

Julia K. Hagn

UNICEF: Caught in a Hypocrisy Loop

The Institutionalization of Organized Hypocrisy at the United Nations Children's Fund



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For David

*"Once you work with UNICEF you fall in love with the organization. At the same time we are working ourselves to death by constraints of internal systems. We burn out. We dream of work, staff love their work, we are driven by passion, but there is a contradiction."
(UNICEF staff member)*

Acknowledgement

The present study on the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was accepted as dissertation by the faculty of social sciences at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München in winter semester 2014/15. Actually, I did not intend to pick UNICEF as a topic for my thesis. I once worked for the German National Committee for UNICEF and felt too close to the organization to undertake unbiased research. As distance grew, not only memories of wonderful colleagues I had the pleasure to work with remained, but also the sense that the organization suffers from some sort of contradiction, which I was not able to grasp. Since the rather descriptive literature on UNICEF could not answer my questions, I started to engage in research in order to understand the phenomenon. For me personally, the result was worth the effort, and I would be happy if it is also of value for those who work in, with or about organizations.

Even though the book takes on a critical lens on several aspects of the organization, I fully appreciate the excellent work performed by UNICEF employees every day under oftentimes very difficult conditions. Never in my life have I seen so many people deeply dedicated to one cause – the betterment of children worldwide. I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to all UNICEF staff who shared their insights, experience and thoughts with me. Without their knowledge, cooperation and frankness this book would not have been possible.

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Julia K. Hagn

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List of Abbreviations

BNPA	Basic Needs Programming Approach
CECD	Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSD(R)	Child Survival and Development (Revolution)
DAP	Diagonal Approach to Programming
EB (dec.)	Executive Board (decision)
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EI	Expert Interview
EU	European Union
GA	General Assembly (of the UN)
GAVI	Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization
GOBI	Growth monitoring, Oral rehydration, Breastfeeding and Immunization
HRBAP	Human Rights-based Approach to Programming
IECD	Integrated Early Childhood Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMCI	Integrated Management of Childhood Illness
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
IO(s)	International Organization(s)
IR	International Relations
ITN	Insecticide-Treated Mosquito Nets
IYC	International Year of the Child
KPI	Key Performance Indicator
LFA	Logical Framework Approach
MDG(s)	Millennium Development Goal(s)
MT(S)P	Medium-Term (Strategic) Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NID	National Immunization Day
ODA	Official Development Assistance

List of Abbreviations

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OP	Operative Paragraph
para	paragraph
PAT	Principal Agent Theory
PHC	Primary Health Care
PP	Preambulatory Paragraph
PPP	Public Private Partnership
RBM	Results Based Management
RDT	Resource Dependence Theory
SOP	Standard Operating Procedures
SOWCR	State of the World's Children Report
SSC	United Nations Special Session on Children
U5MR	Under-5-Mortality-Rate
UCI	Universal Childhood Immunization
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDG	United Nations Development Group
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN GA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations (International) Children's (Emergency) Fund
UNICEF ESAR	UNICEF East and Southern Africa Region
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (programming area)
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WSC	World Summit for Children
WTO	World Trade Organization

Zusammenfassung

Seit der Verabschiedung der UN-Kinderrechtskonvention (KRK) im Jahr 1989 pflegt UNICEF in zunehmendem Maße das Image, die zentrale Kinderrechtsorganisation der Welt zu sein. Dementsprechend betont die UN-Organisation, den Kinderrechtsansatz in all ihren Programmen verankert zu haben. Eine Auswertung der durchgeführten Projekte von 1980 bis 2012 offenbart indes, dass der größte Teil der Programme auch nach der Annahme der KRK als für die UNICEF Programmarbeit zentralen Dokument im Jahr 1996 auf die Erfüllung der elementaren Bedürfnisse von Kindern in den Bereichen Gesundheit, Ernährung, Wasser und Hygiene sowie Bildung zielte. Damit entsprachen sie in weiten Teilen dem von UNICEF bis Mitte der 1990er-Jahre verfolgten Grundbedürfnisansatz. Die Umsetzung eines auf Rechten basierenden Programmansatzes erfordert jedoch eine andere operative Ausgestaltung der Programme als der Grundbedürfnisansatz. Während letztere nach dem Gießkannenprinzip basale Hilfe zur Verfügung stellen, fördert ein Rechtsansatz systemischen Wandel in den Programmländern und muss sich daher mit Themen wie der Ressourcenverteilung in einer Gesellschaft und Fragen der Partizipation auseinandersetzen. Zwischen beiden Ansätzen besteht ein Zielkonflikt insofern, als die Implementierung kleinteiliger Projekte, z.B. Bau von Latrinen und Training für freiwillige Gesundheitshelfer, systematischen Wandel behindert.

