"Brig on the Water"
Gustave Le Gray, 1856

JPNA
Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs

Statement of Purpose

The *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs* (*JPNA*) focuses on providing a connection between the practice and research of public affairs. This is accomplished with scholarly research, practical applications of the research, and no fees for publishing or journal access. *JPNA* publishes research from diverse theoretical, methodological, and disciplinary backgrounds that address topics related to the affairs and management of public and nonprofit organizations.

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Introduction to the Issue

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This edition of *Journal of Public of Nonprofit Affairs (JPNA)* is published during a time of global uncertainty. Indeed, we are now—right now—in the midst of a worldwide pandemic (COVID-19), which will undoubtedly change the world and how we operate within it forever. Facing this reality is, no doubt, daunting. The lives (and, livelihoods) of many have been changed, literally, overnight. Jobs have ended. Family structures have been altered. Responsibilities and worries have increased.

I understand the difficulty that these changes can bring; and, I want to take a moment to pause. In pausing, I want to thank our editors, reviewers, board members, sponsors, and readers for continued support of *JPNA*, many of whom have continued their support while facing significant changes in their own lives due to the pandemic. With all of the uncertainty in the world right now, one thing that I am certain of is that this journal would not be possible without all of you!

In the coming months, we plan to continue publishing timely and high-quality research that you have come to know and expect. We understand, however, if you need more time for reviews, if revisions take a bit longer, or if you simply cannot take on any additional responsibilities at this time—such as serving as a reviewer. Please let us know and we will make all necessary adjustments.

The world is changing. Indeed, it has already changed so much. We must all, therefore, take the necessary time to allow ourselves to adjust. Breathe; and, simply "Be." Thank you once again; and, I hope that you enjoy this edition of *JPNA*.

In this issue of the journal, we have five insightful *Research Articles* as well as a useful *Community Issues in Practice* piece—all of which focus on various aspects of public and nonprofit affairs. In the first *Research Article*, Humphrey (2020) analyzes the 2016 Merit Principles Survey of federal employees to examine the relationship between emotion management and the development of social capital. Her findings demonstrate that federal employees capable of properly regulating their emotional states during interactions with their colleagues perceive themselves as having more social capital. This finding, however, does not hold for non-white employees to the same extent as it does for white employees.

In the second *Research Article*, Mason (2020) uses a national survey of over 150 executives of nonprofit associations to explore the institutional and resource-based challenges associations face when seeking to implement diversity and inclusion (D&I) practices, both within their organizations and throughout their professional fields and trades. Although the findings suggest that nonprofit associations only engage in D&I practices to a modest degree, there is some evidence of institutional entrepreneurism.

In the third *Research Article*, Choi, Lee, and Hur (2020) examine the relationship between social enterprises' social orientation and the organizational commitment of their employees—specifically among Millennial social enterprise employees and social enterprise employees of earlier generations. The findings indicate that a social enterprise's pursuit of social purpose, shared decision-making, and social performance are all positively associated with the organizational commitment of its employees. Additionally, the findings suggest that, in general, Millennials have a lower level of organizational commitment to their social enterprise employer than do earlier generations.

In the fourth *Research Article*, Cooper (2020) examines the relationship between public and non-government employees' personality and their level of job satisfaction. He finds that a five-factor model of personality can help explain variation in job satisfaction of public and non-government workers; and, he finds that workers employed by public sector organizations display similar profiles to those who work in non-government sectors.

In the final *Research Article*, Walk and Andersson (2020) seek to overcome shortcomings of relying on impact factors to assess journal quality in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies. Using survey data collected from nonprofit and civil society researchers in the United States and Europe, they examine which journals these researchers perceive to be quality outlets for nonprofit and civil society scholars. Their findings reveal that, while the impact factor can be one indicator of journal quality, newer outlets without an impact factor are also perceived to be viable outlets for publication by scholars in the field.

Our *Community Issues in Practice* piece by Levine Daniel and Kim (2020) focuses on a timely subject and illustrates how a one-shot intervention can reshape perceptions of creative placemaking that are held by planners, nonplanners, artists, and nonartists.

The issue is completed with Zook's (2020) review of *Financing Nonprofits and Other Social Enterprises: A Benefits Approach* by Dennis R. Young.

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Addressing the Relationship Between Emotion Management and Social Capital: An Analysis of Federal Employees

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Emotion management describes the ability of an employee to regulate the outward manifestation of emotions during personal interactions. Prior studies examining emotions in organizations have often emphasized the production of emotional labor during service delivery transactions with clients. Such a focus has overlooked the emotion management that takes place *between* employees. Using ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression, this study analyzes the 2016 *Merit Principles Survey* of federal employees to examine the relationship between emotion management and the development of social capital. Findings from the study show a positive relationship between emotion management and social capital. These findings provide evidence that employees capable of properly regulating their emotional states during interactions with their colleagues perceive themselves as having more social capital. The findings, however, also indicate that the positive relationship between emotion management and social capital does not hold for employees of color to the same extent that it does for white employees. This could mean that emotion management by employees of color is less likely to lead to increases in social capital as it is for their white counterparts. These findings have important implications for our understanding of emotion management and its impact on how employees navigate their organizations.

Keywords: Emotion Management, Social Capital, Federal Employees

Emotions are essential to our understanding of public organizations. Indeed, within public organizations, employees capable of regulating and adjusting their emotional states help to maintain a healthy work environment through positive interactions with their colleagues (Kiel & Watson, 2009). Outside of these organizations, emotionally skilled employees help to ensure constructive and cordial interactions with the public (Lu & Guy, 2014).

Traditionally, public management scholarship has studied the role of emotions through the production of emotional labor. Defined as "the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (Morris & Feldman, 1996, p. 987), emotional labor represents the ability of employees to conceal or suppress specific emotions to meet the normative expectations of their organization (Kaur & Malodia, 2017).

An essential feature of emotional labor is that it is sold for a wage (Guy & Lee, 2015), giving it exchange value (Hochschild, 1983). This defining feature has led many scholars to study the

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role of emotional labor during service delivery transactions (e.g., Larson, 2008; Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006; Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2009; Yang & Chang, 2008). As an essential component of service delivery (Hsieh, Yang, & Fu, 2012), public management scholars have often relied on emotional labor to gain deeper understanding of individual behavior and organizational effectiveness.

While these studies have provided important insights regarding the emotional experiences of organizational members when interacting with clients, they have generally lacked a discussion of emotional experiences when employees interact with one another as colleagues. Thus, this study seeks to address this gap in the literature by examining the emotion management carried out by employees when interacting with their coworkers.

Building on existing literature, this study examines the relationship between emotion management and the development of social capital. Established through a network of relationships, social capital is a resource that provides a mutual benefit for the actors involved (Putnam, 1995). To draw an understanding of the dynamic between emotion management and social capital, this study addresses two questions. First, is there a relationship between participating in emotion management and the development of social capital? Second, how do gender and race have an impact on the relationship between emotion management and social capital?

These questions contribute to public management scholarship in several ways. First, they provide the field with a deeper understanding of emotion management as it takes place between members of an organization. Emotion management between employees is an essential component of personnel interactions that creates harmony in organizations (Kiel & Watson, 2009). It, however, remains an area lacking extensive research (Puglesi, 1999). Additionally, these questions recognize the potential influence of gender and race, answering recent calls for research that acknowledges and incorporates multiple identities (Bearfield, 2009; Gooden, 2015). Last, these questions connect two concepts—emotion management and social capital—that have often remained separate in the literature but, together, help scholars gain greater insight into individual behavior and organizational outcomes.

Although emotions have provided a nuanced way to understand organizational effectiveness, emotional exchanges remain an undertheorized area of public management scholarship (Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006). In addition, research on emotions has often emphasized emotional labor on behalf of *clients*, rather than emotion management on behalf of *colleagues*. This study, therefore, addresses these gaps in the literature while also incorporating the concept of social capital. This allows for the examination of a unique relationship that can enhance the field's understanding of both emotion management and social capital in the context of public organizations.

The article proceeds as follows: first, a brief review of the literature covering emotions in organizational settings is provided. This is followed by a review of social capital scholarship. Next, the hypotheses used to analyze the relationship between emotion management and social capital are outlined, followed by a presentation of the empirical findings. Last, the conclusion connects the findings to the literature and discusses implications for theory and practice.

Emotions in Organizations: From Emotional Labor to Emotion Management

Interest in the dynamic between emotions and organizations reached new heights in the 1980s with the work of Arlie Hochschild. She first coined the term emotional labor in her book, *The managed heart* (Kaur & Malodia, 2017). Defined as "the management of feeling to create publicly observable facial and bodily display" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7), emotional labor finally

gave a name to a commonly overlooked form of labor in the workplace. Indeed, in an effort to evoke a desired emotional response from another person (Hochschild, 1983; Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2009), employees often balance "their own internal psychological states with organizationally sanctioned ones" (Dehart-Davis, 2017, p. 15). This results in emotional labor.

When completing an interaction, an employee "must intuit the other's state of mind and make split-second adjustments in words, tone, or body language" (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008, p. 187). In short, emotional labor is a role performed by organizational members requiring the management of emotions (Jin & Guy, 2009). Ultimately, emotional labor is tied to an organization's ability to complete its core service functions.

At its genesis, emotional labor research emphasized historically female jobs (e.g., flight attendants) because the range of emotions studied were considered more feminine in nature (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). Since this time, scholars have recognized that many historically male-dominated professions (e.g., police and correctional officers) also require emotional labor. As such, emotional labor research has expanded to examine these areas (Martin, 1999; Schaible & Gecas, 2010; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989).

Regardless of the profession under examination, however, a primary area of interest among scholars has been the influence of emotional labor on employee well-being (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). Employee well-being has often been measured by job satisfaction and employee burnout. While prior research has found that emotional labor is positively related to social capital (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008; Yang & Guy, 2015), its relationship to burnout is more complex.

Indeed, the relationship between emotional labor and burnout is contingent on the type of emotional work expressed. Employees participating in surface acting, or presenting an emotion they are not actually feeling (Grandey, 2000; 2003; Hochschild, 1983), are more likely to experience burnout. However, employees participating in deep acting, or attempting to modify their feelings to align with socially expected outward displays (Grandey, 2000; 2003; Hochschild, 1983), experience less burnout (Guy et al., 2008). Overall, prior research has shown that producing emotional labor has a significant impact on the well-being of an organization's members.

Although other disciplines have long explored the many facets of emotions in organizational settings, discussion of emotions did not become commonplace in public administration until the 21st century. Guy and Newman (2004) are credited with introducing the field of public administration to emotional labor with their article, *Women's jobs, men's jobs: Sex segregation and emotional labor*. Prior to this, there was a notable absence of emotions from the field's scholarship—perhaps due to the fact that, during the industrial era, emotions were perceived as a threat to effective work by organizational leaders (Jin & Guy, 2009).

During this time, emotions were viewed as a barrier against rationality and neutrality (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995). This led to the exclusion of emotional labor as a valuable contribution from organizational members. Thus, the production of emotional labor was undercompensated, if compensated at all, within organizational settings (Guy & Newman, 2004). However, scholars soon began to acknowledge the utility in using emotions as a framework to understand pay inequities and performance appraisals among public sector employees (Guy & Newman, 2004; Mastracci, Newman, & Guy, 2006; Steinberg, 1999).

Scholars also begun to recognize that employees possessing skills relating to emotional labor had a greater ability to ensure that citizens had positive service encounters with their government (Lu & Guy, 2014). Public organizations establish an environment that teaches employees which emotions are appropriate to convey (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Employees are then expected to meet the emotional expectations of their organization and clients.

The increasing importance of emotional labor within public sector institutions is clear by recent growth in scholarship examining emotional labor's relationship with organizational performance (Meier et al., 2006), employee motivation (Hsieh, Yang, & Fu, 2012), job satisfaction (Jin & Guy, 2009; Kaur & Malodia, 2017), and leadership (Kiel & Watson, 2009; Lu & Guy, 2014; Newman et al., 2009). While these empirical developments have been essential to our understanding of emotions within public organizations, scholars have overlooked the potential effects of emotion management and the implications that this can have on coworker relationships and organizational effectiveness.

How Is Emotion Management Unique?

Although closely related, emotion management is distinct from emotional labor. Indeed, emotion management, which still involves regulating outward manifestations of emotions during personal interactions (Pugliesi, 1999) similar to emotional labor, does not have exchange value like emotional labor since it is not sold to a client (Hochschild, 1983). Stated another way, emotion management is not a required work task exchanged for a price (Harlow, 2003). Rather, emotion management is a helpful contribution granted to another individual within the organization (Bolton, 2005). It is not a wage-based organizationally required task like emotional labor (Hochschild, 1990).

As a result, emotion management is considered a form of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), which can be defined as "helpful behaviors that support the social fabric of the organization that are outside of the core job tasks" (Fox, Spector, Goh, Bruursema, & Kessler, 2012, p. 201). Although OCB does not directly improve task performance or the completion of technical functions, it does enhance the environment in which employees must complete their core job duties (Organ, 1997).

In general, there are five types of organizational citizenship behaviors: altruism, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, courtesy, and civic virtue (Organ, 1988). Although emotion management does not align directly with any of these behaviors, it is strongly related to altruism and courtesy. Collectively, altruism and courtesy represent discretionary employee behaviors that attempt to minimize work-related issues and provide support to other employees when resolving organizationally relevant problems (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990). These two types of OCBs form the basis for interpersonal relationships among employees.

Emotion management is similar in that it also emphasizes the significance of employees' interpersonal relationships, but it does so while paying specific attention to the regulation of emotions. Since emotional regulation is not contractual or considered a required task, it tends to align more with the concept of emotion management than emotional labor (Niven, Totterdell, & Holman, 2009).

Employees participating in emotion management are essential to maintaining cordial relationships in the workplace because of their ability to connect with other members of the organization (Kiel & Watson, 2009). However, there has been virtually no research examining emotional exchanges between organizational members. Most studies have focused solely on the role of emotions during service delivery transactions with clients. Although at least one study has examined emotional dynamics between colleagues (Puglesi, 1999), the outcome of interest in this study was still employee well-being (i.e., job satisfaction and stress). Thus, the current study provides further exploration on the emotional dynamics that take place between colleagues and incorporates a new outcome of interest, social capital.

Social Capital in the Workplace

Scholars began systematically analyzing social capital in the mid-1980s (Portes, 1998). However, Putnam (1995) is credited with popularizing the term and providing a definition of social capital that scholars in various disciplines, including public management, have relied on to guide their work (Andrews, 2010; Choi, 2018; Compton & Meier, 2016). This article follows Putnam's (1995) definition of social capital as the "features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for a mutual benefit" (p. 67).

Since becoming mainstream at the close of the 20th century, social capital has developed from a fringe concept into its own field of research. This research connects the work of scholars representing various disciplines (Kwon & Adler, 2014). In all of these disciplines, scholars have examined social capital as a resource that can be transferred at the individual and group levels.

At the group level, social capital is available to an entire unit and can be used by those who establish it as well as by other group members (Kostova & Roth, 2003). Studies analyzing social capital at the individual level have been interested in how the development of social capital leads to personal benefits, such as promotion within organizational settings (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005, p. 150). Although scholars vary in their approaches to studying social capital, the primary theoretical assumption underlying this work has remained consistent. That is, that the goodwill exchanged between individuals and groups is a valuable resource (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

The present study uses the federal agency workplace as a setting to study social capital at the individual level. In general, the workplace presents an ideal setting to study this concept because "many people form rewarding friendships at work, feel a sense of community among co-workers, and enjoy norms of mutual help and reciprocity on the job" (Putnam, 2000, p. 87). It serves to reason, then, that organizations should have a vested interest in social capital because it serves as an asset allowing for knowledge development and transfer among employees (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Inkpen & Tsang, 2005; Maurer, Bartsch, & Ebers, 2011; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Indeed, when employees have relationships with one another, they are able to share specialized information that allows for the continued operation of their organization.

In prior studies, scholars have been particularly interested in examining the relationship between social capital and organizational performance (Andrews, 2010; Compton & Meier, 2016; Leana & Pil, 2006; Wichowsky & Moynihan, 2008) as well as between social capital and employee well-being (Kouvonen et al., 2008; Requena, 2003; Suzuki et al., 2010). The findings from studies of social capital and performance, however, have been mixed (Compton & Meier, 2016; Maurer, Bartsch, & Ebers, 2011). Indeed, while some scholars have found a positive relationship between social capital and performance (Leana & Pil, 2006; Batjargal, 2003), others have found no relationship between the two (Lee, Lee, & Pennings, 2001). Additionally, scholars have highlighted the complicated relationship between social capital and performance, specifically pointing out that social capital is composed of different dimensions and that each dimension may have a unique relationship with performance (Andrews, 2010; 2011).

Research examining the relationship between social capital and employee well-being has been more conclusive: social capital improves employee well-being. Individuals who perceive themselves as having social capital have lower levels of depression (Kouvonen et al., 2008), better health outcomes (Suzuki et al., 2010), and higher levels of satisfaction with their quality of life at work (Requena, 2003). In sum, social capital can influence both individual and organizational outcomes.

Emotion Management and Social Capital

Emotion management and social capital are both relational concepts. That is, they both emphasize the significance of interpersonal relationships and the implications that follow. Social capital has often been identified as an asset and a resource. However, employees must invest energy in the development and maintenance of relationships with their colleagues in order to reap the benefits of social capital (Maurer et al., 2011).

An employee's investment of energy is represented by emotion management. Employees expend effort managing their psychological state during personal interactions with colleagues in order to build connections that can influence the operation of their organization. The literature indicates that "emotion can be a resource through which organizational relationships are created, interpreted, and altered" (Waldron, 2000, p. 65). In short, emotions are what guide and coordinate interactions that lead to the development of social bonds (Lord & Kanfer, 2002). Because emotions provide the foundations for social ties, in the present study it is assumed that employees who expend effort to participate in emotion management will develop social capital.

