the majority of the nonprofit sector. Other types of tax-exempt organizations such as business leagues 501(c)(6), and social and recreational clubs 501(c)(7) primarily serve their members. Thus, client for the nonprofit sector means mainly the general public, particularly their members of the organization.

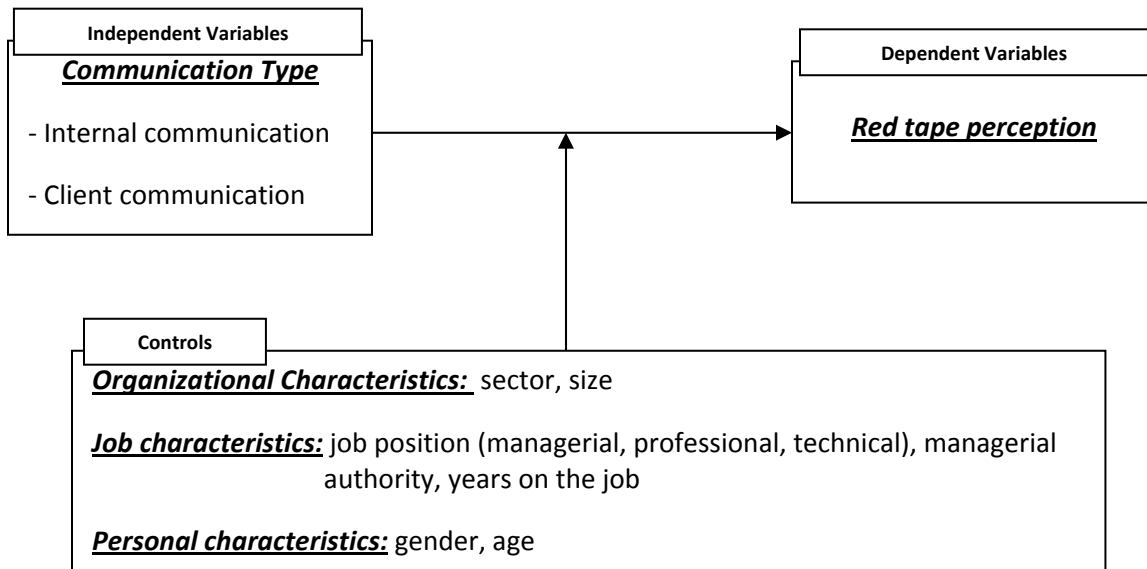
All kinds of external communication can actualize through individual organizational members' activity. In general, the boundary spanners who serve to link an organization with its environment and transfer information across organizational boundaries (Miller, 1999; Tushman & Katz, 1980) play meaningful roles for both their own organization and external organizations. Aldrich and Herker (1977) point out two functions of boundary roles: information processing and external representation. Boundary spanners can be both filters and facilitators by selecting, transmitting, and interpreting information. Thus, peripheral public or nonprofit managers frequently contact clients, answer their requests, exchange representative information with them, collect their feedback, and transmit it to the core. Miller (1999, p. 258) also attempts to provide three major functions of external communication: coordinating interorganizational relationships; creating and maintaining organizational images; and providing customer services. Boundary activity, which can be understood as one of activities of client-centered communicators, contributes to the increase of variation within the organization because information from peripheral managers could be the foundation for responding to the external environments and make it possible to build various adaptive plans for them. The characteristics of boundary jobs are relatively responsive, innovative, and vigorous in that they need to open and adapt the kaleidoscope of organizational ecology. With this in mind, managers who are frequently communicating with clients at the boundary of the organization can be regarded as information deliverers or gatekeepers. Moreover, they might relatively feel less burdened by red tape in the

organization. Thus, it is hypothesized that client-oriented communication is likely to be negatively associated with the red tape perception.

MODELING THE IMPACT OF COMMUNICATION ON RED TAPE

The primary purpose of this study is to explore the impacts of organizational communication on managers' red tape perception. I hypothesize that internal communication will be positively associated with the red tape perception and that client-oriented communication will be negatively associated with the red tape perception. In addition, this study has interest in the degree of sector-based difference not only in red tape perception but also in communication type. Figure 1 summarizes the basic framework and hypotheses for the variables used in this paper.