Die politischen Implikationen einer auf Rechten basierenden Programmgestaltung sind für eine von Regierungen abhängige Organisation wie UNICEF besonders problematisch. Die Realisierung von Grundbedürfnissen lässt sich mittels einvernehmlicher Kooperation mit den Verantwortlichen in Politik und Verwaltung der Zielländer erreichen. Die Durchsetzung von Rechten hingegen setzt nicht selten weitgehende politische, rechtliche und soziale Veränderungen in den Zielländern voraus, die nicht unbedingt von den Entscheidungsträgern gewünscht werden. Konfliktvermeidung als Strategie, die sich für den Grundbedürfnisansatz anbietet, ist für einen auf die Umsetzung von Rechten basierenden Programmansatz wenig(er) tauglich.

Aufgrund der grundlegenden Unterschiede beider Ansätze führte UNICEFs Anspruch, Kinderrechten zur Durchsetzung zu verhelfen, bei gleichzeitiger Grundbedürfnispraxis zu internen Spannungen und Wider-

sprüchen zwischen Rhetorik und Handlung. Dennoch gelang es der Organisation in der Vergangenheit, ihren Ruf als wirkungsmächtige Kinderrechtsorganisation zu stärken und ihre finanzielle Basis, die allein aus freiwilligen Leistungen besteht, immens auszubauen. Der Widerspruch zwischen ihrer Rhetorik und ihren Handlungen war und ist hingegen kein (öffentliches) Thema.

In der Forschung hat sich für derartige Widersprüche zwischen Rhetorik und Handlungen bei Organisationen der Begriff „Organisierte Scheinheiligkeit“ (Organized Hypocrisy) etabliert. Das Konzept der Organisierten Scheinheiligkeit beschreibt die Entkoppelung von Rhetorik und Handlungen als Reaktion auf Anforderungen der organisationalen Umwelt(en), die entweder in sich selbst inkompatibel oder mit dem vorherrschenden Selbstverständnis und der Arbeitsweise von Organisationen nicht vereinbar sind. So funktional die Trennung von Rhetorik und Handlung für eine Organisation kurzfristig sein kann, so riskant ist sie auch. Wird öffentlich bekannt, dass eine Organisation mit ihren Aktivitäten nicht das erfüllt, was sie behauptet zu tun, läuft sie Gefahr, dass ihr die Umwelt Ressourcen und Legitimität entzieht, die für das Überleben der Organisation entscheidend sind. Aufgrund dieses Risikos ist eigentlich nicht zu erwarten, dass sich eine Organisation dieser Strategie langfristig bedient.

Da die Organisierte Scheinheiligkeit im Falle von UNICEF jedoch über mehrere Jahrzehnte zu beobachten ist, geht diese Arbeit der bislang unerforschten Frage über die Bedingungsfaktoren nach, die trotz des dargestellten Risikos zu einer Persistenz von verdeckter organisierter Scheinheiligkeit führen. Das zentrale Argument zur Erklärung des Phänomens lautet, dass Organisierte Scheinheiligkeit als maßgebendes Verhalten in UNICEF institutionalisiert wurde. Ausgehend von der Annahme, dass eine Organisation Umweltaforderungen nicht auf Dauer mittels der Trennung von Rhetorik und Handlungen von ihren operativen Aktivitäten fernhalten kann, wird dargelegt, wie Umweltaforderungen – hier konkret die Berücksichtigung der Menschenrechtsnorm in der Programmarbeit von UNICEF – eine Organisation vollständig durchdringen können. Die Diffusion der Menschenrechtsnorm in UNICEF's Programmarbeit hatte eine Rivalität zwischen den Normen „Befriedigung der Grundbedürfnisse“ und „Durchsetzung von (Kinder)Rechten“ zur Folge, die zum einen die Organisierte Scheinheiligkeit aufrecht erhielt und zum anderen einen Prozess interner Fragmentierung in Gang setzte. Da UNICEF infolgedessen nicht mehr als kohärente organisationale Einheit agieren konnte, kam es erneut zu Abweichungen zwischen der Rhetorik und den Aktivitäten der Organisation. Die Organisierte Scheinheiligkeit wird somit zweifach indu-