Findings from prior research help to establish three testable hypotheses. First, studies have shown that building social capital through strong ties requires an emotional investment (James, 2000). Through personal interactions that evoke the desired emotional state from another person (Newman et al., 2009), individuals can build connections that lead to the establishment of networks and social trust (Putnam, 1995). Recognizing this dynamic, the first hypothesis is:

> *Hypothesis₁: Participating in emotion management is positively related to social capital.*

Although this hypothesis frames the relationship between emotion management and social capital as positive, it is also necessary to recognize the potential influence of gender and race. Within any given community, an individual's ability to establish social capital varies (Lin, 2000). Studies have often shown that women and people of color have lower levels of social capital than their white, male counterparts (Burt, 1998; James, 2000). This means that, although women and people of color participate in emotion management within their organizations, this participation may not lead to strong social connections and generate social capital to the same extent as it does for their white, male counterparts. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

> *Hypothesis₂: Women participating in emotion management are less likely to develop social capital than men participating in emotion management.*

> *Hypothesis₃: Employees of color participating in emotion management are less likely to develop social capital than white employees participating in emotion management.*

Recognizing the lack of scholarship emphasizing emotion management *between* employees, the current study examines the relationship between the production of emotion management among federal employees and the development of social capital. This study emphasizes employee interactions in an attempt to further the field's understanding of emotion management in public organizations and the implications that follow.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Social Capital	-0.08	0.96	-2.57	1.24
Emotion Management	0.04	0.91	-3.39	1.45
Deep Acting	2.26	0.71	1	3
Surface Acting	2.05	0.83	1	3
Gender	0.39	0.49	0	1
Ethnicity	0.35	0.48	0	1
Gender Composition	1.84	0.88	1	3
Agency Tenure	0.92	0.27	0	1
Age Group	0.87	0.34	0	1
Work Location	0.24	0.42	0	1
Union Membership	0.18	0.39	0	1
Supervisor Status	1.51	0.61	1	3
Social Control	-0.06	0.93	-3.40	0.96

Data and Variables

The data for this study comes from Path 2 of the 2016 *Merit Principles Survey* which is produced by the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board. The Protection Board stratifies its sample by federal agency and supervisor status (i.e., non-supervisor, supervisor, executive). The survey is administered electronically via e-mail to 37,397 federal employees representing 24 federal agencies. With a response rate of 38.7%, there were 14,473 employees that responded to the 2016 survey. After restricting the sample to only non-teleworking and non-military federal employees, more than 3,000 observations were retained for this study. See Table 1 for a complete list of all variables along with their means, standard deviations, and minimum and maximum values.

Dependent Variable

Social capital is the dependent variable. This study operationalizes social capital through responses to six survey questions, each possessing a five-point Likert-type scale with values ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Participants responded to the following prompts: 1) I like the quality of relationships I have with my coworkers, 2) my judgement is trusted and relied on at work, 3) I feel personally cared for at work, 4) I feel fully appreciated at work, 5) I am treated with respect at work, 6) my opinion counts at work.

These questions connect to the relational characteristics of Putnam's (1995) definition of social capital, emphasizing the strength of networks, trust, and reciprocity. Since social capital is considered a latent construct (Andrews, 2011), iterated component factor analysis with promax rotation was used in this analysis (Costello & Osborne, 2005). The factor analysis results indicate that all six survey questions load onto a single factor. Results for this analysis are presented in Table 3.

Independent Variables

The independent variable of interest is emotion management. This concept is operationalized through three survey questions, each having a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. These survey questions follow those used by Puglesi (1999) in the development of an emotion index. Specifically, respondents provided responses to the following prompts: 1) I help coworkers feel better about themselves, 2) I attempt to keep the peace by calming clashes between coworkers, and 3) I help coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work. These questions align with definitions of emotion management

Table 2. Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Social Capital	1												
Emotion Management	0.20[*]	1											
Deep Acting	0.11[*]	0.40[*]	1										
Surface Acting	-0.28[*]	0.09[*]	0.10[*]	1									
Gender	-0.07[*]	0.02	0.04[*]	0.00	1								
Ethnicity	-0.06[*]	0.03[*]	0.01	-0.05[*]	0.11[*]	1							
Gender Composition	-0.01	0.04[*]	0.04[*]	0.02	0.35[*]	0.07[*]	1						
Agency Tenure	-0.03[*]	0.03	-0.03	0.03	-0.03[*]	-0.03	-0.05[*]	1					
Age Group	0.03[*]	0.02	-0.01	-0.08[*]	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.17[*]	1				
Work Location	0.03[*]	-0.03[*]	-0.03	-0.07[*]	0.07[*]	0.01	0.14[*]	-0.06[*]	0.02	1			
Union Membership	-0.13[*]	-0.05[*]	0.00	0.02	0.06[*]	0.13[*]	0.05[*]	-0.06[*]	-0.05[*]	-0	1		
Supervisor Status	0.14[*]	0.29[*]	0.13[*]	0.03[*]	-0.10[*]	-0.05[*]	-0.04[*]	0.11[*]	0.15[*]	0.03	-0.30[*]	1	
Social Control	0.40[*]	0.45[*]	0.22[*]	-0.08[*]	0.01	0.03[*]	0.00	-0.02	0.05[*]	0.03[*]	-0.10[*]	0.23[*]	1

Table 3. Factor Loadings

Concept	Indicators	Loading
Social	"I like the quality of relationships I have with my coworkers."	0.70
Capital	"My judgment is trusted and relied on at work."	0.76
	"I feel personally cared for at work."	0.84
	"I feel fully appreciated at work."	0.85
	"I am treated with respect at work."	0.83
	"My opinion counts at work."	0.87
	Eigenvalue	**4.24**
Emotion	"I help coworkers feel better about themselves."	0.73
Management	"I attempt to keep the peace by calming clashes between	0.72
	coworkers."	0.78
	"I help coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work."	**1.81**
	Eigenvalue	
	"Spread excitement about work to others."	0.66
Social	"Look for ways to help other with work."	0.76
Control	"Take initiative to collaborate with others on work."	0.80
	"Foster work related discussions among my colleagues."	0.73
	Eigenvalue	**2.19**

emphasizing personal exchanges between employees (Meier et al., 2006). Again, using iterated component factor analysis, each question loaded onto a single factor (see Table 3).

Control Variables

Various factors that could influence individual perceptions of social capital. In this study, a standard set of control variables was used to account for these factors. Specifically, included are separate controls for surface acting and deep acting. Previous research has shown that these forms of emotion regulation can have a significant impact on job satisfaction and burnout (Guy et al., 2008). Surface acting was measured using the prompt "My job requires that I hide my true feelings about a situation." Participants were asked to select a response along a five-point Likert-type scale with values ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Deep acting was measured using the survey prompt "I try to actually feel the emotions I must display." For this prompt, respondents were also provided with a five-point Likert-type scale with values ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The responses to both prompts were collapsed into three categories: agree, neither agree nor disagree, and disagree.

To account for basic demographic variations, respondents were asked if they identified as male (coded as "0") or female (coded as "1"). Respondents were also asked to self-identify as white (coded as "0") or a racial minority (coded as "1"). Age was controlled by having respondents disclose if they were under 40 years old (coded as "0") or over 40 years old (coded as "1"). Education was also taken into consideration with respondents disclosing whether they had less than an associate's degree, an associate's degree or bachelor's degree, or a graduate degree. These responses were ultimately collapsed into dichotomous categories, i.e., has not received a college degree (coded as "0") or has received a college degree ("1").

Previous research has shown that the gender composition of an organization can influence gender stereotypes (Ely, 1995) as well as the networking ability of female employees (Choi, 2018). As such, in order to control for these influences, respondents were asked if their organization was mostly composed of male employees, an even mix of male and female employees, or mostly female employees. Supervisor status was also taken into consideration by asking if respondents identified as a non-supervisor, a manager, or an executive within their organization.

Social capital can also be impacted by an individual's duration at their current agency. To control for this, respondents were asked if they had been at their current agency three years or less (coded as "0") or four years or more (coded as "1"). This study also takes the primary work location of employees into consideration, with respondents being asked whether they spend most of their time in the field (coded as "0") or at the organization's headquarters (coded "1"). Additionally, respondents were asked if they were nonunion members (coded as "0") or union members (coded as "1"). Membership should allow employees to make additional connections with their colleagues.

Lastly, this study incorporates a social control variable through an index of the following prompts indicating how much each respondent participated in the following activities: 1) spread excitement about work to others, 2) look for ways to help others with work, 3) take initiative to collaborate with others on work, and 4) foster work related discussions among my colleagues. Each prompt was on a five-point Likert-type scale with values ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Following the same method used to generate social capital and emotion management, iterated component factor analysis was used; and, each question loaded onto a single factor. Incorporating this social control was necessary in order to account for employees who are naturally more social and, thus, may build social capital more easily. See Table 2 for the correlation matrix depicting relationships between all variables included in the analysis.

Results

The models are estimated using ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression. The first model addresses whether there is a relationship between the production of employees' emotion management and social capital. The second model addresses whether gender and race have an impact on the relationship between emotion management and social capital. This model also includes interactions between emotion management and both gender and race. The models are presented in Table 4.

Model 1 in Table 4 shows that emotion management has a statistically significant (β=0.07, p <0.001) and positive relationship with social capital. This provides evidence in support of the first hypothesis that participation in emotion management is associated with the attainment of social capital. This result suggests that employees capable of emotion management are more likely to reap the benefits of social capital.

Model 2 shows that the relationship between emotion management and social capital remains positive and statistically significant (β=0.13, p<0.001). The coefficient for the first interaction term (i.e., Female × Emotion Management), however, is negative and not statistically significant. Thus, the second hypothesis, that women participating in emotion management are less likely to develop social capital than men participating in emotion management, cannot be confirmed.

The interaction between race and emotion management also has a negative relationship with social capital; however, it is statistically significant (β=-0.11, p<0.05). This finding provides support for the third hypothesis that employees of color participating in emotion management do not develop social capital at the same level as white employees participating in emotion management. This effect is depicted in Figure 1. This finding aligns with previous studies that have shown that black employees, in particular, struggle to develop strong ties and build social capital within their organization to the same extent as white employees (Ibarra, 1995; James, 2000).

Table 4. Regression Results for Emotion Management and Social Capital

	Model 1	Model 2
Emotion Management	0.07*	0.13**
	(0.04)	(0.03)
Deep Acting (Neither Agree/Disagree)	-0.05	-0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Deep Acting (Agree)	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Surface Acting (Neither Agree/Disagree)	-0.32***	-0.32***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Surface Acting (Agree)	-0.62***	-0.61***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Emotion Management x Women		-0.02
		(0.05)
Emotion Management x Employee of Color		-0.11*
		(0.05)
Woman	-0.12*	-0.12*
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Employee of Color	-0.14**	-0.14**
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Organizational Gender Composition (Equal)	0.23***	0.24***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Organizational Gender Composition (Mostly Women)	0.17**	0.17**
	(0.06)	(0.06)
4+ Years at Current Agency	-0.02	-0.01
	(0.08)	(0.08)
40+ Years Old	-0.03	-0.04
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Located at Organization Headquarters	0.02	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Union Member	-0.20***	-0.21***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Supervisor	-0.08	-0.09
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Executive	0.07	0.07
	(0.09)	(0.08)
Social Control	0.33***	0.33***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Constant	0.37**	0.38**
	(0.11)	(0.12)
N	*3595*	*3595*
R-Squared	0.24	0.25

Standard errors in parentheses.
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$

Prior research has also shown that when organizational members form relationships with individuals of the same race, they perceive those relationships as providing more psychosocial support than relationships with those of a different race (Thomas, 1990). Stated another way, when individuals develop relationships with someone of the same race, they are more likely to perceive that relationship as having social utility. In the context of this analysis, this could indicate that while employees of color may engage in emotion management, the relationships they build may not feel as socially beneficial (if their organization is predominately white) as the relationships developed between two employees who identify as white.

Figure 1. Interaction Between Emotion Management and Race
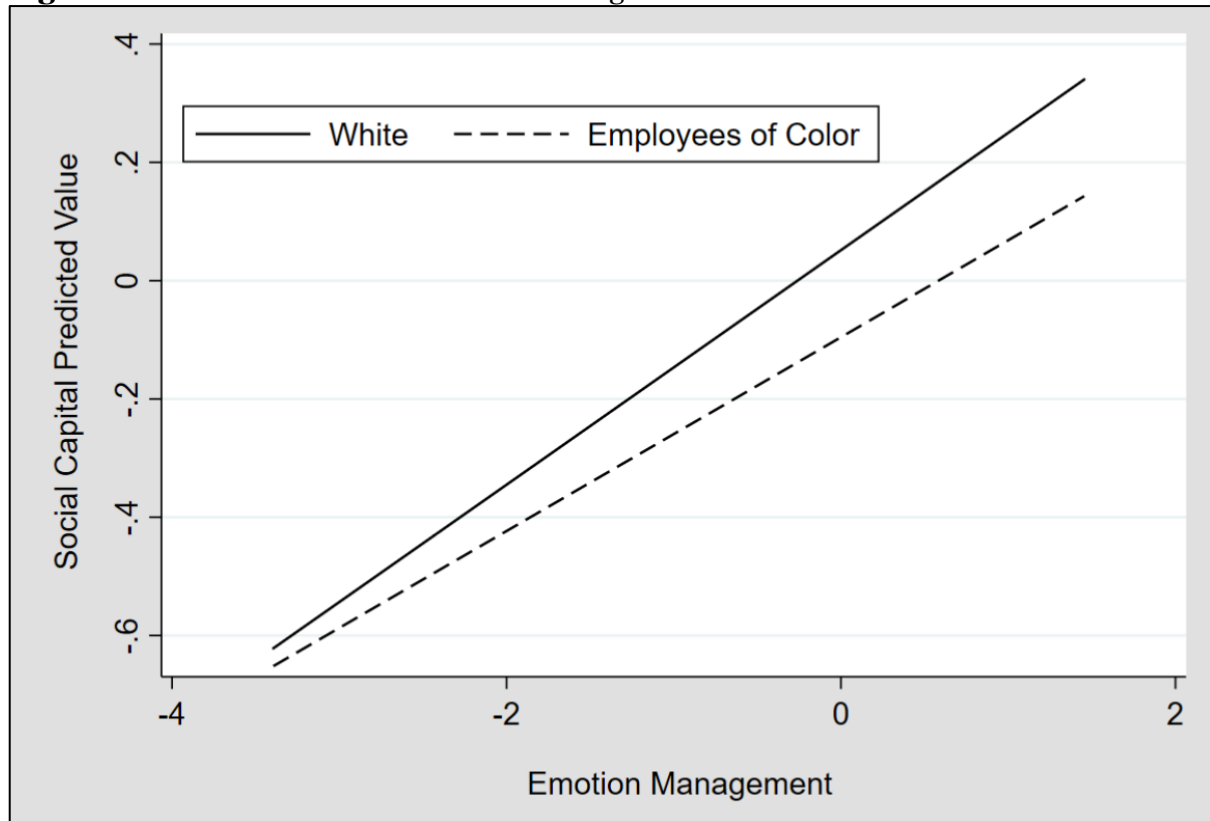
While not directly related to the interests of this study, another interesting finding is the negative and significant relationship between surface acting and social capital in both models (β=-0.62, p<0.001 in model 1; and, β=-0.61, p<0.001 in model 2). These findings indicate that employees participating in surface acting perceive themselves as having less social capital than those that are not participating in surface acting. Other research has found surface acting is positively related to burnout (Guy et al., 2008). This study provides further evidence that surface acting has a negative influence on the experiences of organization members.

Discussion and Conclusion

Understanding of emotion management between employees remains limited in the field of public administration. Scholarship in this field has often emphasized the emotional labor that takes place between employees and clients and the impacts it has on job satisfaction (Jin & Guy, 2009; Kaur & Malodia, 2017; Yang & Chang, 2008), burnout (Guy et al., 2008; Jin & Guy, 2009), and performance (Meier et al., 2006). This study addresses an important gap in the literature by examining the association between emotion management between colleagues and social capital using a sample of federal employees. The results provide evidence that emotion management is positively associated with social capital, suggesting that employees willing to invest in interpersonal relationships with their colleagues may reap the benefits of social capital. However, the results also suggest that emotion management by employees of color is less likely to generate social capital than it is for their white counterparts.

These findings have implications for theory and practice. In terms of theoretical relevance, this study presents an initial understanding of the relationship between emotion management and social capital. While both concepts are relational, previous research has not extensively examined the dynamics between the two. Indeed, foundational work in public administration often suggested that for organizations and their members to behave as rational actors, they

must to be devoid of emotions (Guy & Newman, 2004). The current study, however, provides evidence that emotions are not only present in public organizations but can help employees connect with their colleagues and develop social capital.

In terms of practical implications, this study confirms the findings of previous research showing that employees of color often struggle to develop social capital at the same level as their white counterparts (Hero, 2003). Since an inability to access social capital can restrict career advancement (Choi, 2018), managers of public organizations should be cognizant of how emotion management can influence this dynamic. These managers should also seek to find ways to ensure that all employees are able to make connections with their colleagues.

While this study provides useful contributions to the field of public administration, it has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the study lacks a detailed measurement to disaggregate employees of color. Rather than obtaining each respondent's race, the survey uses an aggregate measure that encompasses all respondents identifying as a racial minority. Future research should focus on disaggregating employees of color in order to understand how the relationship between emotion management and social capital might change based on race.

Second, the study lacks a robust measurement of emotion management. Surveys often do not include a substantial number of questions specifically examining emotion management between employees due to scholars being interested in the emotional labor produced when interacting with clients. Future surveys, however, should consider additional measures of emotion management.

Finally, this study lacks a control variable identifying the racial composition of the organization. With gender composition influencing gender stereotypes (Ely, 1995) and the ability of women to make connections within their organizations (Choi, 2018), racial composition of an organization may have similar effects. Despite each of these limitations, this study presents a deeper understanding of emotion management and its influence on social capital, particularly in public organizations.

Disclosure Statement

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Diversity and Inclusion Practices in Nonprofit Associations: A Resource-Dependent and Institutional Analysis

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Since the early 1990s, diversity and inclusion (D&I) efforts have received increasing attention among management scholars. Although the benefits and challenges of implementing D&I practices are now well established, few studies have explored the extent to which nonprofit associations, in particular, engage in D&I efforts. As such, we have no knowledge of the role that associations play in assisting with the diffusion of these practices throughout their respective professional fields or trades. Therefore, using a national survey of over 150 executives of nonprofit associations, this study explores the institutional and resource-based challenges associations face when seeking to implement D&I practices, both within their organizations and throughout their professional fields and trades. While the findings from this study suggest that nonprofit associations only engage in D&I practices to a modest degree, there is also evidence of institutional entrepreneurship. Implications of these findings for research on D&I practices in nonprofit associations as well as for association practitioners seeking to improve their D&I programming are provided.

Keywords: Diversity, Inclusion, Nonprofit Associations

Research has long shown that diversity and inclusion (D&I) practices, when managed effectively, can improve organizational outcomes and performance (e.g., see Barak, 2017; Cox, 1994; Weisinger et al., 2016). Yet, the study of D&I has only recently begun to receive attention in the nonprofit sector. Among this recent research, Bernstein and Bilimoria (2013) found that board diversity leads to a more inclusive workplace environment for people of color; further, Buse, Bernstein and Bilimoria (2016) found that board diversity can also lead to increased board performance. Additionally, Gazley, Chang, and Bingham (2010) argued that organizational diversity can lead to better outcomes in nonprofit collaborations. Gündemir, Dovidio, Homan, and De Dreu (2017) also found that some types of diversity practices in the nonprofit sector can support the development of under-represented employee perceptions of leadership opportunities.