Figure1. A Model of Red Tape Perception



The basic model for testing is: $RT_i = \beta_1 IC_i + \beta_2 CC_i + \beta_3 S_i + \varepsilon_i$, where RT is red tape perception, IC is internal communication, CC is client communication, and S means sector dummy. To demonstrate the interaction between sector and communication type, the model needs to be supplemented by a consideration of nonlinear elements. Nonlinear impacts can be assessed by using interaction terms like the equation of $RT_i = \beta_1 IC_i + \beta_2 CC_i + \beta_3 (IC_i S_i) + \beta_4 (CC_i S_i) + \beta_5 S_i + \varepsilon_i$ or by examining relationships with different subsets of the sample. I will look for nonlinear relationships between communication types and red tape perception by partitioning the data to avoid collinearity problems.

DATA

The primary data source for this study is the National Administration Studies Project (NASP)-III, closed in January 2006. NASP-III is the expanded version from NASP-I in 1992 and NASP-II in 2003. The first NASP project was done with public and private organizations in New York State and dealt with especially red tape and administrative procedures. NASP-II data were collected during 2002-2003 from public managers of human service agencies in the 50 states and Washington D.C. and focused on the impact of policy and political context on public management. NASP-III covers public and nonprofit managers from various functional agencies in two states, Georgia and Illinois. A total of 1,220 responses were obtained for a response rate of approximately 65.8%. The NASP-III database includes 787 public managers and 375 nonprofit managers.

MEASURES

Dependent and Independent Variables

The dependent variable is red tape perception, which was measured with the question “If red tape is defined as ‘burdensome administrative rules and procedures that have negative effects on the organization's effectiveness,’ how would you assess the level of red tape in your organization? (Please circle the appropriate response)” The response choices were on a ten-point scale from 0 to 10, in which 0 means ‘almost no red-tape’ and 10 means ‘great deal of red tape.’ This measures the perception of the overall level of red tape in their organization.

Organizational communication is multidimensional and it can vary in frequency and target groups. This paper focuses on two representative types of organizational communication, the independent variables, 1) internal organizational communication and 2) external communication with clients. The organizational communication variables were measured by asking what percentage of work-related mail, email, and phone calls the state/nonprofit managers sent to 1) persons within this organization or 2) clients of this organization. The answers were continuous variables. Communication frequency concerns the amount of interaction among communicators.

Control Variables

An assessment of relationship between communication types and red tape must control for both organizational and personal characteristics that might influence the relationships. Two organizational variables are used: organization size and sector. Size is measured as a logarithm of the total number of full time employees (FTE). Alrich and Herker (1977, p. 225) argue that an

“organization that provides services for large numbers of persons and thus face many non-members (relative to members) at the boundaries of the organization must either substantially increase the number of personnel in a boundary position or else routinize the tasks of existing staff so they can handle a higher volume of work.” Rainey, Pandey, and Bozeman (1995a) found that the organizational size is significantly related to the red tape. I expect larger organizations to report higher levels of red tape perception. By sector, both organizational communication and red tape might be different. Nonprofit organizations are usually assumed to have flexible and communicative intra-structure and more frequently interact with external stakeholders. Numerous nonprofit organizations have been known for their voluntary involvement, flexible organizational structure, and relatively less political pressure from external stakeholders than public agencies. Because of these structural characteristics, this analysis assumes that there will be significant sector-based difference in red tape perception, and nonprofit managers are likely to perceive less red tape than public managers.

Five variables as controls measured personal and job characteristics of respondents: for personal characteristics – gender and age; for job characteristics – a job position (managerial, professional, and technical), managerial authority (a measure of the total number of employees the manager supervises), and years on the job (how many years respondent has been in his or her present organization).