ziert: zum einen durch die Unvereinbarkeit einer neuen, aus der organisationalen Umwelt inkorporierten Norm mit der in der Organisation traditionellen Vorgehensweise; zum anderen durch die daraus resultierenden Diskrepanzen in den Prioritäten und der Arbeitsweise einzelner Teile der Organisation, wie dies unter den Länderbüros oder auch im Verhältnis von Länderbüros und Zentrale in New York der Fall war. Aufgrund eines Zusammenspiels sich gegenseitig verstärkender externer und interner Faktoren wurde die Trennung von Rhetorik und Handlungen tief in UNICEF verankert und mit der Zeit als maßgebendes Verhalten institutionalisiert.

Für die Erklärung des Prozesses der Institutionalisierung von Organisierter Scheinheiligkeit wurde unter Rückgriff auf Erkenntnisse der Wissenssoziologie ein Kreislauf-Modell entwickelt, das Zeit als entscheidenden Erklärungsfaktor einbezieht und die Dynamiken während des Institutionalisierungsprozesses in den Blick nimmt. Auf diese Weise erklärt die Arbeit erstens die grundsätzliche Frage, wie sich der Institutionalisierungsprozess in komplexen Organisationen ganz allgemein vollzieht. Er wird mithilfe einer dialektischen Struktur-Agent-Beziehung auf der organisationalen Ebene erfasst und als Dreischritt bestehend aus 1. Routinisierung, 2. Objektivierung und Internalisierung sowie 3. Sedimentierung konzipiert. Zweitens werden die Wechselwirkungen dargelegt, die zu einer Institutionalisierung der Organisierten Scheinheiligkeit führen. Dabei ist hervorzuheben, dass Faktoren wie eine heterogene Zusammensetzung des Personals, die üblicherweise eine Institutionalisierung eher verhindern, die Institutionalisierung von Organisierter Scheinheiligkeit sogar befördern. Als institutionalisiertes Verhaltensmuster stellt die Organisierte Scheinheiligkeit einen untrennbaren Teil der Organisationswelt dar, der von ihren Mitgliedern konstant reproduziert und von neuem Personal als objektive Wirklichkeit internalisiert wird.

Introduction

*"Organizations tend to present themselves in a way that is inconsistent with the way in which they function."
(Brunsson 2006: 39)*

Theme of the Book

Among the numerous agencies, funds and programmes of the United Nations (UN), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) deserves special attention because it presents an unanticipated success story. Originally established in 1946 as a temporary solution to provide relief assistance to children in the war-torn countries after World War II the organization was actually supposed to close down operations after the most urgent post-war needs of children had been met. UNICEF, however, not only managed to survive against all odds. The organization that received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965 has built up a worldwide reputation as the lead agency for children, one that no longer provides only humanitarian assistance, but works on a broad and global scale towards the realization of children's rights. Unlike other organizations of the UN, such as the World Bank (Weaver 2008) and WTO (Bukanovsky 2010), UNICEF is rarely exposed to public criticism. On the contrary, it is widely viewed as a high-performing organization with an impressive record of success. Its name is often cited favourably in the media and its "good works" are visible on TV. (GivingWorks 2007: 7-8; Beigbeder 2001: xi; UNICEF 1995a: 2; Brechin/Ness 1988: 247; UNICEF 1994a: XII-9)

UNICEF's popularity all over the world is also reflected by an impressive expansion of its resource base: Although financed exclusively through voluntary contributions from governments, other organizations, businesses and supporting individuals, UNICEF increased its income more than tenfold during the period under investigation for this study, from US\$ 315.6 million in 1971 to US\$ 3,682 million in 2010. (Global Policy Forum 2014¹) Surely, its very compelling mandate – the betterment

of children who are often referred to as "the future" in public discourse – strongly contributed to this success. However, other factors played their parts as well: governments, many of them from developing countries, which advocated for UNICEF's continued existence, at times against strong resistance from other UN agencies and the USA; ambitious, sometimes visionary, and autonomous Executive Directors; and an overall very dedicated staff. (Black 1996: 8; Beigbeder 2001: 14-15)