Despite these findings, gaps in the literature remain. For example, we have no knowledge of how often "best practices," i.e., policies and procedures that support D&I in the workplace, are used in the nonprofit sector. We also have no knowledge of the common challenges nonprofit organizations face when seeking to implement changes relating to D&I. Thus, leveraging both resource-based and institutional perspectives on D&I, this study explores how nonprofit

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associations, in particular, develop and support D&I programs and activities, both within their organizations and within their broader professional fields and trades.

Nonprofit associations are member-based organizations that help to educate, train, and credential individuals and organizations in a particular industry, trade, or profession (Tschirhart & Gazley, 2014). These organizations are also repositories of best practices since they often provide resources and technical support as well as advance policy, technology, and operational practices (Balla, 2001; Gazley, Tschirhart, & Hager, 2014; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Hager, 2014).

Despite being recognized as important information brokers and leaders in their professions, little is known about D&I efforts in nonprofit associations and even less is known about their D&I influence in their respective fields and industries. Although there has been recent research on various aspects of nonprofit associations (e.g., see Gazley et al., 2014; Hager, 2014; Nesbit & Gazley, 2012), to date there has been no research assessing how these organizations have an impact on D&I practices throughout their workforce.

Most extant literature on diversity in nonprofits, writ large, has focused primarily on board member characteristics and the relationship between diversity and board outcomes (e.g., see Bernstein & Bilimoria, 2013; Brown, 2015; Brown, 2002; Buse et al., 2016; Gazley et al., 2010; Gündemir et al., 2017). This focus has emerged, in part, because nonprofit organizations have often struggled with closing their "diversity gap" (Medina, 2017) where they, themselves, are primarily homogenous while serving diverse populations.

Using data from a nationwide survey of association executives, the present study is the first of its kind to measure D&I practices within nonprofit associations specifically; more broadly, this study is one of the few to measure D&I within nonprofit organizations in general. The study builds on earlier research that has explored D&I practices in human resources management (Konrad, Yang, & Maurer, 2016; Yang & Konrad, 2011). This earlier work defined various D&I practices and described institutional and resource-based constraints and opportunities that influence the adoption of these practices.

Findings from the present study suggest that while nonprofit associations tend to engage in D&I practices at modest levels, the role of leadership is crucial to D&I adoption. Leadership, defined as being when an "individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (Northouse, 2018, p. 5), is a well-known factor that has been shown to either facilitate or prevent organizational change (Kotter, 2012).

The findings from this study also indicate that nonprofit associations are able to overcome both resource-based and institutional barriers in their efforts to implement D&I practices. This finding provides evidence of institutional entrepreneurship by showing that some individuals seek opportunities for change and leverage organizational resources in order to make this change occur (DiMaggio, 1988).

Literature Review

While the terms *diversity* and *inclusion* may seem self-explanatory, these terms often have contested meanings among scholars and practitioners (Weisinger et al., 2016). For the purposes of this study, diversity is defined broadly as "any significant difference that distinguishes one individual from another" (Kreitz, 2008, p. 102).

Although research has traditionally focused on diversity in terms of race and/or gender, diversity can be conceptualized differently depending upon context. For example, there may be male- or female-dominated professions that are ethnically diverse but lack gender diversity.

Inclusion, on the other hand, is defined as "the degree to which an employee perceives that she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies her needs for belongingness and uniqueness" (Shore et al., 2011, p. 1265).

To further provide clarity into the differences between diversity and inclusion, Roberson (2006, p. 228) outlined practices that differentiate the concepts. Diversity practices, she suggested, are those that affect the "demographic composition of groups or organizations." Inclusion, she argued is "employee involvement and the integration of diversity into organizational systems and processes."

The Role of Nonprofit Associations in the Diffusion of D&I Practices

As organizations that connect individuals, groups, and other organizations across the workforce, associations are a unique subsector of the nonprofit sector. Indeed, nonprofit associations are member-based organizations that are created to "educate, train, and credential people" (Nesbit & Gazley, 2012, p. 560) in diverse fields such as acting or performing, engineering, education, nursing, and publishing (to name just a few). Some nonprofit associations are composed of other organizations (e.g., "institutional members," such as businesses or hospitals), others are composed of primarily individual members (e.g., teachers), and some are composed of both.

Studies have shown that nonprofit associations can act as "mediating structures" (Berger & Neuhaus, 1996; Couto, 1999) or facilitators of change, both among their membership as well as in the broader professional community they represent. Greenwood, Suddaby, and Hinings (2002) found that professional associations were critical to "theorizing" about change by developing and advancing innovations and assisting in the diffusion of those innovations across industries. Nonprofit associations have also been shown to support innovations in human resources practices (Farndale & Brewster, 2005), environmental sustainability (Dickson & Arcodia, 2010), economic development (Kshetri & Dholakia, 2009), public policy (Balla, 2001), and the use of technology (Newell, Robertson, & Swan, 1998; Swan & Newell, 1995).

Nerland and Karseth (2015) argued that the knowledge work of associations is more valuable now than ever because of the world's globalized workforce. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, there has been extensive scholarship focusing on ways that nonprofit organizations, including associations, can partner with the for-profit sector to support outcomes that increase overall social value (e.g., see Austin, 2000; Rivera-Santos, Rufín, & Wassmer, 2017; Selsky & Parker, 2005; Villani, Greco, & Phillips, 2017).

Institutional and Resource Based Approaches to D&I

While the business case to support D&I within organizations has generally been well-established, organizations often struggle with effective policies and practices that support more diverse and inclusive workplaces. Kossek and Pichler (2007) suggested that successful diversity management programs should have a broad mandate to create a sense of justice within an organization, reduce discrimination, and increase financial competitiveness.

In an attempt to provide greater guidance for organizations as they incorporate D&I practices, Yang and Konrad (2011) identified and defined the types of practices that are likely to support D&I. These practices are internal hiring, training and mentoring policies (particularly for individuals from under-represented groups), and offering benefits to a wide range of employees (such as policies that allow for working remotely). The authors also identified institutional and resource-dependent factors that support or constrain D&I efforts.

In general, institutions can be defined as having "regulative, normative, and cognitive structures and activities that provide stability and meaning for social behavior" (Scott, 1995, p. 33). These structures and activities can be laws, regulations, customs, culture, ethics, social, and/or professional norms that organizations must respond to in order to maintain a competitive advantage (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Miles, 2012). Adhering to or adopting new structures supports an organization's legitimacy, allowing it to gain support and acceptance from a wider range of stakeholders (Kostova, Roth, & Dacin, 2008; Yang & Konrad, 2011).

Institutional change, however, is not without challenges. For one, organizations tend to resist change (Oliver, 1991). Indeed, out-of-date rules, practices, norms, and regulations often limit an organization's interest or ability to move forward with new ideas and practices. Eisenhardt (2000) argued that people and organizations are often fundamentally ambivalent about what progress means, which can stifle innovation. Additionally, Freisel and Kwon (2017) have discussed the impact that leadership resistance has on change. If leadership fails to support or champion change then it is unlikely that change will succeed (Kotter, 2012).

In one of the only studies of D&I practices within nonprofit associations, Solebello, Tschirhart, and Leiter (2016) suggested that using internal structures and institutions may help the implementation of these practices, particularly in the face of opposition. It is likely, then, that existing institutions may either facilitate or constrain an organization's behavior. Based on this literature, the following hypothesis is offered:

> *Hypothesis$_1$: Nonprofit associations have more (fewer) D&I practices in the presence of institutional support (barriers).*

Implementing D&I practices within organizations can undoubtedly be difficult. However, implementing these practices across organizations, industries, or even professional fields can prove even more challenging. Although there has been some research on the transfer of human resources practices within multinational organizations (often drawing from Oliver's [1991] theory of organizational response to pressure applied by external stakeholders), Ferner, Almond, and Colling (2005, p. 308) argued that D&I practices exist in a "contested institutional terrain," which can make it difficult to successfully support the implementation across subsidiaries.

While much of the D&I literature centers on the outcome of an industry's response to external pressures, little is known about how perceived institutional constraints can affect nonprofit associations in supporting the adoption of D&I practices throughout their professions or trades. It stands to reason, though, that if a firm rejects changes at its headquarters then those changes are unlikely to be adopted by its subsidiaries. Therefore, the second hypothesis offered is:

> *Hypothesis$_2$: Nonprofit associations are more (less) likely to support D&I practices in their field when there are institutional supports (barriers).*

An alternative viewpoint to institutions as constraining behavior is that in certain circumstances individuals are those who strive to influence and change institutions. This viewpoint is generally conceptualized as institutional entrepreneurship, where "new institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources see in them an opportunity to realize interests that they value highly" (DiMaggio, 1988, p. 657). Thus, individuals and organizations can influence the environment in which they exist (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009).

Institutional entrepreneurship is likely crucial to the implementation of change within organizations and professional fields. Individuals proposing changes, however, are not immune from the resistance of others (Eisenhardt, 2000; Seo & Creed, 2002; Solebello et al.,

2016). Indeed, some D&I efforts can make people feel uncomfortable; and, those experiencing discomfort are likely to push back against these efforts. As such, two additional hypotheses are:

> *Hypothesis₃: Institutional entrepreneurs in nonprofit associations are more likely to support D&I practices within their organizations despite institutional barriers.*

> *Hypothesis₄: Institutional entrepreneurs in nonprofit associations are more likely to support D&I practices within their field despite institutional barriers.*

Resource-based approaches to D&I are generally viewed through resource-dependency theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978), which has frequently been used in research on nonprofit organizations (e.g., see AbouAssi, 2015; Froelich, 1999; Guo & Acar, 2005; Malatesta & Smith, 2014). Resources are "anything of value, tangible or intangible, that can be exchanged between organizations" (Saidel, 1991, p. 381). Nonprofit organizations might not produce their own resources. They may, instead, rely upon their donors, members, funders, and/or other stakeholders to provide them with resources (AbouAssi, 2015). This type of dependence can affect decision-making, structures, and strategies in nonprofit organizations (AbouAssi, 2015; Johnson & Prakash, 2007).

Resources often help to support nonprofit legitimacy (Barney & Clark, 2007; Bies, 2010; Guo & Acar, 2005; Yang & Konrad, 2011). Indeed, nonprofit organizations can leverage their (often limited) resources in support of priorities and opportunities the organization may have available. As such, the degree to which a nonprofit implements D&I practices may be indicative of its overall capability and capacity (Solebello et al., 2016; Yang & Konrad, 2011). While much of the literature focuses on financial resources, how nonprofit managers perceive and prioritize (or resist and prevent) D&I efforts can guide how their (often limited) financial resources are spent. Ultimately, this can help to further their D&I goals (Yang & Konrad, 2011).

Nonprofit associations, specifically, are highly dependent on their members for financial resources. These members generally pay an annual fee in order to obtain benefits from the association. Although in some fields pursuing D&I practices might be encouraged by members and stakeholders (such as women in STEM fields), in other fields D&I efforts may risk the support of their membership. Solebello et al. (2016), thus, highlighted a "paradox" in conducting research on D&I in associations: that is, spending money (i.e., resources) on D&I efforts tends to limit an association's ability to reach broader, more general audiences.

These types of tensions are likely to cause executives of nonprofit associations to scale back D&I efforts so as not to alienate existing members. Especially if members join an association based on a set of pre-existing standards and values, shifting those standards and values may cause members to feel as if the organization no longer represents them (Knoke, 1986, 1990; Solebello et al., 2016). The threat of shrinking membership, then, could jeopardize the survival of nonprofit associations, which could discourage association executives from engaging in unsupported activities. As such, the final three hypotheses are:

> *Hypothesis₅: Nonprofit associations with more (fewer) financial resources will prioritize (de-prioritize) D&I work.*

> *Hypothesis₆: Nonprofit associations with greater (lesser) support from their stakeholders will be more (less) likely to engage in D&I practices within their organization.*

> *Hypothesis₇: Nonprofit associations with greater (lesser) support from their stakeholders will be more (less) likely to engage in D&I practices in their trades or professional fields.*

Methods and Data

A national survey of executives of nonprofit associations was conducted from January to March 2018. The population for the survey was all registered 501(c)(6) membership associations and 501(c)(3) professional and trade associations as determined by the National Taxonomy for Exempt Entity (NTEE) subsection code "3." To identify the population of associations, the August 2016 Business Master Files (BMF) of IRS-registered associations was obtained from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS). Of those in the BMFs, 36,873 organizations were classified as 501(c)(6) associations. Another 12,518 organizations were classified as 501(c)(3) professional and trade associations. In total, this resulted in a population of 49,391 nonprofit associations.

A random sample of the total population was drawn (*n*=2,099), of which approximately 25% were 501(c)(3) associations. Two organizations were removed from the sample because they had a non-U.S. mailing address. A sample analysis was completed to ensure that those included in the final sample were not systematically different from those not included. None of the observed variables were statistically significant indicators of selection into the sample.

A survey instrument was developed using extant literature on D&I practices in organizations. Focus groups with association executives were also organized in order to identify key themes and practices. The survey was then refined through piloting and cognitive interviews with a small group of association executives who reviewed questions systematically for clarity and shared meaning (Sudman, Bradburn, & Schwartz, 2010). The final survey instrument was administered online using Qualtrics and consisted of 55 questions that asked association executives about their perceptions of D&I practices within their ("organization") as well as their perceptions of D&I practices within their professional field or trade ("the field"). There were also questions that provided descriptive information about the organization and demographic information of the respondent (e.g., role in the organization, gender, level of education, and race/ethnicity).

Adapting Dillman's (2008) and Millar and Dillman's (2011) surveying technique, all identified executive directors or board chairs were mailed a letter that described the purpose of the study. The letter also invited each individual to participate and offered them a $5 Amazon gift card for completing the survey. This initial letter was followed by a postcard approximately one month later. Attempts were also made to contact individuals by e-mail and phone.

Slightly over 300 association executives were not able to be reached either by phone, e-mail or postal mail, resulting in a final sample of 1,712. Of those who were contacted, 278 individuals responded to the survey. This represents a response rate of 16.24%. Those without completed surveys were removed from the analysis, for a total of 152 completed and useable responses. While the response rate is lower than desired, and attrition was high, the nature of the survey (i.e., questions about D&I practices, which can make some people uncomfortable) likely attributed to the low response rate (Dillman et al., 2009; Fink, 2002). Smith (1997) also found that response rates can suffer when surveying at the organizational level, where issues of authority to speak on behalf of an organization, a respondent's knowledge of the content area, or simply a lack of time can weaken response rates.

Dependent Variables

There are six dependent variables in this study. These variables were created using 32 questions on D&I practices developed by Konrad, Yang and Maurer (2016). Specifically, respondents were asked to first state "whether or not these practices are used in your organization (among board, staff, and volunteer leaders)." Respondents were then asked if their association "has worked to implement the practice in your field (members or potential members, employers, other organizations), either through requested guidance, providing information or resources, or through collaboration."

Table 1. D&I Practices within the Association and within the Field

Dependent Variable	Questions on D&I Practices	Yes, within the Organization	Yes, within the Field
Linking Diversity to Strategy			
		α=0.80; $\overline{X}$=1.81	α=0.90; $\overline{X}$=1.95
	• Including valuing diversity in the organization's mission statement?	38.00%	34.75%
	• Have a clear understanding of how diversity is linked to bottom-line performance?	35.81%	30.71%
	• Align diversity strategy to the business strategy?	31.97%	27.01%
	• Have an internal diversity/inclusiveness committee or council?	25.50%	29.79%
	• Do senior executives/leaders participate on the internal diversity committee or council?	25.72%	27.89%
	• Does the internal diversity committee participation in strategic planning?	19.59%	22.46%
	• Include diversity goals in the strategic human resource plan?	24.16%	26.43%
	• Set goals for achieving staff diversity for specific positions?	16.00%	22.86%
Recruiting Diverse Workforce			
		α=0.70; $\overline{X}$=1.64	α=0.88; $\overline{X}$=1.84
	• Identify feeder pools likely to generate a diverse set of qualified job candidates?	26.35%	24.46%
	• Support job fairs targeting diverse candidates?	25.00%	32.37%
	• Design recruiting materials aimed at attracting a diverse group?	36.49%	38.41%
	• Utilizing a diverse group of recruiters?	19.05%	19.29%
	• Utilize search firms or unemployment agencies specializing in finding a diverse set of qualified candidates?	6.00%	13.57%
Selecting Diverse Workforce			
		α=0.79; $\overline{X}$=1.97	α=0.85; $\overline{X}$=2.03
	• Utilize a structured interviewing process?	45.64%	36.96%
	• Identify ways that candidates can demonstrate job qualifications beyond traditional experiences?	37.84%	30.94%
	• Require hiring managers to interview a diverse group of candidates?	12.84%	17.27%
	• Use a diverse team to interview candidates?	32.43%	25.90%

		$\alpha=0.69; \overline{X}=2.14$	$\alpha=0.80; \overline{X}=2.21$
Training and Developing Diverse Staff			
	• Offer internal leadership training?	55.10%	45.37%
	• Have a formal mentoring program?	35.57%	35.97%
	• Ensure that a diverse group of employees is receiving mentoring?	30.41%	27.86%
	• Support employee participation in professional associations targeting diverse groups, such as women's professional associations?	62.42%	53.24%
Monitoring Effectiveness of Staffing for Diversity		$\alpha=0.89; \overline{X}=1.36$	$\alpha=0.95; \overline{X}=1.69$
	• Track applicant diversity?	13.51%	14.39%
	• Track the diversity of candidates invited for interviews?	14.86%	11.51%
	• Tracking the diversity of new hires?	14.97%	15.11%
	• Track the diversity of employees receiving promotions?	5.41%	9.42%
Providing Work-Life Flexibility		$\alpha=0.75; \overline{X}=2.00$	$\alpha=0.83; \overline{X}=1.81$
	• Training for members?	47.65%	38.35%
	• Work-at-Home options?	48.32%	26.28%
	• Job Sharing?	16.78%	17.78%
	• Reduced work hours?	27.70%	21.80%
	• Modified work week, such as a compressed work week (fewer than five days)?	28.86%	22.46%
	• Part-time employment for professional/technical/managerial staff?	34.23%	28.26%
	• Dependent care resources and referral service?	10.14%	20.59%

X(bar)=mean value.