FINDINGS

Table 1 provides the results of the correlation analysis. Red tape perception is positively correlated with internal communication and negatively correlated with client communication, as

expected in the hypotheses. A negative relationship between sector and red tape perception indicates that public managers are much more likely to report higher levels of red tape. Except for managerial authority and gender, every control variable is statistically correlated with red tape perception. These findings should be interpreted with caution because of the potential multicollinearity inherent to these relationships.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Variable	Descriptive statistics					Correlation			
	Obs	Mean	s.d.	Min	Max	Red tape	Internal comm.	Client comm.	sector
<u>Dependent Variable</u>									
1. red tape	1193	6.03	2.68	0	10	1.000			
<u>Independent Variables</u>									
2. internal communication	1197	61.50	28.25	0	100	0.278	1.000		
3. client communication	1195	20.56	23.10	0	100	-0.307	-0.767	1.000	
<u>Control Variables</u>									
4. sector(1=nonprofit)	1220	0.35	0.48	0	1	-0.527	-0.351	0.363	1.000
size	1125	6.24	2.53	0	9.8	0.539	0.407	-0.410	-0.810
job- managerial position	1219	0.71	0.46	0	1	-0.134	0.020*	-0.026*	0.197
job- professional position	1219	0.19	0.39	0	1	0.06	0.003*	0.019*	-0.151
job- technical position	1219	0.05	0.23	0	1	0.12	0.021*	-0.034*	-0.155
managerial authority	1057	21.12	73.08	0	1200	-0.006*	0.067	-0.075	-0.055*
years on the job	1157	8.63	6.49	1	40	-0.099	-0.120	0.079	0.074
gender (1=male)	1208	0.55	0.50	0	1	-0.009*	-0.047*	-0.011*	-0.042*
age	1204	49.44	8.91	23	81	-0.115	-0.089	0.062	0.062
* not significant at p<.05									

The first part of the regression analysis concerns the impact of communication types on red tape perception as shown in Table 2. One key coefficient, internal communication, is positive but not significant, indicating that internal communication does not matter in perceiving red tape, and another key coefficient for client communication is negative and significant at the .10 level, indicating that client communication matters in red tape perception. Communication types are by

no means the most important variables in the model, but internal communication does not contribute significantly to shape red tape perception.

Table 2. OLS Results for Red Tape Perception

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficient	standard error	Standardized coefficient	T-ratio
Internal communication	0.001	0.004	0.011	0.240
Client communication	-0.010*	0.005	-0.085	-1.910
Sector (0=public, 1=npo)	-1.279**	0.265	-0.228	-4.820
Size	0.338**	0.050	0.326	6.820
Managerial position	-1.081**	0.358	-0.174	-3.020
Professional position	-1.027**	0.372	-0.145	-2.760
Technical position	-0.386	0.461	-0.032	-0.840
Managerial authority	-0.002	0.001	-0.043	-1.560
Years on the job	-0.010	0.012	-0.023	-0.810
Gender (0=female, 1=male)	-0.125	0.148	-0.023	-0.840
Age	-0.013	0.009	-0.044	-1.480
Constant	6.474	0.722		8.970
Note: $R^2 = 0.350$; Adjusted $R^2 = 0.342$; $F=44.28^{**}$; $N=918$				
* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$				

Some other findings in Table 2 merit discussion because they will be incorporated into additional testing later. First, the coefficient of the sector dummy variable shows the difference in red tape perception between the public and nonprofit sectors, and managers in the nonprofit sector perceive, on average, 1.27 less than managers in public sector, as expected. Second, size, measured by logged total number of employees, is positively signed and significant, indicating managers in large organizations are likely to perceive more red tape than in small organizations. Size of organization can reflect the total sum of rules, regulations, and procedures in force for an organization so that it is positively and strongly related to red tape perception. In addition, the total number of years the manager had been working in this organization, position as a manager, and position as a professional are statistically significant. However, managerial authority,

measured by the total number of employees a manager supervises, is not statistically significant in this model. Age is negatively and significantly associated with red tape perception but gender does not matter.

Table 3. Red Tape Perception at Different Sector

Independent Variables	Public sector			Nonprofit sector		
	Coef.	s.e	T-ratio	Coef.	s.e	T-ratio
Internal communication	-0.005	0.005	-0.990	0.005	0.008	0.690
Client communication	-0.013*	0.007	-1.840	-0.010	0.008	-1.170
Size	0.189**	0.059	3.190	0.555**	0.091	6.080
Managerial position	-0.974**	0.417	-2.340	-0.857	0.669	-1.280
Professional position	-1.125**	0.419	-2.680	-0.607	0.757	-0.800
Technical position	-0.407	0.494	-0.820	0.576	1.508	0.380
Managerial authority	-0.002*	0.001	-1.770	-0.001	0.003	-0.460
Years on the job	0.004	0.014	0.290	-0.028	0.021	-1.300
Gender (0=female, 1=male)	0.145	0.173	0.840	-0.677**	0.273	-2.480
Age	-0.007	0.011	-0.620	-0.011	0.016	-0.670
Constant	7.456**	0.855	8.720	4.331**	1.161	3.730
	R ² = 0.05; Adjusted R ² = 0.03; F=2.9**; N=600			R ² = 0.21; Adjusted R ² = 0.18; F=8.12**; N=318		
Note: * p<.10; **p<.05						