Since the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), UNICEF increasingly cultivates an image as "the world's children's rights organisation". (UNICEF 2002b: 17) Accordingly, the organization claims to have been "a leading architect and proponent of the human rights-based approach to programming" since 1988. (UNICEF 2009f: 12) In order to fulfill the rights of children as enshrined in the CRC, the organization asserts to have incorporated the CRC in all aspects of its work. (UNICEF 2009f: 12; UNICEF 2005a: para 99) Yet, those statements are in contrast to a number of UNICEF's activities on the ground. Many UNICEF programmes are in fact primarily concerned with fulfilling children's basic survival needs, particularly in the traditional areas of health, nutrition, water and sanitation, which still form the core of UNICEF's work. The needs-based tradition of implementing small-scale projects, for example latrine construction or training of voluntary health workers in villages, impedes systemic change that has to address issues like resource distribution and socio-political participation. (UNICEF 2002c: 14) Overall, the organization's activities concerning the fulfillment of children's rights fall short of expectations. Quite often, needs are simply translated into rights. (EI 2) Moreover, the organization does not commit the human and financial resources to rights-based programming that would match its rhetorical commitments. (UNICEF 2004e: 6) The inconsistencies between UNICEF's rhetorical commitment to child rights and its programming activities were repeatedly highlighted by internal and external evaluations. (e.g. UNICEF 2002b; UNICEF 2004b; UNICEF 2004e; Universal Management Group 2012) However, they persist despite the keenest assurances of the organization to address the shortcomings.

In addition to a talk-action gap regarding its rights-based programming, UNICEF struggles with serious internal problems that defy its reputation as an effective and efficient organization: lack of accountability and trans-

1 Figures collected from UNICEF sources. Information available at: www.globalpolicy.org/un-finance [27 May 2017].

parency, instances of fraud, reticence to address performance issues, excessive bureaucracy, slow action, mistrust, focus on processes rather than results, tendency to write new rules or manuals as a response when something goes wrong, poor internal communications, and an attitude of superiority that results in uneasy partnerships. (UNICEF 2009a) The flexibility for which UNICEF was long known and praised has been stifled by stiffness that frustrates staff and partners. (Beigbeder 2001: 23; GivingWorks 2007: 41) For instance, the emphasis that UNICEF places on procedural aspects has contributed to perceptions that "UNICEF is not truly collaborative". (GivingWorks 2007: 10) Despite two decades of reform initiatives², UNICEF is unable to get a grip on many of these problems. During a review undertaken to assess the human resource management in the organization in the mid-2000s, staff raised the question of whether anything was really going to change this time. (UNICEF 2007c: 24)

According to the insights of a particular rationalist organization theory, performance gaps and internal decay should lead to the organization's decline, if not death, notably in light of UNICEF's weak constitutional basis as a UN Fund that has to compete with many other agencies for financial support. (Donaldson 2003: 45) Yet UNICEF has, despite this, even succeeded in significantly enhancing its success regardless of these shortcomings.³ It is particularly puzzling that UNICEF maintains its image as the

2 Following a comprehensive management study in 1994, UNICEF introduced a Management Excellence Programme to address the issues raised such as an effective field management, the accountability structure and staff deployment. The excellence theme was carried forward into the Medium Term Strategic Plan for the period 2002-2005. In the years to come, further reform efforts were undertaken in response to shortcomings revealed by more recent evaluations. (UNICEF 2004b: 8-9; UNICEF 2007c; GivingWorks 2007; UNICEF 2010a)

3 Meyer and Zucker (1989) investigated the phenomenon of permanently failing, but nevertheless persistent organizations, by exploring both the macro and the micro level of organizations. The authors evaluated performance as the extent to which the official goals of owners are accomplished. They argue that permanently failing organizations yield benefits that motivate investment in and maintenance of them, but that these benefits accrue to those who are dependent on organizations rather than to those who legally own or control them. The interests of those seeking to maintain organizations and of those seeking high performance become antagonistic, if exogenous events cause performance to deteriorate, which occurs sooner or later in almost all organizations.

In this sense, inconsistencies between talk and action can be regarded as a permanent failure of UNICEF to meet its proclaimed goals or, to be more specific, the goals of its Executive Board. However, this study does not share the view that

world's leading child rights organization that is constantly nurtured by UNICEF's rhetoric, but unequalled by many of the organization's actions. Moreover, considering the fact that actions repeatedly fall short of rhetorical commitments, why is the organization never accused of hypocritical behavior? Finally, how is it possible that the pertinacious internal problems do not severely harm UNICEF's acclaim as effective organization?