Notes: Percentage of organizations engaging in items included for each dependent variable, for both organization and field. Cronbach's alpha (α) and mean factor scores are included for each measure. Question text for survey questions 14-19: *"The first option is whether or not these practices are used in your organization (among board, staff, and volunteer leaders). The second is if your organization has worked to implement the practice in your field (members or potential members, employers, other organizations), either through requested guidance, providing information or resources, or through collaboration."*

The six D&I practices included as dependent variables are: 1) Linking Diversity to Strategy (composed of eight items); 2) Recruiting a Diverse Workforce (composed of five items); 3) Selecting a Diverse Workforce (composed of four items); 4) Training and Developing a Diverse Staff (composed of four items); 5) Monitoring the Effectiveness of Staffing for Diversity (composed of four items); and 6) Providing Work-Life Flexibility (composed of seven items). The first three practices focus on ensuring that there are programs and policies in place to support D&I in the workforce. All questions had response options of either "No" (coded as "1"), "Unsure" (coded as "2"), or "Yes" (coded as "3").

A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to ensure construct validity. Factor scores were generated for each category. Item descriptions, mean factor scores, and Cronbach alpha scores are presented in Table 1. Although factor scores above 0.80 are generally considered strong, factor scores of 0.70 and higher are considered adequate for social science research (Nunnally & Bernstein, 2017).

Independent Variables

The independent variables were drawn from a list of 18 perceived obstacles and challenges in conducting D&I work. This list was generated during the survey design process in consultation with several association executives. Respondents checked off items they recognized as "obstacles or challenges to implementing new or ongoing diversity and inclusion programming or policies" in, both, their organization and their field.

These obstacles and challenges were then grouped into either institutional (11 items) or resourced-based categories (five items). Positive responses were coded as "Yes" ("1"). All other responses were coded as "0" since a non-answer can reasonably be assumed to be not "yes." In addition, several control variables were used in the analysis. These controls were obtained from each organization's Form 990 (i.e., their annual nonprofit financial filing form). Controls included their annual revenue (logged to account for outliers), whether or not the organization was a 990N e-postcard filer (indicating gross revenues under $50,000 annually) and organizational age (also logged to account for outliers). A variable was also included to assess respondents' perception of their association's diversity and the diversity within their field. These responses were measured on a Likert scale ranging from one to seven, with 1="Not at All" and 7="To a Great Extent."

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Sample Analysis

Of the organizations that were able to be matched to their Form 990 (*n*=138), 31% are 501(c)(3) associations and 69% are 501(c)(6) associations. The average organizational age is 30.35 years (with a standard deviation (SD) of 21.31) and ranges from two to 91. Average organizational income is $744,391 (SD $3,800,930) with a median income of $56,899. It should be noted that the average income value is clearly influenced by some high-income organizations, as most organizations in the sample are small.

Fifty-two percent of the organizations are professional associations, 11% are trade associations, 10% are chambers of commerce, and 9% are combined trade and professional associations. Fifty-six percent of the organizations represent individual members only, while 14% represent institutional members (i.e., other organizations), and nearly 23% represent both institutional and individual members.

A review of the individual characteristics of survey respondents shows that 49% are male, while 47% are female. One individual indicated that they are gender-nonconforming. Three

Table 2. Dimensions of Diversity

Dimension	% Yes, in my organization	% Yes, in our field
Race	58.55	55.92
Religion	19.08	24.34
Socioeconomic Status	28.95	34.21
National Origin	25.00	30.26
Ethnic Group	44.08	44.08
Sexual Orientation	30.92	34.21
Gender *(Male or Female)*	59.21	54.61
Gender Identity *(i.e., Self-Identified Gender)*	24.34	27.63
Veteran Status	20.39	25.00
Geography	29.61	29.61
Other	12.50	8.55

Note: Respondents were asked *"When your organization discusses what "diversity" is, which dimensions of diversity are most important to your organization and your field?"* Respondents could select more than one answer.

percent of respondents chose not to respond. Approximately 83% of respondents self-identify as white. Just under 6% self-identify as Black or African-American, approximately 3% self-identify as Asian, approximately 1% self-identify as Native American or Alaskan Native, and approximately 4% of respondents preferred not to respond. Ethnically, 2% of respondents also indicate that they are Hispanic or Latino. These characteristics are consistent with a recent national survey of association members, which found respondents to be predominately white (75%), with only 3% identifying as Black, and 3% identifying as Hispanic. This national survey also showed that 43% association members are female (Nesbit & Gazley, 2012).

Fifty-two percent of respondents in the present study are executive directors or CEOs of their association. The next largest group of respondents indicated that they are "other directors." Only one respondent indicated they are a "D&I manager or director." Findings from a sample analysis suggest that executives from associations that have higher incomes were more likely to respond to the survey(p<0.05), indicating that there are possibly more professionalized organizations (based on revenues) in this study.

Respondents indicated that they believed their organizations are doing slightly better than the average (4.50) when it comes to diversity (*mean*=4.26). Approximately 49% of respondents indicated that they engage in D&I practices in both their organization and their field. Table 2 provides a breakdown of responses to the question asking respondents what they thought diversity meant for their organization and professional field or trade. Although respondents could choose more than one of 12 responses, most identified race and/or gender as the "single most important dimension.

The frequency of specific D&I activities ranges from a low of approximately 5% (when it comes to "tracking the diversity of employees receiving promotions") to just over 60% (when it comes to "Supporting employee participation in professional associations targeting diverse groups, such as women's professional associations"). The latter item was the only item practiced by more than half of responding organizations in both their association and their field. The mean factor score for all measures is relatively low, with only three over the midpoint at a score of 2, indicating a relatively low level of engagement in D&I practices in that category. Figure 1 presents a graphical representation of the mean factor scores for each measure by both the association and the field.

Figure 1. Distribution of D&I Factor Scores
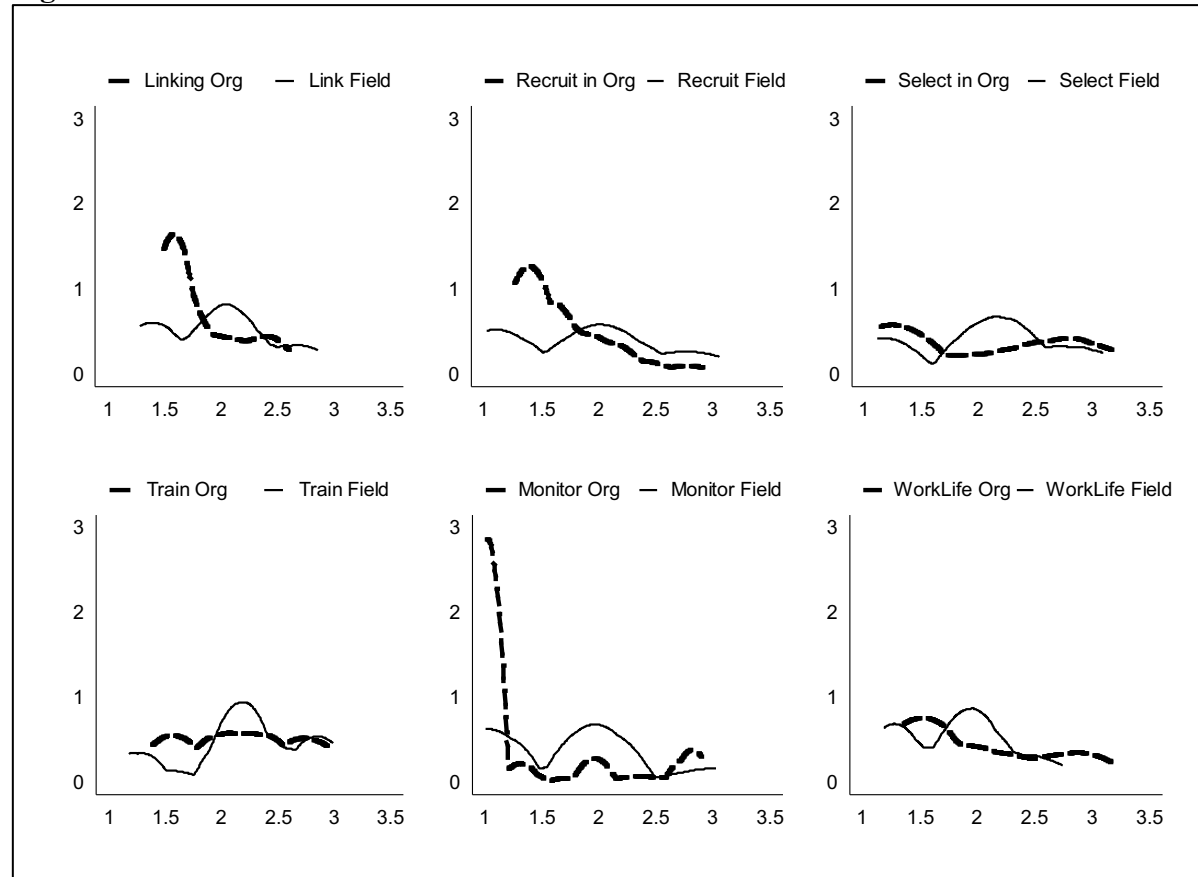
Notes: Dashed line=Within organization; Solid line=Within field. Kernel density with higher scores (x-axis) indicates higher factor scores as values increase, or more activity within each category.

Analysis of Institutional and Resource Based Obstacles

Multivariate analysis using ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression was used to estimate the relationship between institutional and resource-based barriers and associational practices at both the organization and field levels. This method is useful when dependent variables are continuous, not categorical, and the independent variables are homoscedastic and exogenous (Jarque & Bera, 1980). A total of 12 models were estimated: six pertaining to D&I practices within associations and an additional six pertaining to D&I practices within respective fields. All models included the same control variables. Findings for these estimates are displayed in Figures 2 through 5.

For the first item (i.e., *Is the organization diverse?* and *Is the field diverse?*), a positive and significant relationship indicates that the more diverse an association is (as perceived and rated by the respondent) the more likely that association is to engage in specific D&I practices. For the resource-based and institutional constraints, negative and significant values indicate that those obstacles prevent participation in D&I practices. Positive and significant values, however, indicate that the association engages in those activities despite facing resource-based and institutional constraints.

Internal Association Practices ("In the Organization")

As shown in Figure 2, the self-reported measure of association diversity is positively related to an association's efforts to link diversity to strategy. That is, the more diverse an association is, the more likely it is to engage in this practice.

When considering Hypotheses 1 and 5, they are partially supported by the data. Specifically, there is evidence that leadership has an impact on the adoption of D&I practices—even when facing institutional and resource-based constraints. Among institutional constraints, there is clear evidence that leaders either promote or stifle D&I practices. Indeed, the obstacle labeled "staff leader opposition" is significant and negative, particularly when it pertains to recruiting and selecting a diverse workforce, monitoring effectiveness, and work-life flexibility.

Figure 2 also shows that the board being uncomfortable is also significant and negative in linking diversity to strategy and in training a diverse workforce. This finding may lend support to previous research showing that managers are more likely to hire individuals who are culturally similar to themselves (Rivera, 2012). Since the respondents in this study are 85% white, without giving deliberate attention to supporting diversity in hiring, training, and mentoring, associations may very well struggle in this area. In other words, the lack of support among leadership may prevent associations from engaging in D&I practices. This is consistent with literature in the field of change management, which has argued that organizational and institutional change must be driven by a champion and that a champion should be a leader within the organization (if not the director or CEO) (Kotter, 2012).

Hypothesis 4 on institutional entrepreneurship was also partially supported. Only volunteer opposition was positively related to three categories of activities within associations, i.e., recruiting, selecting, and training a diverse workforce. Indeed, associations seem to be engaging in these activities despite opposition from these key organizational supports. With the constraining role of leadership, however, it may not be surprising that there is only limited support for institutional entrepreneurship.

It should be noted that choosing "not applicable/doesn't apply to us" was significant and negative in all but one of the six categories. This suggests that executives of associations who believe that engaging in D&I practices is not relevant to their work do not engage in most practices.

Figure 2. "In the Organization" Estimates of Resource Based and Institutional Factors on Linking Diversity to Strategy, Recruiting, and Selecting a Diverse Workforce
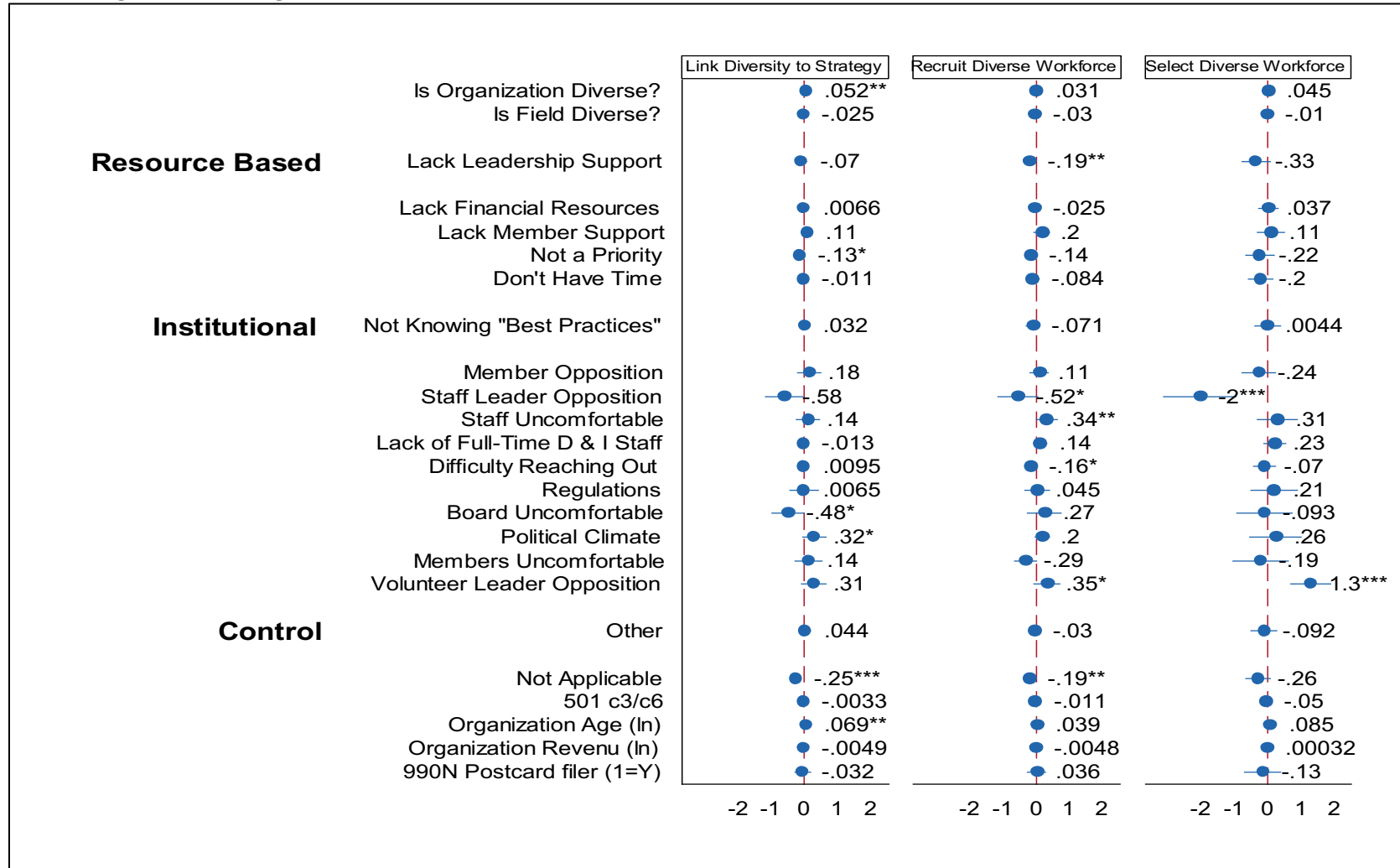
Note: OLS with coefficients, *p*<0.01=***, *p*<0.05=**, *p*<0.10=*

Figure 3. "In the Organization" Estimates of Resource Based and Institutional Factors on Training a Diverse Workforce, Monitoring Effectiveness, and Providing Work-Life Flexibility (*n*=138)

	Train Diverse Staff	Monitoring Effectiveness	Work-Life Flexibility
Is Organization Diverse?	.054	.015	.005
Is Field Diverse?	.0011	.00062	-.0035
Resource Based Lack Leadership Support	-.1	-.36***	-.46***
Lack Financial Resources	.029	.01	-.073
Lack Member Support	.021	.35	-.15
Not a Priority	.075	-.11	.096
Don't Have Time	-.023	-.03	.26
Institutional Not Knowing "Best Practices"	.034	.067	.23
Member Opposition	.23	.5	.016
Staff Leader Opposition	-.2	.5*	-.87*
Staff Uncomfortable	.1	.29	-.0011
Lack of Full-Time D & I Staff	-.047	.038	.067
Difficulty Reaching Out	.026	-.23	-.17
Regulations	-.17	.72	.32
Board Uncomfortable	-.67**	.28	.38
Political Climate	.37	.17	-.02
Members Uncomfortable	.21	-.41	.22
Volunteer Leader Opposition	.44*	.83	.29
Control Other	-.0047	.024	.016
Not Applicable	-.29**	-.36***	-.35***
501 c3/c6	-.011	-.048	-.018
Organization Age (ln)	.13**	.082*	.11*
Organization Revenue (ln)	.012	.0074**	.029**
990N Postcard Filer (1= Yes)	.34*	.34**	.25