In order to test for interactive effects between communication type and sector, I split the sample into two groups: nonprofit and public sector. Nonprofit managers appear not to be affected by communication types: not only does the internal communication have no impact on perceived red tape, but also the client communication is not significant. Only nonprofit organization size and gender of nonprofit managers significantly explain their red tape perception. Thus, in the nonprofit sector, the matter of whom managers are frequently communicating with (insiders or clients) is not significantly related to the red tape. Rather, larger size of the organization is typically related to the red tape perception.

In the second group, the public sector, managers who are frequently communicating with their clients are likely to have a lower level of red tape perception. More interesting here is that all organizational characteristics except the technical position can fully explain the red tape perception but none of the personal characteristics explains it. Organization size always matters to determine the red tape perception of managers: as the total number of employees increases, managers feel less burdened by rules, regulations, and procedures. However, if managers are working in a managerial position or a professional position, they are likely to have more autonomy in their job and this leads them to perceive less red tape. Managerial authority, measured by the total number of employees the manager supervises, could let them have fewer burdens to comply with rules but give them more flexibility or autonomy to make rules and control their subordinates. As expected, the coefficient of managerial authority is negative and significant at the .10 level.

To determine how communication orientation interacts with red tape perception, I ran a series of regressions that successively varied the value for each type of communication and examined what happened with the other variables. Comparing these regressions with the overall regression with all cases should tell us a great deal about how communication type impacts the red tape perception.

Table 4 presents the results for both nonprofit and public managers based on the degree of internal communication in order to probe what happens when managers frequently communicate with persons within their organization. Subsets of the samples, divided into four quartiles by the level of internal communication, can be compared with the full set of cases (column 1).

Table 4. Internal Communication Interactions

Dependent Variable: Red tape perception					
Variable	All	Quartile of internal communication 4=best			
		1	2	3	4
Client communication	-0.011** (-3.1)	-0.015** (-2.21)	-0.007 (-0.76)	0.024 (1.37)	0 (0)
Sector(1=nonprofit)	-1.279** (-4.82)	-1.389** (-2.11)	-1.55** (-3.35)	-0.787 (-1.48)	-1.071* (-1.89)
Size	0.339** (6.87)	0.273** (2.38)	0.359** (3.81)	0.468** (4.66)	0.24** (2.44)
Managerial position	-1.074** (-3.01)	-1.652** (-2.85)	-1.215 (-1.63)	-0.339 (-0.43)	-1.17 (-1.26)
Professional position	-1.021** (-2.75)	-0.4 (-0.61)	-1.163 (-1.55)	-0.67 (-0.82)	-1.719* (-1.87)
Technical position	-0.379 (-0.82)	-0.468 (-0.51)	-0.575 (-0.63)	-0.161 (-0.16)	-0.254 (-0.24)
Managerial authority	-0.002 (-1.56)	-0.011 (-0.97)	0.001 (0.32)	-0.003** (-2.43)	-0.001 (-0.48)
Years on the job	-0.01 (-0.83)	-0.07** (-2.57)	0.005 (0.24)	0.021 (0.9)	-0.016 (-0.64)
Male	-0.128 (-0.86)	-0.127 (-0.36)	-0.275 (-1)	-0.116 (-0.41)	0.08 (0.27)
Age	-0.013 (-1.49)	0.013 (0.63)	-0.008 (-0.49)	-0.007 (-0.39)	-0.031 (-1.64)
Constant	6.55** (10.1)	6.423** (4.46)	6.599** (5.31)	3.979** (3.1)	8.126** (5.72)
N	918	177	262	245	234
r2	0.35	0.439	0.383	0.307	0.139
F	48.75	13.007	15.61	10.388	3.59
mean red tape	6.03	4.64	6.17	6.36	6.66
mean internal comm	61.5	18.82	50.36	75.75	94.73