UNICEF displays a phenomenon that only recently became known to a broader research community as Organized Hypocrisy, understood as inconsistencies between talk and action of an organization resulting from conflicting demands. (Brunsson 1989, 2006) As indicated above, Organized Hypocrisy in UNICEF is characterized by a gap between proclaimed priorities and goals and the reality of UNICEF's programming activities. The concept of Organized Hypocrisy provides a fruitful approach to explain the puzzle, since it points to the usefulness of separating talk from action in order to secure outside legitimacy and resources, while at the same time protecting the internal workings of the organization from external influences. Accordingly, complex organizations survive and even flourish through rhetorically satisfying external demands, e.g. for efficiency or the adoption of new tasks, while keeping their actions on the ground to business as usual.

Functional as Organized Hypocrisy may be for the success of an organization, it is a "double-edged sword". (Weaver 2008: 177) The disclosure of Organized Hypocrisy – which is in fact very likely – can cause exactly what it aimed to prevent: the withdrawal of external support and, thus, a loss of legitimacy and resources on which particularly the multi-lateral governmental agencies of the UN depend. (Weaver 2008: 6, 177) Therefore, one should expect Organized Hypocrisy to be a rather temporary phenomenon. Yet, UNICEF's talk-action gap, as regards the organization's programmes, has been observable since the late 1980s and, thus, can no longer be considered short-term. Moreover, the organization successfully manages to conceal Organized Hypocrisy, so that public accusations of hypocritical behavior can be held at arm's length. The persistence of Organized Hypocrisy is as much an explanation of UNICEF's success in

an organization, which is not meeting its rhetorical claims, is a failing organization. Rather, UNICEF does produce substantial action also under conditions of Organized Hypocrisy. Besides, the case of UNICEF reveals that the survival of an organization does not only depend on interest groups but also on the organization's capability to detract from shortcomings by way of Organized Hypocrisy.

light of failures as it is puzzling, because we would not expect Organized Hypocrisy to be displayed for a long time. Another striking feature in UNICEF is that most staff feels confident to apply a rights-based approach to programming, even if officers in the field are in fact pursuing a rather traditional community service approach. Thus, inconsistencies between talk and action are reflected by staff resulting in the solidification of existing inconsistencies in programme implementation.

How can the unexpected durability of Organized Hypocrisy be explained? The question shall be answered with the help of the following thesis that was derived from theoretical deliberations: The separation of talk and action has become an institutionalized behavior at UNICEF. In support of this argument, the study investigates the phenomenon of Organized Hypocrisy at UNICEF by asking two inter-related research questions that were split for analytical reasons:

1. How does the institutionalization of Organized Hypocrisy at UNICEF occur?

2. Why is Organized Hypocrisy institutionalized as a standard behavior? Whereas the concept of Organized Hypocrisy has so far been applied in a rather static way, this book focuses precisely on the dynamics over a specific period of time that are responsible for the continued application of Organized Hypocrisy and, finally, its institutionalization as behavior pattern (the "how" question). To this end, the processes that occur on the agent level, the organization, are investigated. Moreover, an examination of the dialectic interplay between the agent and its environment shall explore the key factors that cause the institutionalization of Organized Hypocrisy (the "why" question). In so doing, the concept of Organized Hypocrisy can be transformed into a process model that is capable to explain the institutionalization of Organized Hypocrisy in an organization.

The aim of providing an explanation for the institutionalization of Organized Hypocrisy is twofold: First, to enrich current research on Organized Hypocrisy in International Organizations (IOs) that have long been neglected as objects of study in International Relations (IR).⁴ (Bar-

4 Following its firm ground in (neo)realism, IR was not very interested in the study of IOs for most part of the post-WW II decades. When the insight grew that not all phenomena of international politics can be explained with rational-actor models enforcing their interest in an anarchic international system, also institutions and with them, IOs, gained in importance. However, due to IR's focus on the broad picture, if not the general theory, the discipline sought to explain the institutionalization of the state community in general and the analysis of the social

nett/Finnemore 2004; Benner et al. 2009; Biermann/Siebenhüner 2009; Venzke 2008) In particular, the explanatory power of the theoretical concept of Organized Hypocrisy shall be enhanced. Second, the model developed in this study aims to close a gap in the sociological institutionalization literature, which lacks a plausible theory of institutionalization processes in organizations. To this end, the book further illuminates the underexplored phenomenon of unintended institutionalization processes, that is, when a behavior pattern becomes institutionalized as a side effect – one could even say collateral damage – of the institutionalization of a certain element, e.g. a new norm.