Note: OLS with coefficients, *p*<0.01=***, *p*<0.05=**, *p*<0.10=*

Figure 4. "In the Field" Estimates on Supporting the Association's Field in Linking Diversity to Strategy, Recruiting, and Selecting a Diverse Workforce
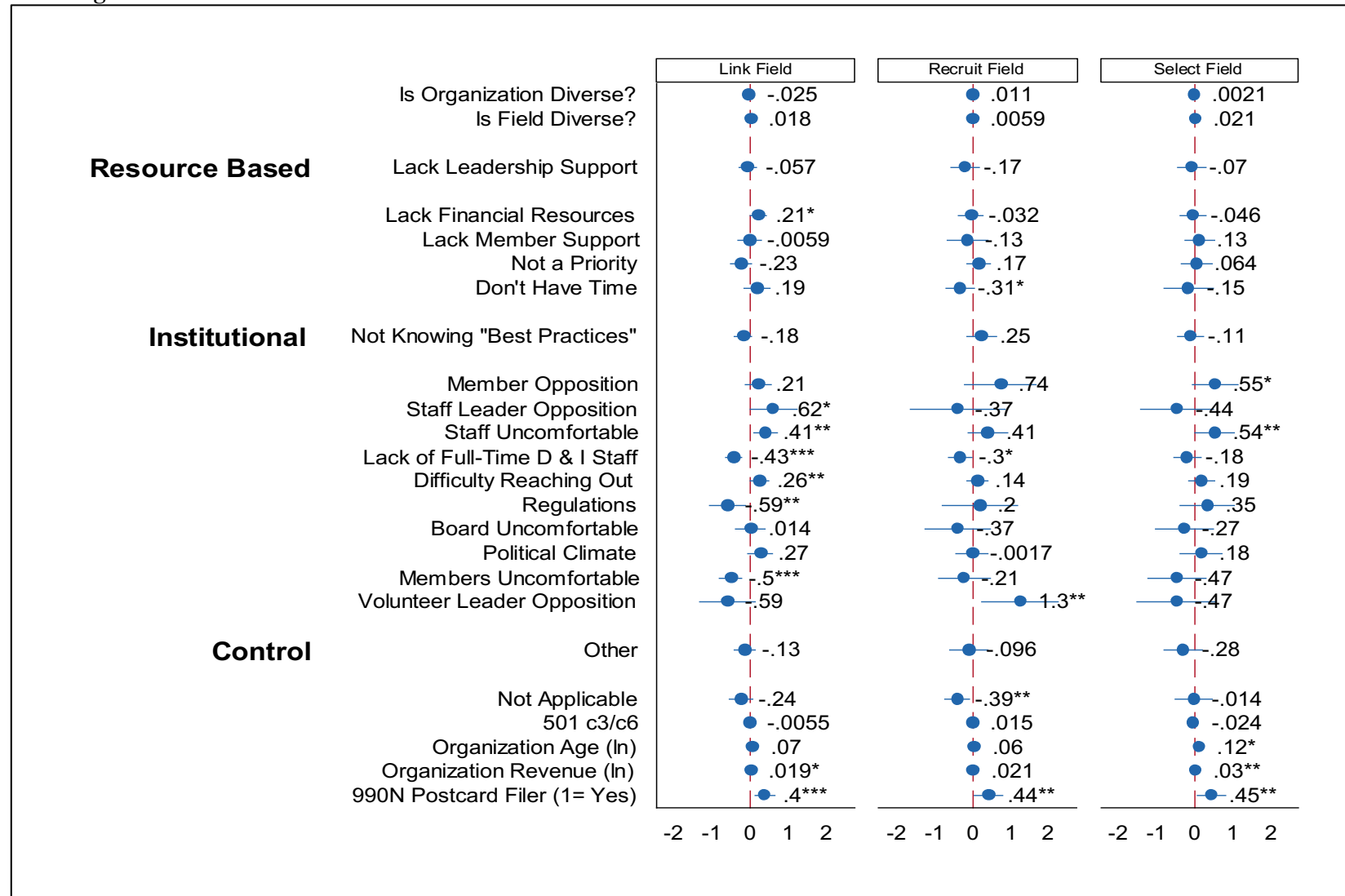
Note: OLS with coefficients, $p<0.01=$***, $p<0.05=$**, $p<0.10=$*

Figure 5. "In the Field" Estimates on Supporting the Association's Field in Training a Diverse Workforce, Monitoring for Effectiveness, and Providing Work-Life Balance
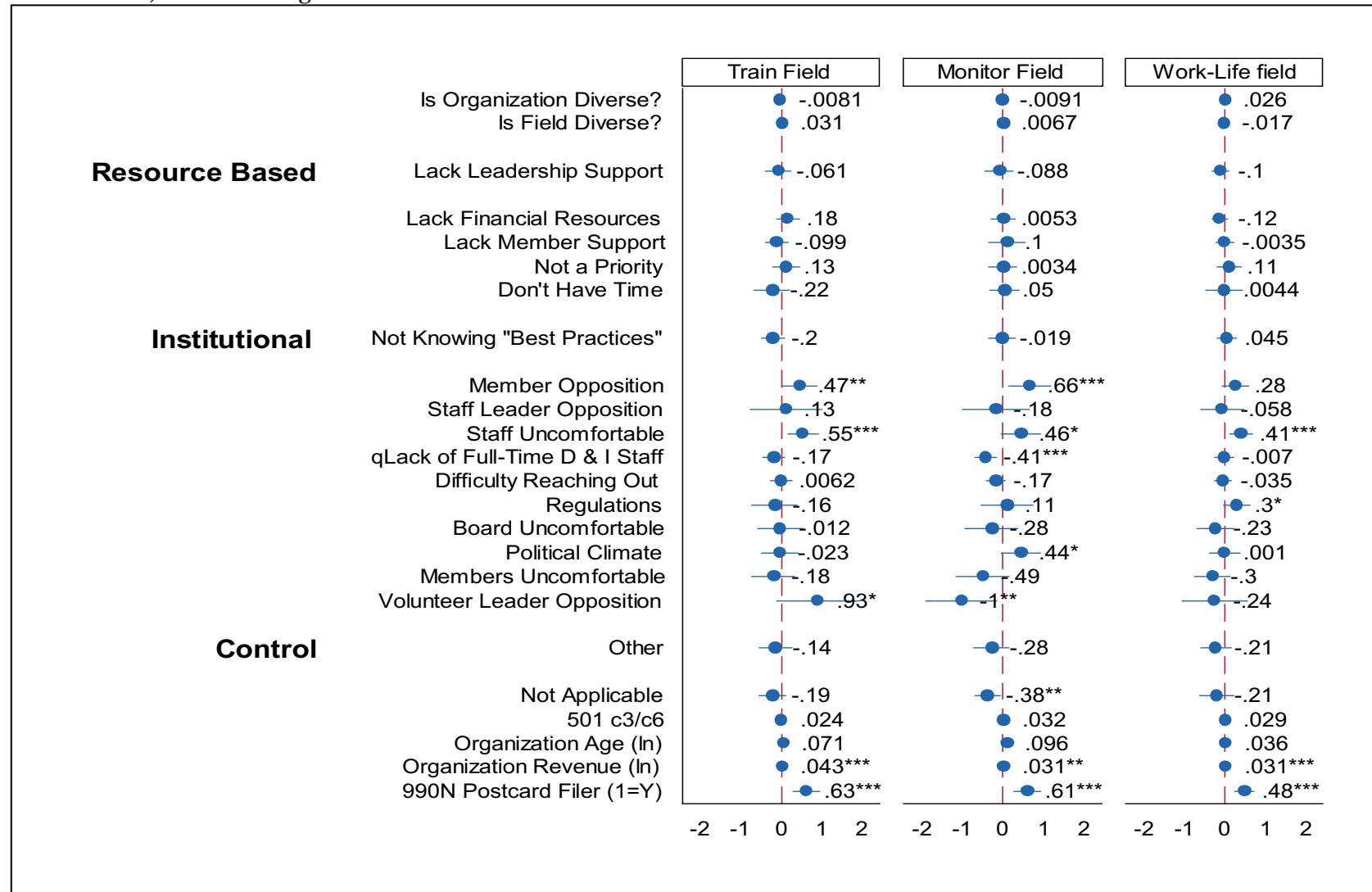
	Train Field	Monitor Field	Work-Life field
Is Organization Diverse?	-.0081	-.0091	.026
Is Field Diverse?	.031	.0067	-.017
Resource Based			
Lack Leadership Support	-.061	-.088	-.1
Lack Financial Resources	.18	.0053	-.12
Lack Member Support	-.099	.1	-.0035
Not a Priority	.13	.0034	.11
Don't Have Time	-.22	.05	.0044
Institutional			
Not Knowing "Best Practices"	-.2	-.019	.045
Member Opposition	.47**	.66***	.28
Staff Leader Opposition	.13	-.18	-.058
Staff Uncomfortable	.55***	.46*	.41***
qLack of Full-Time D & I Staff	-.17	.41***	-.007
Difficulty Reaching Out	.0062	-.17	-.035
Regulations	-.16	.11	.3*
Board Uncomfortable	-.012	-.28	-.23
Political Climate	-.023	.44*	.001
Members Uncomfortable	-.18	.49	-.3
Volunteer Leader Opposition	.93*	-1**	-.24
Control			
Other	-.14	-.28	-.21
Not Applicable	-.19	-.38**	-.21
501 c3/c6	.024	.032	.029
Organization Age (ln)	.071	.096	.036
Organization Revenue (ln)	.043***	.031**	.031***
990N Postcard Filer (1=Y)	.63***	.61***	.48***

Note: OLS with coefficients, $p<0.01=$***, $p<0.05=$**, $p<0.10=$*

Resource-based Hypotheses 5 and 6 receive limited support. For Hypothesis 5, the relationship between the organization's revenues and its participation in D&I practices is unclear. Revenues are significant and positive for some activities, but interestingly, it is also significant and positive (when it comes to training a diverse staff and monitoring effectiveness) for small organizations (i.e., for organizations that file a Form 990N e-postcard, indicating that they have gross revenues of under $50,000 annually). Taken together, this provides evidence of a U-shaped relationship. Thus, larger associations may have the resources and capacity necessary to act as information brokers and leaders in their respective fields, but smaller organizations may also see this work as part of their primary mission. Other resource-based variables were not significant, providing no evidence for support of Hypothesis 6.

External Association Practices ("In the Field")

When considering the role of association activity in promoting D&I efforts in their respective fields, there were different patterns. For one, resource-based variables outside of revenues neither constrain nor facilitate associations engaging in specific activities. However, the U-shaped difference between larger and smaller groups is also evident here. Additionally, association age is positively related to engaging in D&I practices. Indeed, older, assumedly more established, associations take a more aggressive role in D&I efforts than younger associations.

Hypotheses 3 and 5 are partially supported. That is, there is evidence suggesting the existence of institutional entrepreneurship. When facing institutional constraints, there is limited influence of leadership opposition in an association's behavior. In fact, the findings suggest that associations overcome institutional barriers to engage in D&I practices in their fields. For example, several practices are carried out despite resistant leadership and member or volunteer opposition. This could mean that association staff believe that they have an imperative to act on D&I. Perhaps some are compelled to engage in these practices in order to educate their members, volunteers, and stakeholders.

It is important to note that staff being uncomfortable while working on D&I issues is positive and significant in all but one category. This likely means that association staff often operate outside of their comfort zones. Finally, despite a heightened political climate around issues of D&I, the findings show that associations continue to engage in many practices, including linking diversity to strategy and training a diverse workforce. While some association employees may find institutional constraints difficult to overcome, these findings highlight the importance of institutional entrepreneurship, where individuals take it upon themselves to support changes in institutional norms and behaviors.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study explored the relationship between engaging in D&I practices and institutional and resource-based obstacles. The findings of the study were mixed. However, the role of leadership in associations, the findings suggest, is crucial to providing a barrier to, or supporting, D&I practices. Importantly, the impact of leadership was found to be a constraint on D&I practices but only when attempting to promote these practices inside of the association. As associations looked to influence their overall field, the impact of leadership was lessened. Thus, various factors affect the promotion of D&I within associations and their respective fields differently.

While many associations struggle to include D&I practices in their policies and procedures, this study provides evidence of institutional entrepreneurship of associations within their fields. Indeed, within their fields, associations are more likely to engage in some D&I practices despite facing (what is perceived as) opposition from their members, leaders, and volunteers.

This indicates a degree of tenacity among association executives to do what they believe is right for their field, regardless of what some stakeholders may feel. Association staff may feel that it is necessary to promote these practices in their field specifically because of this opposition. That is, they may feel obligated to educate and inform those in their field about the value of D&I in their industry.

Associations, however, should bear in mind that staff may be uncomfortable doing this work, and association managers may benefit from providing additional staff training or professional development to employees, board members, and key volunteers regarding issues of D&I. This word of caution is important given the finding that more D&I practices occurred at the industry level than at the organizational level. Although this could be due to lack of internal capacity, implementing D&I practices can undoubtedly be challenging. Future research can help to clarify these explanations.

The findings regarding resources were also mixed. Indeed, the findings indicated that small associations (with one or no staff) seem to be engaging in similar patterns of D&I work as larger associations. It should be noted, however, that this study did not actually measure the scale of these efforts. Thus, future research can help to provide insights into this relationship.

Although the first of its kind, this study is not without limitations. For one, the response rate is lower than desired. Selection bias is always a consideration in studies with a low response rate. Considering that those who responded were voluntarily willing to take a survey on D&I practices in their associations, those opting not to participate may be facing D&I challenges at either the organizational or industry level. Thus, it is plausible that the constraints outlined in this study may be more pronounced in associations that opted not to participate.

In addition, this study did not measure the existence of respondent bias. If individuals inside organizations resist policies and processes that create diverse or inclusive environments, this could reasonably be expected to have an impact on their responses. Future research that includes measures of bias would add additional insights to the impact of individual preferences on organizational D&I outcomes. Moreover, qualitative research and case studies may add greater depth and understanding about organizational culture and processes, allowing the opportunity to evaluate how organizations value D&I for themselves and their stakeholders. Despite these limitations, this study provides evidence of the types of barriers associations face when attempting to engage in D&I practices.

Implications

Findings from this study have implications for both research and practice in associations as well as in the nonprofit sector more broadly. With ever-growing attention to D&I practices in organizations of all types, acknowledgment of the importance of leadership support in D&I activities and programs is certainly timely. While the findings from this study are consistent with most literature on change management in organizations and institutional entrepreneurship, overcoming deeply felt discomfort or opposition to these issues may affect decisions to assign often scarce resources to the work of becoming more diverse and inclusive (Solebello et al., 2016). Yet, individuals committed to change can engage in these practices and help change the norms of their associations and their fields. Nonprofit leaders, however, should take stock of their own commitment to D&I as well as the commitment of their organization's before implementing programs and practices relating to D&I.

Disclosure Statement

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Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs

Social Enterprises' Social Orientation: The Impact on the Organizational Commitment of Employees

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This study investigates the relationship between social enterprises' social orientation and the organizational commitment of their employees. The study also examines differences in organizational commitment between Millennial social enterprise employees and social enterprise employees of earlier generations. The findings from the study indicate that a social enterprise's pursuit of social purpose, shared decision-making, and social performance are all positively associated with the organizational commitment of its employees. Additionally, the findings suggest that, in general, Millennials have a lower level of organizational commitment to their social enterprise employer than do earlier generations. Indeed, the organizational commitment of Millennials, we find, is primarily (and significantly) influenced only by shared decision-making. These findings contribute to the literature on social enterprise as well as to the literature on organizational commitment by providing insight into unseen aspects of social enterprise management from the perspective of employees. From a practical standpoint, these findings provide social entrepreneurs and managers of social enterprises with practical guidance on how to improve their employees' organizational commitment.

Keywords: Social Enterprise, Social Orientation, Millennials, Organizational Commitment

A social enterprise is an organization that engages in the simultaneous pursuit of social purpose and economic profits through business activities. These organizations operate at the intersection of market, government, and civil society (Nyssens, 2007). They are, therefore, able to combine and reflect the state's pursuit of public benefits, the mutual interests of their members, and their own profit-seeking goals (Defourny & Nyssens, 2017). This position ultimately allows them to make better use of each sector's untapped assets, resources, ideas, knowledge, logic, discourses, creativity, and legitimacy to achieve better outcomes and improved efficiency through multisectoral collaborations.

Because of this unique position, policymakers and researchers have increasingly focused on the practices of social enterprises around the world (Gonçalves, Carrara, & Schmittel, 2016; Granados, Hlupic, Coakes, & Mohamed, 2011). Researchers, in particular, have often explored the dynamics of how macro institutional forces influence the emergence and evolution of social

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enterprises (Defourny & Nyssens, 2017; Kerlin, 2009, 2017). For example, through comparative analyses of social enterprises across countries, Kerlin's Macro-Institutional Social Enterprise framework (2009, 2017) demonstrated that the social enterprise model is shaped by type of government, stage of economic development, model of civil society, culture, and international official development assistance.

Despite increasing focus on social enterprises, a gap remains between what we know and what we should know about these organizations. In particular, little is known about the micro aspects of social enterprises. Indeed, relatively few studies have empirically examined the individual attitudes and behaviors of social enterprise employees. Yet, social enterprise employees play a critical role in the social and economic performance of these organizations, not only because they directly participate in organizational functioning but also because they often have first-hand knowledge about the inner workings of these organizations. Thus, this study attempts to investigate social enterprises from the perspective of these internal stakeholders.

More specifically, the study aims to examine the impact of social enterprises' social orientation on the organizational commitment of employees of different generations. Applying generational theories of human behavior (Howe & Strauss, 2000; Strauss & Howe, 2009), in the study we focus on uncovering whether Millennials—i.e., individuals born after 1982 (Howe & Strauss, 2000)—are more likely than earlier generations to be attracted to work in social enterprises that are more socially oriented.

In general, there are contradictory perspectives on whether American Millennials are more prosocial than earlier generations (Hurst, 2016). Some studies have shown that Millennials are more prosocial than Baby Boomers (born between 1943 and 1960) and Generation X (born between 1961 and 1981) (Ertas, 2016; Greenberg & Weber, 2008; Howe & Strauss, 2000). Other studies, however, have shown that Millennials are more narcissistic and selfish than earlier generations (Twenge, 2006; Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012). Still other studies have shown no significant differences concerning pro-sociality between generations (Kovic & Hänsli, 2018; Wong, Gardiner, Lang, & Coulon, 2008).

This study employs survey data of employees working for social enterprises in South Korea. Korean scholars in diverse disciplines have applied the generational concept of Millennial to the study of various effects (Ahn, Lee, & Lee, 2020; Bernardi, 2018; Kim, Kim, Han, & Holland, 2016; Ko & Cho, 2019); interestingly, there have also been conflicting findings in terms of Millennials' social orientation in this cultural context as well. For example, while Jo (2017) found that Millennials in South Korea were more likely than earlier generations to support social welfare policies that addressed income inequity, Hwang, Oh, and Jung (2013) found that South Korean Millennials were less inclined than earlier generations to donate to charity.

The present study contributes to our expanding knowledge of employee commitment to organizations that are hybrid, i.e., organizations that blend the "different components and rationales of market, government, and civil society" (Evers, 2005). In addition, the study contributes to our understanding of Millennials in South Korea by investigating the extent to which a social enterprise's social orientation influences their organizational commitment. Overall, the findings from this study should provide social entrepreneurs and social enterprise managers—particularly those in charge of human resources (HR) management—with practical insights about how to keep Millennials engaged in their organizations.

Who Are Millennials?

Generations are defined as a group of individuals who live in the same period as coevalities and share similar lived experiences (Mannheim, 1952). Groups of individuals (i.e., cohorts) that have accumulated shared lived experiences are likely to have common values, attitudes,

and behaviors (Bright, 2010; Howe & Strauss, 2000; Lancaster & Stillman, 2002; Strauss & Howe, 2009). Based on life cycle, period, and cohort effects (Taylor & Keeter, 2010), generational theories have demonstrated age differences in individual worldviews, particularly in the workplace (Joshi, Dencker, Franz, & Martocchio, 2010; Parry & Urwin, 2011).