*Note: t-scores in parentheses; *p<.10; ** p<.05*

The client communication is negatively and significantly associated with red tape perception in only the case of the first quartile of internal communication. If managers communicate with inside persons more and more, their behaviors of client communication are not likely to impact red tape perception. The impact of the sector is higher at the lower level of internal communication; thus, for managers who frequently communicate with insiders the sector might not be an important factor in determining red tape perception. As the percentage of the internal communication increases, the coefficient of the organization size increases slowly until

the fourth quartile of internal communication. At the third quartile level of internal communication, the slope for size is 1.7 times larger than its impact for the first quartile level of internal communicators. Managerial position is negative and significant at the lowest level of internal communication but professional position is negative and significant at the highest level. This suggests that managerial position can explain less perceived red tape only for the managers who do not frequently communicate with inside persons. However, even if managers frequently communicate within the organization, their professional responsibility could make them feel less burdened by rules, regulations, or procedures.

Table 5 presents the results of the same model except the partitions run by the four quartiles of client communication. This shows what happens when managers frequently communicate with their clients. For managers who vividly communicate with clients, the time spent on internal communication results in more perception of red tape; thus, red tape perception of those who do not frequently communicate with clients is not affected by the degree of internal communication. Sector and size show a similar pattern as that shown in Table 4. Thus, despite the degree of internal or client communication, both sector and size are significantly related to red tape perception. While managerial position is significant only at the lower level of internal communication, the coefficient of managerial position is negative and significant only at the highest level of client communication. Thus, only for strongly client-oriented managers is managerial position negatively associated with red tape perception.

These interaction analyses focus on illustrating how the relationships evolve at different levels of each communication behavior. Because internal communication and client communication are reciprocal, both analyses have similar patterns. If a manager spends almost

all of his or her time communicating with inside persons, he or she does not have enough time to communicate with others, including clients. Thus, the increasing pattern of internal communication automatically means the decreasing pattern of client communication. In spite of this limitation, the assessment of those interactions is valuable to explain how organizational communication influences red tape perception.

Table 5. Client Communication Interactions

Dependent Variable: Red tape perception					
Variable	Quartile of client communication 4=best				
	All	1	2	3	4
Internal communication	0.007** (2.47)	-0.01 (-1.33)	0.002 (0.16)	-0.002 (-0.23)	0.031** (4.17)
Sector(1=nonprofit)	-1.309** (-4.94)	-1.943** (-3.47)	-0.516 (-0.66)	-1.498** (-3.39)	-1.177** (-2.33)
Size	0.345** (6.98)	0.282** (3.3)	0.359** (2.54)	0.351** (3.83)	0.347** (3.59)
Managerial position	-1.075** (-3.01)	-0.273 (-0.37)	-1.671 (-1.36)	-0.85 (-1.28)	-1.362** (-2.41)
Professional position	-1.031** (-2.78)	-0.608 (-0.81)	-2.326* (-1.9)	-0.908 (-1.31)	-0.632 (-1.05)
Technical position	-0.401 (-0.87)	0.712 (0.87)	-0.708 (-0.44)	-0.469 (-0.51)	-0.952 (-1.21)
Managerial authority	-0.002 (-1.52)	0.001 (0.43)	-0.002 (-0.29)	-0.003** (-2.79)	0.003 (0.99)
Years on the job	-0.009 (-0.77)	-0.004 (-0.19)	-0.01 (-0.31)	0.008 (0.37)	-0.034 (-1.43)
Male	-0.114 (-0.77)	-0.236 (-0.87)	0.15 (0.38)	0.121 (0.45)	-0.488* (-1.72)
Age	-0.013 (-1.49)	0 (0.01)	-0.043* (-1.72)	0.004 (0.24)	-0.016 (-0.96)
Constant	5.847** (9.09)	6.35** (5.03)	7.787** (3.84)	5.333** (4.45)	5.518** (4.51)
N	921	225	145	281	270
r ²	0.348	0.256	0.233	0.335	0.422
F	48.595	7.376	4.074	13.591	18.901
mean red tape	6.03	4.64	6.17	6.36	6.66
Mean client comm	20.56	0.002	4.16	16.14	50.81