Having this in mind, the study is based on the premise that IOs are actors in their own right that do matter in international politics. (Cf. Barnett/Finnemore 2004; Oestreich 2012; Reinalda/Verbeek 1998) While the term "International Organizations" comprises profit and non-governmental organizations, I join the view of Barnett and Finnemore who define an IO as "an organization that has representatives from three or more states supporting a permanent secretariat to perform ongoing tasks related to a common purpose". (Barnett/Finnemore 2004: 177) IOs are thus understood as inter-governmental organizations that comprise a political governing body and an administrative structure equipped with specific resources in order to fulfill a certain mandate. (Hirschmann 2012: 172) More broadly, IOs belong to a specific class of international social institutions "characterized by behavioral patterns based on international norms and rules, which prescribe behavioral roles in recurring situations that lead to a convergence of reciprocal expectations".⁵ (Rittberger/Zangl 2006: 6) This broader perspective is taken into account by drawing particularly on organizations' capacity to convey a more or less cohesive reality, characterized by normative and affective as well as cognitive components.

and political processes that underlie international society in particular. (Simmons/Martin 2002: 197). Still, however, IR theorizing adhered largely to a state-centric view. Notably the increasing occupation with broader questions of governance, e.g. within the scope of regime theory, has left behind "international institutions of a formal kind" (Kratohwil/Ruggie 1986: 771), that is, International Organizations like the UN and its related agencies. Only since the very late 1990s has attention been given to IO autonomy and its consequences for international politics. (Martin/Simmons 1998: 743; Reinalda/Verbeek 1998)

- 5 IOs have to be differentiated from international regimes. In contrast to IOs, regimes always relate to specific issue areas and do not function as actors. (Rittberger/Zangl 2006: 6-7) Notably the latter is decisive for this study, since it is based on the assumption that IOs do have actor capacity.

Even though the interpretive explanation that will be offered is tailored to UNICEF, it may inspire research on IOs in general and in particular yield a broader interest in the consequences of the contradictory demands IOs face. Since all inter-governmental organizations confront the problem of satisfying competing demands in order to survive, the insights derived can most likely be applied to other IOs with similar prerequisites. They are not, however, applicable to for-profit organizations such as businesses for three main reasons: First, private corporations have more leeway for action and capacity for self-determination than (inter-)governmental organizations, since they are autonomous entities by their very nature. Second, the environments in which companies act look very different from those of IOs. Third, and related to the former, the demands made on profit organizations differ and, thus, require different solutions. Nevertheless, some aspects of this study, notably the consequences of external pressure on the internal workings of an organization, might serve as a good starting point for studying also these organizations from a new angle.

The Relevance of Research on International Organizations

To many IR scholars, particularly (neo)realists, the internal problems of IOs may appear unworthy of investigation, because they perceive them to be rather unimportant to the explanation of phenomena of international politics. However, even though IOs are "especially burdened by unique constraints" such as limited control over goals (Allison/Zelikow 1999: 149), they do in fact play a significant role in world politics. They do so on a more abstract level, through both reflecting the values and norms on which they are founded and influencing the values and norms of their members. (Park 2006) On a more tangible level, IOs have an impact on single countries through their operational work on the ground, e.g. by building schools, helping national economies and intervening in civil conflicts. Thus, IOs "may shape the actions of states depending on the configuration of their interests, as neo-institutionalists maintain, but they can also, through the values and norms embedded in them, influence the interests and identities of states and thus, ultimately, the structure of the international system". (Rittberger/Zangl 2006: 23) For example, NATO has contributed to creating the conditions for the expansion of the Western European democratic security community. It has done so through the development of shared identities and meanings around liberal-democratic

values, the establishment of many-sided and direct relations amongst the states and their societies, and the establishment of democratic institutions of government. (Lucarelli 2005: 102) In the area of health, the influence of the World Health Organization (WHO) is highly significant. When the WHO proclaimed Ebola to be a public health emergency of international concern in summer 2014, it induced states, particularly the US, to intensify their research efforts to find a serum. (Rabin 2014) The International Monetary Fund (IMF) in turn can force even sizable states to adopt policies they would not otherwise adopt because of the Fund's financial resources. (Barnett/Finnemore 2004: 6)