Millennials have grown up in a rapidly changing, diverse, rich, and digital world. A number of alternative names for Millennials, such as "Slackers," "Generation Y," "Trophy Kids," "Echo Boomers," "Nexters," "Digital Natives," and "Net Generation," have been applied (Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012). Millennials were raised and socialized in unprecedented educational, economic, social, and political environments that were rich in individual attention, kind guidance, positive feedback, frequent praise, and reinforcement (Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010). Thus, they often have strong self-esteem, self-confidence, self-assuredness, and self-satisfaction, which some have suggested has led them to be egoistical and narcissistic (Alsop, 2008; Hill, 2002; Strauss & Howe, 2009; Twenge, 2006; Twenge & Campbell, 2008; Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008; Zemke, Raines, & Filipczak, 1999). This overconfidence, egoism, and narcissism may have led Millennials to have unrealistic workplace expectations, such as a higher demand for praise. This may have also led to more frequent job hopping among Millennials than among either Baby Boomers or Generation Xers (Foster, Campbell, & Twenge, 2003; Lyons, Ng, & Schweitzer., 2012; Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010; Twenge & Campbell, 2008).

Millennials are "history's first 'always connected' generation" (Taylor & Keeter, 2010, p. 1). They have experienced the rapid development and diffusion of immediate, impulsive, and interactive communication and social-networking platforms. As a result, Millennials enjoy connecting, involving, and giving with a more global orientation; they also demand interconnectivity in the world (Alch, 2008; Taylor, Parker, Morin, Patten, & Brown, 2014). Millennials have also increasingly demonstrated their influence on the market, government, and civil society sectors (Fry, 2018; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Ever since Millennials entered into the workforce, HR managers have struggled to find ways to motivate and lead them in their organizations.

Millennials at Work: Generation We Versus Generation Me

There are contradictory perspectives on Millennials in the workplace—particularly in terms of their social orientation, which is closely related to workplace values, motivation, and commitment. Some scholars have found that Millennials crave community and are more civically involved, socially conscious, and interested in addressing social problems, helping others, and making a difference in the world than are previous generations (e.g., Ertas, 2016; Greenberg & Weber, 2008; Howe & Strauss, 2000). Indeed, these scholars have found that Millennials have strong beliefs about political engagement (Greenberg & Weber 2008), a corporation's social responsibility (Burstein, 2011; Hurst, 2016; Winograd & Hais, 2011), and their own aspirations for involvement in voluntary activities (Taylor & Keeter, 2010; Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012). These scholars have also suggested that since Millennials are relatively prosocial, they value meaningful, fulfilling, and purposeful work.

Despite these pro-social orientations, other scholars have suggested that Millennials are more likely than other generations to display narcissism and materialism as well as lower empathy and less concern for others (Twenge, 2006; Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012; Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010; Twenge & Kasser, 2013). This research has shown that Millennials have less desire to work in social services agencies or become social workers (Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012). Moreover, this research has shown that Millennials working for nonprofit organizations are more sensitive to financial rewards (Cornelius, Corvington, & Ruesga, 2008).

Interestingly, the concept of Millennial has been applied to various cultural contexts. Ng, Lyons, and Schweitzer (2012), for example, examined cross-cultural similarities and differences in generational HR practices; and, Deloitte's (2018) Millennial Survey demonstrated that Millennials across countries share common beliefs on safety, social equality, and environmental sustainability. Although Millennials across the globe tend to share many of the same values and attitudes, we have limited knowledge of the extent to which Millennials in contexts outside of North America are more or less committed to working in social enterprise organizations.

The Social Orientation of Social Enterprises

The definition of social enterprise varies across countries, largely because social enterprises have emerged and evolved in different historical, ideological, and socioeconomic contexts (Borzaga & Defourny, 2004; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Kerlin, 2006, 2009). However, there are often two common elements of social enterprises regardless of context: the primacy of social purpose and market-oriented income generation (Peattie & Morley, 2008). Thus, by focusing on the organizational pursuit of specific purposes and activities, rather than organizational forms and/or legal constructs, in this study we are able to capture the essence of diverse and complex social enterprises (Birch & Whittam, 2009).

There is variation in the extent to which social enterprises focus on social mission and business activities. Still, the simultaneous organizational pursuit of divergent goals, values, norms, and identities causes inherent tensions within these organizations (Smith, Gonin, & Besharov, 2013). To address these tensions, social enterprises often compromise and balance their dual goals (Battilana, Sengul, Pache, & Model, 2015; Borzaga & Tortia, 2010).

The social purpose of social enterprises represents the extent to which these organization have stable preferences for certain social outcomes. Organizational purpose often plays a crucial role in establishing a coherent alignment that makes linkages among an organization's mission, core values, strategies, competencies, and performance (Bart & Tabone, 1998; Hassan, 2007; Sender, 1997; Williams, 2002). Thus, social purpose is likely to be an important factor leading social enterprises to seek and maintain their social orientation. An organization's social purpose may also attract individuals to work in social enterprises. Individuals, however, may not only choose to commit to a social enterprise because of its attractive organizational purpose but also because of the organization's socialization process, which is "the process through which an individual comes to understand the values, abilities, expected behaviors, and social knowledge that are essential for assuming an organizational role and for participating as an organization member" (Chattman, 1989, p. 345).

Organizational commitment indicates a) a strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's goals and values, b) a willingness to make considerable efforts on behalf of the organization, and c) a desire to accomplish and maintain membership in the organization (Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulian, 1974). An individual is likely to commit to an organization if they identify with the organization's mission, values, and goals (Chatman, 1991; Finegan, 2000; Kacmar, Carlson, & Brymer, 1999). It is reasonable to assume, then, that when organizations seek social purpose as a goal this can improve the organizational commitment of employees. Thus, if Millennials are, in fact, more prosocial than other generations, they are likely to be more sensitive than previous generations to the effect of a social enterprise's social purpose. The following hypothesis is, therefore, offered:

> *Hypothesis₁: A social enterprises social purpose is associated with an increase in the organizational commitment of its employees.*

> *Hypothesis₂: Millennials' organizational commitment is more likely (than previous generations) to be influenced by the social purpose of social enterprises.*

Shared decision-making within social enterprises can reveal the extent to which these organizations operate with socially oriented principles. Indeed, social enterprises, particularly those located in Europe, have often promoted participatory and democratic decision-making practices, such as the inclusion of multiple stakeholders in critical business processes (Defourny & Nyssens, 2012; Pestoff, 2009; Pestoff & Hulgård, 2016; Spear, Cornforth, & Aiken, 2014). This emphasis on internal democracy originates partly from cooperatives and the concept of social economies (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Ridley-Duff, 2009; Teasdale, 2012), where decision-making power is shared with multiple stakeholders and involves these stakeholders in problem-solving processes.

Shared decision-making can promote employee communication, participation, collaborative work relationships, and a sense of psychological ownership, empowerment, and satisfaction, which can all ultimately contribute to enhancing organizational commitment (Balfour & Wechsler, 1996; Kim, 2005; May, Korczynski, & Frenkel, 2002; Sheridan, 1992; Smith & Peterson, 1988; Vroom & Jago, 1988). For example, Ohana, Meyer, and Swaton (2013) found a positive relationship between procedural justice resulting from participation in decision-making and employees' affective commitment in social enterprises; and, organizational commitment research has shown that employees are more likely to be committed to their organizations when they are involved in decision-making that influences their daily work (Bhatti & Qureshi, 2007; Hansen & Kjeldsen, 2018; Lines, 2004; Thompson, Buch, & Kuvaas, 2017).

If, indeed, Millennials are more prosocial than other generations, it is reasonable to assume that their level of organizational commitment will more likely be influenced by organizational operations based on shared decision-making practices. In support of this assumption, there have been some studies showing that Millennials prefer participatory and democratic decision-making (Lancaster & Stillman, 2002). Thus, the following hypotheses are offered:

> *Hypothesis₃: Shared decision-making is associated with an increase in organizational commitment of social enterprise employees.*

> *Hypothesis₄: Millennials' organizational commitment is more likely (than previous generations) to be influenced by shared decision-making.*

The social performance of a social enterprise can be one indicator of the extent to which the organization creates social outcomes. Social enterprises have played an important role in enhancing the financial sustainability of civil society organizations by producing and selling goods and services based on market-oriented revenue generation strategies (Alter, 2006, 2007; Cooney, 2015; Kerlin & Pollak, 2011). These organizations have also helped to create social and public value in instances where the government and market have failed to function sufficiently in offering goods and services (Hansmann, 1979; Weisbord, 1988). These failures have, in many instances, resulted in the emergence of social enterprises (Dees, 2007; Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Teasdale, 2012; Weisbord, 1988; Williams, 2007).

Thus, by reinvesting their economic surplus for social purposes, social enterprises have played an important role in addressing systemic social problems and creating social and public value, e.g., employment opportunities (Cooney, 2011), social inclusion (Teasdale, 2010), social service provision (Bidet, 2012), local community development (Munoz, Steiner, & Farmer, 2014), and democratic governance (Pestoff & Hulgård, 2016; Rothschild, 2009). In South Korea, in particular, many social enterprises emerged after the Asian financial crisis of 1997 (Park, 2013). These organizations have contributed to enhancing job creation, providing social

services to the disadvantaged, and reinvigorating local communities (Korean Social Enterprise Promotion Agency, 2017).

Some individuals may apply for, and subsequently work in, social enterprises because of the social orientation that these organizations have toward making a difference, contributing to social and public value creation, and bringing about meaningful change in the world. Previous studies have shown that employees tend to be proud to identify with and commit to their organizations when the organization has a positive external reputation and contributes to the local community (Brammer, Millington, & Rayton, 2007; Maignan, & Ferrell, 2001; Peterson, 2004; Turker, 2009). Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the social performance of social enterprises may enhance the organizational commitment of their employees. Millennials, in particular, may be more influenced by this social performance. Thus, we hypothesize that:

> *Hypothesis$_5$: A social enterprises social performance is associated with an increase in the organizational commitment of its employees.*

> *Hypothesis$_6$: Millennials' organizational commitment is more likely (than previous generations) to be influenced by social performance.*

> *Hypothesis$_7$: Millennials are more likely (than previous generations) to have higher organizational commitment to social enterprises.*

Empirical Strategy

Data and Method

We conducted a mail survey in South Korea in 2011 to collect data on employees working for social enterprises. The survey was distributed to 775 social enterprises, which included the entire population of 501 government-certified social enterprises and 274 of the 309 uncertified social enterprises in the country. A member of the staff from each social enterprise was asked to answer the questionnaire regardless of their position or role within the social enterprise.

Participation in the study was completely voluntary. A total of 200 employees from certified social enterprises (representing a nearly 40% response rate) and 74 employees from uncertified social enterprises (representing a 27% response rate) participated in the survey. The total response rate was 35%. All respondents were guaranteed confidentiality. After excluding surveys with missing information, we retained 249 surveys in the study. Nearly 19% of the surveys were from Millennials and just over 80% were from individuals representing earlier generations. To analyze the data, we estimated a series of ordinary-least squares (OLS) regression models.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study is organizational commitment. It is measured by the average of three questionnaire items (Cronbach's alpha=0.91). These items were developed based on Meyer, Allen, and Smith's (1993) six-item Likert-type scale of affective commitment as well as Ackfeldt and Coote's (2005) four-item Likert-type scale of affective commitment. Both scales have been widely used and validated to measure affective commitment (Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 2002; Ohana, Meyer, & Swaton, 2013).

The three questionnaire items in our study were: "I feel a strong sense of belonging to this company," "I feel like part of the family at my organization," and "My organization has a great deal of personal meaning to me." Higher Cronbach's alpha scores indicate more reliable scales. A Cronbach's alpha of 0.70 and above is generally regarded as having acceptable internal consistency (Reynaldo & Santos, 1999). Thus, our dependent variable has good reliability.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model
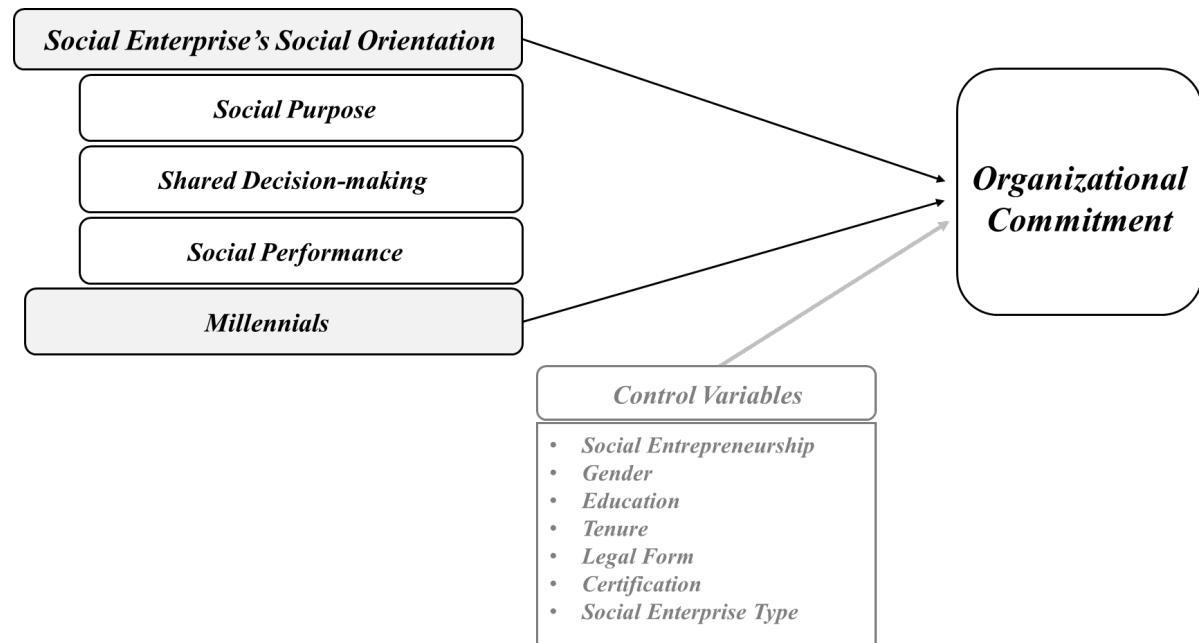
Independent Variables

Social Purpose, Shared Decision-making, and Social Performance. To capture a social enterprise's social orientation, we asked respondents about their social enterprise's social purpose, shared decision-making processes, and social performance. Responses were measured on a five-point Likert-type scale.

Specifically, social purpose was measured by the average of three questionnaire items (Cronbach's alpha=0.84). These items were: "Social entrepreneurs working in my organization seek to achieve socially desirable organizational purposes by changing the existing organizational culture in our organization," "Social entrepreneurs working in my organization seek social purpose as well as economic profits," and "Social entrepreneurs working in my organization simultaneously seek both the interests of the organization itself and the interests of members involved in the organization and local community where the organization is located."

Shared decision-making processes were also measured by the average of three questionnaire items (Cronbach's alpha=0.82). These items were: "In my organization, employees decide on the critical tasks," "Managers in my organization encourage employees to participate in the decision-making processes," and "My organization provides employees with an opportunity to suggest new ideas for improvement."

Social performance was measured by the average of three questionnaire items (Cronbach's alpha=0.77). The Korean Social Enterprise Promotion Law of 2007 maintains that social enterprises are required to pursue job creation (particularly for the disadvantaged), provide social services, and/or contribute to local community development. Thus, the three items used for this scale were designed to measure a social enterprises social performance based on these legal requirements. These items were: "My organization as a social enterprise provides jobs to the community in which our organization is located," "My organization as a social enterprise provides social services to local residents," and "My organization as a social enterprise invests our profit in the realization of social and public purposes."

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Variables

Variables	Summary Statistics	Range
Organizational commitment (α=0.91)	M=3.6;SD=0.8	1–5
Social purpose (α=0.84)	M=4.2; SD=0.6	3–5
Shared decision-making (α=0.82)	M=3.6; SD=0.7	1–5
Social performance (α=0.77)	M=4.2; SD=0.6	2–5
Millennial	Yes=18.9%; No=81.1%	0–1
Innovation (α=0.74)	M=3.8; SD=0.6	1–5
Proactiveness (α=0.78)	M=3.7; SD=0.6	1–5
Risk-taking (α=0.70)	M=2.8; SD=0.7	1–5
Gender	Male=41.0%; Female=59.0%	0–1
Education	Below upper secondary=13.7% 2-year college=15.3% University=57.8% Graduate school=13.2%	1–4
Tenure	Less than 5 years=72.7% 6-10 years=18.9% 11-15 years=6.0% 16-20 years=1.2% 21 years and more=1.2%	1–5
Legal type	Profit=33.0%; Nonprofit=67.0%	0–1
Government-certified social enterprises	Certified=73.0%; Uncertified=23.0%	0–1
Social enterprise type	Social service provision=8.0% Job creation=50.2% Mixed=36.6% Other=5.2%	1–4

Note: M=Mean and SD=Standard Deviation.

Millennials. This survey was conducted in 2011. Thus, respondents who identified as being in their twenties at that time were considered, for the purposes of this research, to be Millennials (Howe & Strauss, 2000). We measured "Millennials" as a dummy variable that equaled "1" if respondents were a Millennial and "0" if otherwise.

Control Variables. We included several control variables. Building on Helm and Andersson's (2010) study, we included three types of social entrepreneurship: innovation, proactiveness, and risk-taking. For each type, three items were created, which resulted in a nine-item scale. Responses were measured on a five-point Likert-type scale.[1, 2, 3]

We measured "tenure" as a categorical variable to represent the working duration of individuals (less than five years, between six and 10 years, between 11 and 15 years, between 16 and 20 years, and 21 years and more). "Legal form" was measured as a dummy variable that equals "1" if the social enterprise is a profit organization and "0" if it is a nonprofit organization. We also included a measure to assess whether the organization was a "government-certified social enterprise." This is measured as a dummy variable that equals "1" if the social enterprise is certified by the national government and "0" if it has not obtained certification. We also included a measure of "social enterprise type," which indicates a specific organizational social orientation chosen by the social enterprise. This is measured as a categorical variable with values representing social service provision type, job creation type, mixed type, or other type. These types are based on the Korean Social Enterprise Promotion Law's classification system of social enterprise.

Finally, we included two demographic controls: a dummy variable for "male" (coded as "1") and a categorical measure of "education" (below upper-secondary, two-year college degree,

university degree, graduate school and more). Figure 1 illustrates our conceptual framework. Descriptive statistics for all variables are reported in Table 1.