*Note: t-scores in parentheses; *p<.10; ** p<.05*

SUMMARY

This paper started was guided by the following questions: Do public managers frequently communicate with clients?; Does the nonprofit manager more frequently communicate with clients than public managers?; With whom are public managers or nonprofit managers communicating?; and Does their communication influence the perception of organizational rules and procedures? Even though communication is a very important domain for improving the relationships among workers as well as with inter-organizational partners, including citizens, other organizations, other departments, clients, and so on, organizational communication and managerial issues have been ignored in scholarship. The primary purpose of this paper is to explore the impacts of communication on red tape perception.

This study presents several surprising but provocative findings as well. The first involves a sector-based difference. In the nonprofit sample, neither communication type has the explanatory power to explain red tape perception, but in the public sample, client-oriented communication behaviors of managers are negatively associated with their red tape perception. In addition, job characteristics are more likely to explain the red tape in the public sector sample than in the nonprofit sample. The future works can address what kinds of alternative factors are determining the red tape perception among nonprofit managers. It will be both interesting and possibly helpful to find out why job characteristics could not explain anything about red tape perception of nonprofit managers while some of job characteristics are related to public managers' red tape perception.

Second, the factors driving red tape perception vary over the level of a manager's communication type. For client-oriented communicators, time spent on internal communication

induces managers recognize more red tape. The boundary spanners might unfamiliar with rules, regulations, and procedures that are usually generated inside the organization so that they could feel burdensome when they should do something related to inside jobs. Besides, managers at the peripheral area may be more vulnerable to opinions from outside of organization. For example, everyday they might need to face complaints from clients and deliver them into the organization; then, they might sympathize with clients in their complaints against their organization. Therefore, joint effect of client communication and internal communication can be different.

Finally, organizational characteristics, sector differences, and the size of organizations, strongly explain managers' red tape perception. In general, nonprofit managers are likely to have less red tape perception than public managers. Sector plays an important role for client communicators as well as some internal communicators; however, highly internal-oriented communicators are not affected by sector on determining their red tape perception. Organization size is always positively and significantly associated with red tape perception regardless of whom managers are communicating with. Thus, the data suggest that managers perceive red tape not because of personal or job-related reasons but because of organizational structures.

For a decade, red tape has been one of the major topics that many scholars in public administration field have investigated. Nevertheless, research on 1) communication and its impacts on red tape perception and 2) red tape in nonprofit organizations still remains unexplored. Despite some theoretical weaknesses and methodological and data limitations, the topic and findings are significant for the future works.

Appendix A. Variables

Dependent Variables:

For *Red Tape Perception*, the respondents rated the following item on a 10 point scale, with 10 indicating the higher level of red tape:

- If red tape is defined as “burdensome administrative rules and procedures that have negative effects on the organization’s effectiveness,” how would you assess the level of red tape in your organization?

Independent Variables:

Communication type variables were made up of the following items. Each item is continuous variable from 0 to 100.

- During the last five working days, what percentage the work-related mail, email, and phone calls you sent went to each of the following categories of recipients? (percentages should add up to 100)

Recipient	% of correspondence	Variable items
Persons within this organization		Internal communication
Clients of this organization		Client communication
Other government agencies or institutions		-
Private companies		-
Nonprofit organizations		-

Control Variables:

Organizational characteristics:

Sector was coded by a dummy variable with 1 signifying a nonprofit organization and 0 signifying a public organization.

Size is measured by logarithm of the full time equivalent employees working for the organization

Job characteristics:

Job positions include 1) managerial responsibility, 2) professional responsibility (e.g. legal, accounting), and 3) technical responsibility. Each job position was coded by a dummy variable with 1 signifying yes and 0 signifying no.

Managerial authority is measured by the total number of employees supervised.

Years on the job was calculated by subtracting “year job started” from 2007. The survey was closed in 2006; if a respondent started his/her job in 2006, his or her “years on the job” is coded

as 1 by subtracting 2006 from 2007. Maximum 'years on the job' is 40 and minimum is 1. The mean is 8.63 and the standard deviation of 6.49.

Personal characteristics:

Gender was coded by a dummy variable, with 1 signifying male and 2 signifying female.

Age is a continuous variable.

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