Notably due to their capacity for autonomous action without explicit authorization from their member states, indeed even against the latter's interests, IOs are a most relevant and fruitful subject of research for IR scholars. It is, however, only possible to fully understand the actions of IOs if we also take a look at their internal workings, notably the dynamics in IOs that may cause the so-called pathologies of IOs, which range from outright violation of their mandate and low performance to weak compliance with prescriptions and Organized Hypocrisy. (Barnett/Finnemore 2004: 11, 39-41; Weaver 2008: 3)

Since IOs have the possibility to evade demands to a certain extent by means of Organized Hypocrisy, respective insights can be enriching particularly for principal agent theorists. If an IO separates its rhetoric from its activities, it is more difficult for states – the principals – to monitor the agent to whom they have conferred authority. (Lipson 2007: 6) The internal life of IOs and potential sources of dysfunction should also be of special interest to global governance researchers, because IOs like WHO and the International Labour Organization (ILO) influence world politics through their roles in the so-called new modes of governance such as Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) and transnational networks. (Benner et al. 2009: 204-205) With a view to the preoccupation of IR with broader governance problems in the recent past, Ole Waever reminds us that "we ought to be able to study international organizations" or else "theory gets out of touch with practice". (Waever 1997: 192)

Understanding the reasons for the emergence and persistence of Organized Hypocrisy in an IO is particularly important in light of the fact that IOs are highly predisposed to, even dependent on, hypocritical behavior. (Hirschmann 2012: 171) The conditions that give rise to Organized Hypocrisy are pervasive features of the international system in which IOs act. (Weaver 2008: 182; Lipson 2007: 6) There are "more constituencies to manage" in the international environment (Krasner 1999: 66), from which

IOs depend in terms of legitimacy and resources. Moreover, IOs have to orchestrate numerous local contexts and issues at once, some of which are economically or strategically marginalized. With regard to their tasks, they are regularly caught in a double bind of increasingly ambitious agendas and insufficient support. (Barnett/Finnemore 2004: 39; Dijkzeul/Gordenker 2003: 313) Therefore, IOs face environmental conditions that are in themselves contradictory, if not mutually exclusive. In addition, those demands often clash with internal goals and structures. (Weaver 2008: 28; Lipson 2007: 6)

Environmental demands imposed on an IO can be material or ideational in nature. (Lipson 2007: 7) Organizations may face demands for economization, accompanied by a shrinking allocation of financial resources, as well as demands to integrate a norm such as gender mainstreaming into their programmes. While the former claim is more in line with realist thinking in IR, the latter points to constructivist arguments like those contained in the literature on norm diffusion. (Finnemore/Sikkink 1998; Risse et al. 1999) Even though normative demands may unfold their effect more slowly, they can nevertheless be equally pressing and cause an organization to split its talk from its actions, especially if external norms are incompatible with the ideology of an organization.

Particularly those organizations, whose *raison d'être* highly depends on coordinated action on the ground, as is the case with the UN Children's Fund, will be in serious trouble when they face inconsistent demands. (Brunsson 2006: 13) Since a decision not to consider a strong demand from the relevant environment of an organization endangers its legitimacy and resource base, an IO will try to simultaneously satisfy even contradictory demands. As this is not always possible in practice, not least due to limited resources, the separation of talk ("the way we say we operate") from action ("the way we really operate") provides the solution to the dilemma. (Weaver 2008; Lipson 2007; Brunsson 2006)

Thus, Organized Hypocrisy makes the fulfillment of IOs' mandates possible in the first place, allowing them to manage irreconcilable pressures. For this reason, Organized Hypocrisy can, on the one hand, be regarded as a functional tactic, because it safeguards IOs' capability to act. (Brunsson 2006: xv) On the other hand, literature on IOs classifies Organized Hypocrisy as "pathological" (Weaver 2008: 3), because it "can cause international organizations to betray their missions, cause reforms to fail, undermine efforts to resolve critical global problems, and create or exacerbate gaps between organizational commitments and the resources needed to meet them". (Lipson 2007: 23)