Findings

The results are shown in Table 2. Model 1 of Table 2 shows that all three social orientation variables are significant and positively associated with organizational commitment: social purpose (β=0.33, p<0.01), shared decision-making processes (β=0.23, p<0.01), and social performance (β=0.15, p<0.1). The results also show that Millennials working for social enterprises have significantly less organizational commitment than earlier generations (β=-0.22, p<0.1).

Model 1 of Table 2 also shows that organizational commitment is positively associated with risk-taking, which may lead social enterprises to actively and boldly engage in maximizing profitability rather attaining stability. Also shown in this model, male employees appear to have higher organizational commitment than female employees; and, as shown, education level has a negative effect on organizational commitment.

In model 2 of Table 2, we divided generations into three groups: Millennials, Generation Xers, and Baby Boomers. The results indicate that all three social orientation variables are still significant and positively associated with organizational commitment: social purpose (β=0.33, p<0.01), shared decision-making processes (β=0.23, p<0.01), and social performance (β=0.16, p<0.1). When considering the effect of generation, the results indicate that Baby Boomers have more organizational commitment than Millennials (β=0.38, p<0.05). There is, however, no significant difference between Millennials and Generation Xers in terms of their organizational commitment.

To investigate the extent to which Millennials' organizational commitment is influenced by a social enterprise's social orientation, in model 3 of Table 2 we created interaction terms between Millennials and all three social orientation variables. The results show that only the interaction between Millennials and shared decision-making is significant (β=0.31, p<0.1). No other interactions were significant.

Overall, our results show that social purpose, shared decision-making processes, and social performance are influential factors for determining the level of organizational commitment of social enterprise employees. Moreover, our results suggest that Millennials working for social enterprises have less organizational commitment than earlier generations.

Discussion

This study explored social enterprises' social orientation by focusing on what these organizations pursue—namely, their social purpose, shared decision-making, and social performance. In the study, we sought to understand what causes employees of South Korean social enterprises to commit to their organizations. Our results indicate that a social enterprise's social orientation has a positive effect on employees' organizational commitment. This could likely mean that by paying attention to social purpose, emphasizing shared decision-making processes, and demonstrating social performance, employees may commit more to their organizations. These findings align with previous studies that have emphasized the importance of these factors in promoting employees' organizational commitment.

This study also investigated differences in organizational commitment between Millennials and earlier generations. Our findings demonstrated that Millennials are less likely than Baby

Table 2. Effects of Social Enterprises' Social Orientation on Organizational Commitment

Variables	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Social purpose	0.33***	(0.09)	0.33***	(0.09)	0.33***	(0.10)
Shared decision-making	0.23***	(0.07)	0.23***	(0.07)	0.17**	(0.08)
Social performance	0.15*	(0.09)	0.16*	(0.09)	0.17*	(0.10)
Millennial	-0.22*	(0.12)			-0.85	(1.11)
Millennial * Social purpose					0.01	(0.25)
Millennial * Shared decision-making					0.31*	(0.18)
Millennial * Social performance					-0.12	(0.23)
Generation *(ref=Millennials)*						
Generation Xers			0.17	(0.13)		
Baby Boomers			0.38**	(0.16)		
Social entrepreneurship						
Innovation	0.09	(0.08)	0.09	(0.08)	0.07	(0.08)
Proactiveness	0.05	(0.08)	0.06	(0.08)	0.06	(0.08)
Risk-taking	0.17**	(0.07)	0.18**	(0.07)	0.17**	(0.07)
Gender (Male)	0.21**	(0.10)	0.20**	(0.10)	0.21**	(0.10)
Education *(ref= Below upper secondary)*						
2-year college	-0.34**	(0.17)	-0.34*	(0.17)	-0.33*	(0.17)
University	-0.40***	(0.15)	-0.36**	(0.15)	-0.40***	(0.15)
Graduate school	-0.32*	(0.18)	-0.27	(0.18)	-0.32*	(0.18)
Tenure (ref: less than 5 years)						
6-10 years	0.10	(0.12)	0.09	(0.12)	0.12	(0.12)
11-15 years	-0.24	(0.20)	-0.23	(0.20)	-0.22	(0.20)
16-20 years	-0.07	(0.44)	-0.09	(0.43)	-0.04	(0.44)
21 years and more	0.63	(0.43)	0.47	(0.44)	0.67	(0.43)
Legal form (For-profit)	0.07	(0.10)	0.09	(0.10)	0.07	(0.10)
Certification	0.15	(0.11)	0.11	(0.11)	0.14	(0.11)
Social enterprise type *(ref=Social service)*						
Job creation	0.01	(0.18)	-0.00	(0.18)	0.04	(0.19)
Mixed	0.01	(0.18)	0.00	(0.18)	0.05	(0.19)
Other	-0.12	(0.27)	-0.10	(0.26)	-0.12	(0.27)
Constant	-0.03	(0.55)	-0.35	(0.56)	0.11	(0.60)
Adj-R²	0.26		0.26		0.26	
Observations	249		249		249	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Ref=reference category. ***$p<0.01$, **$p<0.05$, *$p<0.1$

Boomers to commit to social enterprises. These findings, in part, lend credibility to previous literature showing that Millennials are more likely than earlier generations to be motivated by empathic considerations, concern for others, and altruism (Twenge, 2006; Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012; Twenge et al., 2010; Twenge & Kasser, 2013).

We also analyzed the effect of the interaction between a social enterprise's social orientation and Millennial employees on organizational commitment. The results of this analysis indicated that the interaction term between shared decision-making and Millennial employees was significant and positive. That is, there was a different relationship between shared decision-making and organizational commitment for Millennials when compared with earlier generations. No other interaction terms were significant.

These results may suggest that Millennials are more likely than earlier generations to be influenced by a social enterprise's shared decision-making processes. However, the findings do not necessarily mean that Millennials are more likely than earlier generations to prefer participatory and collaborative work environments. Indeed, in an online survey of 5,940 U.S. respondents, Millennials were more likely than either Generation Xers or Baby Boomers to prefer their manager's directives, believing that hierarchical directives were important to the leader's effectiveness (Deal, Stawiski, Gentry, & Cullen, 2014). Rather, these findings may indicate that Millennials are more likely to thrive in organizations that enable them to participate in value allocation, value creation, and value distribution with substantive power. Future research should examine the extent to which Millennials' organizational commitment is influenced by their participation and power within organizational decision-making structures.

Interestingly, our results show no significant sector difference in organizational commitment between for-profit and nonprofit social enterprise employees. Previous studies of organizational commitment have presented mixed results in terms of sector differences (e.g., Cho & Lee, 2001; Hansen & Kjeldsen, 2018; Steinhaus & Perry, 1996).

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

We advise caution when interpreting the results of the difference between Millennials and earlier generations because of external validity constraints. For example, the definition of Millennials was originally based on the American context; as such, it may not be completely applicable to South Korea—even though previous research has examined Millennial behavior cross-nationally. Still, there are important differences between American and Korean Millennials; and, although these Millennials have lived for the same period of time, they likely have substantially different lived experiences. Future research should examine generations based on these contextual considerations.

There are, of course, other limitations of this study. First, although our measurement of a social enterprise's social orientation is meaningful, future research with larger samples across countries is needed to confirm the validity of this measure. Additionally, longitudinal data are needed to examine the relationship between a social enterprise's social orientation and the organizational commitment of employees. Since this study relied on cross-sectional data, we are unable to explain the causal relationship.

Finally, given that all of our measures are from the same survey, there may be a risk of common source bias. To test if this was a concern in our study, we employed Harman's (1967) approach. The total variance for a single factor is 0.42, which is less than 0.50. That is to say, Harman's single factor test indicates that common source bias does not affect our data (Fuller, Simmering, Atinc, Atinc, & Babin, 2016; Podsakoff, 2003).

Conclusion

To better understand social enterprises, research has focused on uncovering the macro and external forces that shape these organizations. Little is known, though, about the micro and internal aspects of social enterprises. This study examined social enterprises in South Korea from the perspective of employees. The results demonstrated that a social enterprise's social orientation (i.e., social purpose, shared decision-making processes, and social performance) is positively associated with the organizational commitment of its employees. Our findings also show that a social enterprise's legal form has no significant impact on employees' organizational commitment. These findings contribute to both the social enterprise and organizational commitment literature by uncovering factors that promote the organizational commitment of employees.

By surveying the viewpoints of social enterprise employees, this study uncovers internal aspects of social enterprises, thereby broadening our understanding of these organizations. From a practical perspective, this study provides guidance for HR managers of social enterprises that can be used to promote the organizational commitment of Millennial employees.

Notes

1. Innovation (Cronbach's alpha=0.74) is measured by: 1) Social entrepreneurs within my organization develop new products or services rather than work efficiently in the conventional way, 2) Social entrepreneurs within my organization increase efficiency and productivity by leading creative and big changes rather than making minor changes to existing policies, services or products, and 3) Social entrepreneurs within my organization induce organizational change by developing new technologies, products, and services within the organization rather than adopting existing best practices.
2. Proactiveness (Cronbach's alpha=0.78) is measured by 1) Social entrepreneurs within my organization act more proactively than their counterparts rather than acting in response to the initiatives of their peers, 2) Social entrepreneurs within my organization introduce new ways of working or services more proactively than other existing companies, and 3) Social entrepreneurs within my organization are willing to work on new programs that are different from other companies in order to generate profits in the future.
3. Risk-taking (Cronbach's alpha=0.77) is measured by 1) Social entrepreneurs within my organization generally prefer projects that can create high profitability rather than stability, 2) Regardless of the general practice of peer companies, social entrepreneurs within my organization choose a new business approach to achieve organizational goals even though it requires risk-taking, and 3) Social entrepreneurs within my organization actively and boldly engage in business activities to maximize profits.

Disclosure Statement

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Maybe They're Not So Different After All: Personality and Job Satisfaction Among Government and Non-Government Workers

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It is becoming increasingly clear that individual personality traits explain a variety of outcomes in public management. There is, however, no extant evidence about whether personality traits vary between public and non-government workers or whether personality affects job outcomes in distinct ways across sectors. This study, therefore, seeks to fill this gap in the literature. Using a series of bivariate and multivariate tests on a large sample of Americans employed in the public and non-government sectors, this study examines the relationship between employees' personality and their level of job satisfaction. In the study, I find that a five-factor model of personality can help explain variation in job satisfaction of public and non-government workers. I also find that workers employed by public sector organizations display similar profiles to those who work in non-government sectors. Thus, the effects of personality on job satisfaction is not contingent on employment sector. These findings offer important lessons for our understanding of public personnel management, public service motivation, and the intersection of psychology and public administration.

Keywords: Personality, Job Satisfaction, Behavioral Public Administration

Are public employees distinct from their counterparts in other sectors? This question lies at the heart of public management inquiry. It is, therefore, not surprising that scholars have focused a great deal on sector level similarities and differences among employees. Despite considerable progress concerning this line of research, however, scholars remain divided about the sources and extent of individual differences among employees across employment sector. Therefore, in this article, I take advantage of the emerging literature on personality in public administration as a precursor to public service motivation (e.g., Van Witteloostuijn, Esteve, & Boyne, 2016) to test theories of public and non-government sector differences.

Personality refers to "important and relatively stable aspects of behavior" that originate "within the individual" (Ewen 2010, p. 3). If public and non-government employees are distinct from one another, they should have different personality profiles that reflect attraction to one sector or another. Indeed, personality types that fit with the characteristics of public sector employment should result in more job satisfaction in the public sector, whereas personality traits that fit better with non-government sectors should result in higher levels of job satisfaction in these sectors.

To assess this, I explore two research questions in this study: 1) Do public and non-government employees have distinct personality profiles? 2) Does personality affect job satisfaction in public and non-government employees in distinct ways? While these questions are key to our theoretical and practical understanding of public management, there is no extant study that uses a single dataset to answer these questions. Yet, these are questions that are core to the emerging literature on personality in public administration and the robust literature on public and non-government differences.

To properly contextualize and subsequently answer these questions, I first assess the literature on public and non-government worker differences. Next, I introduce personality theory as the theoretical framework that I use to guide this study. I then briefly review the literature on job satisfaction, i.e., the primary job-related outcome that I use to explore personality-related differences across sectors. After this review of pertinent literature, I discuss the methodology that I use to address these questions. I then review findings and discuss what these findings mean in the context of extant literature in public administration. Finally, I reflect on limitations of this study and offer suggestions for potential directions for future research.

Sector Employee Differences

For more than 40 years scholars of public management have pondered whether public workers are best described as more similar or different than their counterparts in other sectors (Rainey, Backoff & Levine, 1976). Among the broad swath of individual level studies of sector differences, some scholars differentiate between studies relating to 1) individual employees' "generic values," 2) individual employees' relation to their job, 3) individual employees' relation to "the team," and 4) individual employees' relation to the organization (Baarspul & Wilderom, 2011). It is the first two of these four areas that are the most important to this study; as such, it is within these two areas that we find a divided literature.

Individual Employees' "Generic Values": Values and Motivations of Public Sector Employees

When compared with their counterparts in the private sector public employees have been shown to be more charitable (Houston, 2006), have higher levels of social capital (Brewer, 2003), and are more likely to engage in a host of prosocial behaviors. Public sector employees have also been shown to have different values—and these values become more distinct the longer they remain in their job (Becker & Connor, 2005). There is also evidence that public sector employees have higher markers of occupational stress, leading to poorer physical and mental health (Bogg & Cooper, 1995). These are all important findings that point to potential deep-seated differences between public employees and employees in other sectors. These differences could be a result of differences in core personality traits that structure many other of life choices.

Despite these findings of differences between the value orientations of public and nongovernment employees, there are a number of studies that provide alternative perspectives, particularly relating to risk acceptance. For example, while Nutt (2006) has found that public managers are more risk-acceptant than their private sector counterparts, Belante and Link (1981) have found the opposite relationship. Moreover, Barton and Waldron (1978) have concluded that there is no relationship between employment sector and risk aversion.

In sum, then, the literature is divided on whether public employees have fundamentally different values and motivations than their counterparts in other sectors. Further, the work that has been conducted, while rigorous and productive, does not provide a theoretically unified theory for the sources of these differences. As a result, more work is needed to address these issues.

Individual Employees' Relation to Their Job: How Public Employees Relate to Their Jobs

An investigation into the second category of public worker differences also reveals a productive but ultimately contradictory research landscape. For example, on the one hand, many studies have found that public employees tend to overly focus on intrinsic rewards. Private employees, on the other hand, are often more motivated by extrinsic rewards (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007; Houston, 2000). Still, Karl and Sutton (1998, p. 523) concluded that even though public employees are more likely to value "interesting work," they do not differ from their private sector counterparts on the importance of job security.

In the end, studies of sector differences in the workplace do not suggest a clear, unified set of findings. It is probably safe to assume, though, that public and non-government workers likely differ (in some way) in how they relate to their jobs. Yet, the empirical evidence is divided on exactly when and why these differences, when they are found to exist, are present. A better understanding of these differences should help us to recruit, motivate, and retain employees who are suitable for public service.

The Emerging Literature on Personality

The concept of personality has been a mainstay in the public administration literature since Robert Merton (1940) discussed the bureaucratic personality more than 75 years ago. Since then, scholars have taken issue with the concept of a distinct bureaucratic personality (e.g., Bozeman & Rainey, 1998; Williams, Sjoberg & Sjoberg, 1980). Although these studies have been key to highlighting the importance of personality in public administration, there remains a dearth of empirical or theoretical literature focusing on the construct of personality in public administration.

Although there was briefly a movement toward the Myers Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) as a potential theoretical and empirical construct that could guide the literature (Coe, 1991; 1992; Hubbell, 1991), this research agenda faded quickly. Indeed, personality psychologists have long questioned the validity and reliability of the MBTI (e.g., McRae & Costa, 1989).

In recent years public administration scholars have, like psychologists a decade before them, increasingly focused on the five-factor model (FFM) of personality (e.g., Cooper, Carpenter, Reiner & McCord, 2014; Cooper, Knotts, McCord & Johnson, 2013; Filiz & Bagglio, 2017; Hamidullah, Van Ryzin & Li, 2016). The FFM holds that there are five personality traits that describe human differences. These traits are continuous rather than dichotomous and can be measured using a variety of accepted scales. These five traits, in order of their explanatory value, are extraversion (E), agreeableness (A), conscientiousness (C), neuroticism (N)[1], and openness to new experiences (O).

Agreeableness refers to "the extent to which one is trusting and helpful or suspicious and uncooperative" (Ewen 2010, p. 281). Conscientiousness is "the extent to which one is hardworking and reliable or lazy, unreliable, and careless" (Ewen, 2010, p. 281). Extraversion focuses on how "social and outgoing or more aloof, retiring, reserved, and introspective" one is (Ewen, 2010, p. 281). Neuroticism refers to "the extent to which one is nervous and insecure as opposed to calm and secure" (Ewen, 2010, p. 281). Finally, Openness to New Experiences is "the extent to which one is creative and nonconformist or conventional and down-to-earth" (Ewen 2010, p. 281). Table 1 includes brief descriptions of each factor along with how it is measured in this study.

Unlike the MBTI, which places individuals into categories, the FFM places individuals at a place on a scale between two opposite extremes. For example, whereas the MBTI would identify an individual as either introverted or extraverted, the FFM recognizes that there are

Table 1. Describing the Five Factor Model

Factor	Traits Associated with the Factor	BFI-10 Questions
Extraversion (E)	Suspicious and uncooperative versus hardworking and reliable.	• Is reserved* • Is outgoing, sociable
Agreeableness (A)	Suspicious and uncooperative versus trusting and helpful.	• Is generally trusting • Tends to find fault with others*
Conscientiousness (C)	Lazy and unreliable versus hardworking and reliable.	• Does a thorough job • Tends to be lazy*
Neuroticism (N)	Calm and secure versus nervous and insecure.	• Gets nervous easily • Is relaxed, handles stress well*
Openness (O)	Conventional and down-to-earth versus nonconformist and creative.	• Has an active imagination • Has few artistic interests*

Notes: * indicates a reverse-coded item. Items in middle column are quoted directly from Ewen (2010, p. 281). The stem of the question described in column three is 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? I see myself as someone who…" BF1-10= Big Five-Inventory-10.

degrees of introversion and extraversion. This is important for both theoretical and practical reasons. Imagine, for instance, two people (persons "A" and "B") on a scale of introversion—extraversion that ranges from 1 to 10 with a line of demarcation between introversion and extraversion at 4.5. If person "A" is a 4 on this scale and person "B" is a 5 on the scale, the MBTI would indicate that they have different personality types. The FFM, however, would conclude that these two individuals are more similar than different.

While personality does not determine behavior, personality traits can shape how a person sees the world; thus, personality can "influence one's actions…particularly…in situations where fewer social rules guide behavior" (Davis, Stazyk, & Klingeman, 2017, p. 8). Accordingly, the five factors have been shown to provide powerful explanations for concepts as divergent as vote choice (Mondak, 2010) and body weight (Sutin & Terracciano, 2016).

Thus, while psychologists have criticized the MBTI for its lack of validity and reliability, the FFM has been shown to perform better on these standards (McRae & Costa, 1989). The structure of the FFM also holds across ages (see e.g., Grist, Socha, & McCord, 2012), cultures (see e.g., McRae, Costa, Del Pilar, Rolland & Parker, 1998),[2] and even species (see, e.g., Gosling & John, 1999).[3] For these reasons, the FFM has great promise for the field of public administration.[4]

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction can be defined as "the pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experience" (Locke, 1976, p. 1300, cited in Wright & Davis, 2003). It is considered an important concept for both practitioners and theoreticians of administrative behavior. After all, people who are satisfied with their jobs are less likely to seek a job at another organization (Tett & Meyer, 1993). These employees, thus, reduce the transaction cost of employment for organizations.

In general, an organization with satisfied employees is a productive one (Wright & Davis, 2003). Job satisfaction, therefore, is beneficial not only for the worker, but for the employer as well. In the context of the public sector specifically, job satisfaction is even more important, since public money is spent on any transition costs created by increased turnover.

Job satisfaction has been used to explain individual and organizational performance; and, much has been written about the factors that affect job satisfaction in a variety of employment sectors. Increasingly, this work has focused on the effects of individual factors. For example, those with more organizational tenure tend to be more satisfied with their jobs (Brush, Moch, & Poooyan, 1987). Public employees, in particular, who work in higher prestige jobs are often more satisfied with their employment (Van Ryzin, 2012). Counter to popular sentiment, however, there is scant evidence demonstrating that pay affects job satisfaction in any appreciable way (Judge, Piccolo, Podsakoff, Shaw, & Rich, 2010).

Potential differences in attitudes and behaviors between workers in different sectors also have clear implications for our understanding of job satisfaction. For example, some studies have found that private sector managers tend to be more satisfied with their jobs than their public sector counterparts (Bogg & Cooper, 1995; Soloman, 1986). Other studies, however, have found public sector employees often report the highest levels of satisfaction with their jobs (e.g., Steel & Warner, 1990). Desantis and Durst (1996) provided additional nuance to these findings by demonstrating that satisfaction varies as much by level of government as it does by employment sector. Importantly, they also note that patterns predictive of job satisfaction are similar across the two groups.

The FFM and Job Satisfaction

Given the ubiquity of the FFM in a variety of social science fields, it is perhaps not surprising that it has recently been applied to studies of organizational behavior and, more specifically, to job satisfaction. In a meta-analysis of these results in the private sector, Judge, Heller, and Mount (2002) found that individuals higher in extraversion and conscientiousness and lower in neuroticism tended to be more satisfied with their jobs. They also found a weak relationship between agreeableness and job satisfaction. Openness to new experiences, they found, had no effect in the vast majority of studies. All of these findings reflect theories and expectations about how personality should structure job satisfaction.

In one of the few studies to explore the connection between personality and job satisfaction in the public sector, Cooper et al. (2013) concluded that higher levels of agreeableness, and conscientiousness and lower levels of Neuroticism were related to public employee job satisfaction. As their only departure from the Judge, Heller, and Mount (2002) meta-analysis, Cooper et al. found that extraversion had no effect on job satisfaction in their sample of public managers.

Although the Cooper et al.'s (2013) study is instructive, it has two limitations suggestive that more research is necessary. First, the authors relied on a fairly limited sample, i.e., town and county managers who were located in only three southeastern states. While we can speculate that this study applies to local managers' job more generally, it is uncertain if their findings generalize to public employees who are not local government managers. Further, the differing results on extraversion leaves us unable to determine whether extraversion affects job satisfaction among public and non-government employees.

More importantly, because Cooper et al. (2013) only examined public employees and Judge et al. (2010) only examined private employees, there has been no single study that compares public and non-government employees using a single metric. This leaves us uncertain about the applicability, similarities, and differences of the FFM across sectors.

Theory and Hypotheses

The preceding review of the literature on sector differences, personality, and job satisfaction leads us to remaining questions and clear hypotheses. As reviewed, voluminous literature

suggests that public employees have distinct values and motivations than their counterparts in other sectors. However, an equally voluminous literature suggests that those differences are overstated.

One problem with these studies is that they do not have a uniform, testable theoretical rationale for these differences. The closest intellectual tradition is, of course, the ubiquitous literature on public service motivation (PSM), which suggests public sector employees have an intrinsic motivation for public service—a motivation that is a result of distinct values that produce different job-related outcomes (Perry & Wise, 1990).

In this study, I argue that if public and private worker differences are present they should also be present at an even more innate level, i.e., the level of personality. The PSM literature would imply that public and private workers do have distinct personality profiles. After all, if PSM is a naturally occurring set of individual attributes, it makes sense that it would be related to personality. In fact, Van Witteloostuijn et al. (2016) and Hamidullah et al. (2016) found that PSM can be accurately summarized by personality. If PSM is higher among public employees, and if personality can explain variation in PSM, it follows then that personality traits should differ across employment sectors. Thus, I propose the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis₁: Public and non-government employees display distinct personality profiles.*

Regardless of whether I find evidence for this hypothesis, or whether the null hypothesis of no difference can be embraced, these findings should provide a more theoretically grounded and empirically robust understanding of the nature of public employees, as suggested by Baarspul and Wilderom (2011).

Second, if public employees are motivated by distinct factors, or hold distinct values, it stands to reason that these factors should affect outcomes differently in public and non-government contexts. For example, if public sector jobs are truly more bureaucratically governed, and mired in greater red tape, then we might expect respondents who score higher on Openness to New Experiences to report higher levels of job satisfaction in non-government sectors and lower levels in the public sector. Thus, the second hypothesis is:

> *Hypothesis₂: The influence of personality on job satisfaction is different for public employees than for employees of other sectors.*

Data

One potential reason that these hypotheses may not have been tested previously is that it is difficult to find a single dataset that includes data on public and non-government workers, a reliable personality inventory, and a vetted and accepted question about job satisfaction. Indeed, I could only identify one dataset that meets all of these criteria: the 2006 General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS is a well-established biennial general population survey that asks more than 1,000 Americans ages 18 and older a host of questions ranging from vote choice to whether the respondent enjoys reggae music.

Studies using data from the GSS have frequently been used in public administration (e.g. Cooper & Reinagel, 2015; Houston, 2000, 2006; Van Ryzin, 2012); and, most of these studies accept that the GSS's sampling strategy and empirical approach conform to the highest social scientific standards. While we would ideally rely on the most recent iteration of the GSS, 2006 is the only year that includes personality and job sector measures. (For more on the GSS and its sampling strategy, see the GSS Cumulative Codebook [1977–2014].)

Table 2. Description of Variables

Variable	Base Variables from GSS *(before recoding)*	Min. - Max.	Mean
Extraversion (E)	BIG5A1, BIG5A2	2-10	5.37
Agreeableness (A)	BIGFIVEB1, BIG5A2	2-10	4.46
Conscientiousness (C)	BIGFIVEC1, BIG5CS	2-8	3.46
Neuroticism (N)	BIGFIVED1, BIG5D2	2-10	7.10
Openness (O)	BIGFIVE1, BIGFIVEE2	2-10	4.75
Occupational Prestige	PREST80	0-86	41.82
Education (in years)	EDUC	0-20	13.29
Female	SEX	0-1	0.56
Hours Worked	HRS1	0-84	41.65
Government Worker	WRKGOV	0-1	0.19
Job Satisfaction	JOBSAT	1-7	2.53

Note: All data come from the 2006 GSS. All variables were recoded to eliminate "don't know" and "no response." Responses were also recoded to standardize direction. For example, in the base coding for JOBSAT, higher scores were associated with lower job satisfaction; JOBSAT and all other variables were recoded to ensure that higher responses indicated more of the quantity in question. Similarly, all of the personality factors included one reverse coded item that was recoded before creating the index.

Table 2 lists the measurement characteristics of all of the relevant variables in the study. Most of the variables are self-explanatory and are commonly used in studies of job satisfaction. Three of the variables, however, deserve further discussion. First, there are scores of potential measures of the FFM. The GSS however, like many surveys, relies on the Big Five-Inventory-10 (BFI-10). This scale, as the name suggests, includes 10 questions (representing two questions per factor). While this scale does not provide the nuance and reliability of more in-depth scales, it is frequently used in the literature. This scale is often ideal when respondent fatigue is a concern (Raamstedt & John, 2007).[5]

Although job satisfaction may seem like a fairly straightforward concept, organizational psychologists argue that job satisfaction is actually made up of three individual constructs: "overall evaluative judgements about jobs, affective experiences at work, and beliefs about jobs" (Weiss, 2002, p. 202). As a result, the ideal measure of job satisfaction would include a relatively in-depth scale that maximizes reliability and validity. In this study, however, we are limited by the questions on the GSS.

To measure job satisfaction in 2006, the GSS used a single question: "On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do—would you say you are very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied." While the use of a single question is certainly a limitation, it is not unprecedented. Indeed, this same question has been used by other studies in the literature (e.g. Van Ryzin, 2012). There is also good reason to believe that this single item measure can provide a satisfactory measure of job satisfaction (Wanous, Reichers, & Hudy, 1997).

A number of GSS questions have been used to assess employment sector throughout the years. In 2006, the sole question that addressed this concept was "WRKGOV," which codes respondents as working in the public sector (coded "1") or not working in the public sector (coded "0"). It is worth noting that this code only accounts for those who indicated that they were working full-time. Consistent with Van Ryzin (2012), I concluded that the size and scope of the GSS does not allow us to differentiate between jobs within the government sector. Overall, though, the 2006 GSS represents the best extant dataset to answer the research questions in this study.

Table 3. Government and Non-Government Employees Personality Profiles

Personality Factor	Non-Government Worker	Government Worker
Extraversion (E)	5.33 (1.68)	5.39 (1.75)
Conscientiousness (C)	4.47 (1.21)	4.41 (1.18)
Agreeableness (A)	3.45 (1.47)	3.45 (1.32)
Neuroticism (N)	7.12 (1.82)	7.03 (1.74)
Openness (O)	4.76 (1.66)	4.72 (1.61)

Note: Entries are mean scores. Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations. None of these differences approach statistical significance using a two-sample *t*-test with equal variances. All data are from the 2006 GSS. Sample sizes range from 1,141 to 1,147 for non-government workers and from 284 to 286 for government workers.

Results

To answer the first question in this study (i.e., Do public and non-government employees have distinct personality profiles?), I first conducted bivariate tests. Table 3, which displays these findings, shows the means for public and non-government employees on each of the five factors of personality. As shown, the means are almost identical for each factor. In other words, there were no statistically significant differences among any of the five factors..

Table 4 shows that these findings also hold in multivariate regression models controlling for sex and age (i.e., two demographic factors that are likely to affect personality). These findings showing that personality profiles are statistically indistinguishable from one another in public and non-government employees, could indicate that these employees, at least in terms of personality, are not so different after all.

Despite the similarities in the distributions of personality, remains unclear whether personality affects job satisfaction differently in each sector. Thus, to answer this question, I rely on a series of ordinal logistic regression models (presented in Table 5). The dependent variable in these models is the response to the job satisfaction question. The model in the left-hand column of Table 5 is a reduced model that only includes the five factors of personality,[6] a measure of occupational prestige,[7] education, gender, and the number of hours worked per week. This model provides a sense of the overall relationship between personality and job satisfaction, without consideration of the sector of employment.

The model on the right side of Table 5 presents all variables from the previous model but also includes a base term indicating whether respondents are public employees along with five interaction terms—each representing a different personality factor interacted with employment sector. This model answers the second question, i.e., Does the effect of personality on job satisfaction differ between public and non-government sector employees?

When considering both models in Table 5, it appears the five factors of personality provide a consistent explanation for understanding what leads to job satisfaction. In every model, those who are higher in extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness, while lower in neuroticism and openness to new experiences, tend to report higher levels of job satisfaction. This is consistent with broader literature in the private sector (Judge et al., 2002) as well as in the public sector (Cooper et al., 2013). These findings also reinforce the idea that personality is key to understanding variation in job satisfaction among public and non-government employees. Thus, scholars of public management and organizational behavior would be well-advised to focus increased attention to the role of personality in public organizations.

The final notable finding, found in the model on the right side in Table 5, relates to the inclusion of the five interaction terms, i.e., employment sector interacted with each of the five personality factors. As shown, none of these variables are statistically significant nor is the base term (i.e., employment sector).

Table 4. Government and Non-Government Employees Personality Profiles

	(E)	(A)	(C)	(N)	(O)
Government Worker	0.14	0.01	0.03	0.07	-0.03
	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Age	0.01	-0.01***	-0.01**	0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female	-0.39***	-0.13	-0.05	-0.63***	0.08
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Constant	5.27***	4.93***	3.81***	7.25***	4.87***
	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.18)
R^2	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.00
N	1,414	1,422	1,423	1,424	1,418

Note: *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$. All two-tailed tests. Data are from the 2006 GSS. Entries are Ordinary Least Squares regression coefficients. Numbers in parentheses are robust standard errors.

Table 5. Personality and Job Satisfaction of Government and Non-Government Workers

	Model 1	Model 2
Extraversion (E)	0.12**	0.11*
	(0.04)	(0.05)
Agreeableness (A)	0.15*	0.17**
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Conscientiousness (C)	0.12*	0.13
	(0.07)	(0.08)
Neuroticism (N)	-0.08#	-0.08
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Openness (O)	-0.13*	-0.15*
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Job Prestige	-0.01	-0.01#
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Education (in years)	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Female	0.04	0.04
	(0.15)	(0.15)
Hours Worked	0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age	-0.01	-0.01*
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Government Worker		0.86
		(1.55)
Government Worker * (E)		0.04
		(1.11)
Government Worker * (A)		-0.14
		(0.11)
Government Worker * (C)		-0.12
		(0.19)
Government Worker * (N)		-0.04
		(0.13)
Government Worker * (O)		0.09
		(0.16)
N	907	907
Chi-Square	46.00***	48.13
Pseudo R^2	0.03	0.03

Note: #$p<0.1$, *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$. All two-tailed tests. Data are from the 2006 GSS. Entries are Ordinal Logistic regression coefficients. Numbers in parentheses are robust standard errors.

Discussion

The analysis presented here suggests that public servants, while clearly different on many dimensions previously explored in the literature, are indistinguishable from workers who do not work for the government on perhaps the most important marker of individual difference, i.e., personality. Employing the widely accepted and empirically verified five-factor model of personality, this analysis reveals no appreciable difference between public and non-government workers on Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, or Openness to New Experiences. Thus, public workers, on average, do not have different personalities than their non-government counterparts.

This is, to the best of the author's knowledge, the first time this question has been explored in the literature; and it has important implications for our understanding of the role of personality in public administration and, more generally, for human resources management more generally. Indeed, this likely means that work on sector differences should begin from the assumption that there is nothing innately unique about public workers in terms of personality.

Just as importantly, this analysis reveals that the effects of personality on job satisfaction are identical for public and non-government employees. This provides additional fodder for the debate over employment sector differences and also suggests that personality provides a consistent framework with which to understand job satisfaction, regardless of an individual's sector of employment.

Given that researchers have often struggled to find "a coherent theory or framework of what determines job satisfaction" (Rainey, 2009, p. 300), it is noteworthy that the FFM significantly predicts job satisfaction across sectors. As the findings in this study show, workers who are extraverted, agreeable, conscientious, and not as open to new experiences are more satisfied with their jobs than their counterparts, regardless of employment sector. Employers seeking to hire and retain employees would be well-advised to consider the five FFM personality profiles. Scholars, however, should consider personality profiles beyond the generic five factor model in order to establish the robustness of these findings (Boone, DeBrabander, & van Witteloostuijn, 1999).

Unlike the MBTI, FFM instruments and results are open-source; and, thus feasible for even the most resource-poor public organizations. For scholars, the finding that the FFM can provide a reliable and consistent framework to understand employee satisfaction suggests that public administration scholars should increase their attention to personality as an important explanatory variable in public management. Further, researchers and practitioners who wish to match incentives and motivations to individual employees would be well-served by exploring how different personality traits may require different motivation strategies.

The fact that the effects of personality are constant for public and non-government employees also suggests that there are limits to the extent to which public employees are different than their counterparts in non-government sectors. There are also likely limits to the degree to which public sector employees have unique motivations. While one explanation for these findings may be that public sector employees do not have unique motivations, another may explanation may be that we need to question the degree to which NPM has affected recruitment, hiring, and retention practices in the United States. After all, if government institutions are meant to be run more like a business, then perhaps potential employees are receiving this signal and employees who previously would not be drawn to the public sector are now drawn to it.

Future studies should continue to explore the nature of these differences to formulate a more consistent theory of when, and in what way(s), we might expect public servants to be distinct

from employees in other sectors. This line of research could augment the work on PSM that has sought to ascertain the causal mechanism for motivation in public sector employees.

Limitations

This particular study is limited by its cross-sectional design. Additionally, the time period that the data were collected (i.e., 2006) is also a limitation. Concepts like job satisfaction can, and do, vary over time (Van Ryzin, 2012), and there are possibly a number of changes that could affect these findings. Unfortunately, large omnibus datasets either have not consistently collected personality data (like the GSS) nor do not usually collect data on job and occupation-related variables (e.g., the American National Election Studies). The 2006 GSS is the most comprehensive, recent, and defensible existing dataset. Hopefully, future researchers will include these same variables in large-scale studies, so the findings here can be tested with more recent data.

This study also contains important measurement limitations. For one, job satisfaction is measured with a single question. While this question has been used in the past and has been defended by a number of studies, it is possible that a scale of job satisfaction questions might produce different outcomes. A similar critique can be levied against the measure of the FFM employed here. While the BFI-10 has broad support and is used frequently, even its most ardent supporters would acknowledge that it is a suboptimal substitute for longer scales that may produce more reliable and nuanced responses (Crede, Harms, Niehorster & Gaye-Valentine, 2012; Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swan, 2003; Rammstedt & John, 2007). Some scales, for instance, even produce responses at multiple levels (e.g. Lord 2007). Some scales, for instance, even produce responses at multiple levels (e.g., Lord, 2007). These levels can be used to uncover nuances in job satisfaction that were not explored here and have not been explored in the literature.

The measure of sector employment employed in this version of the GSS and used in this study is also limited in important ways. First, and most obviously, the measure does a poor job differentiating between types of sectors outside of the public sector. Using this measure, non-profit and for-profit employees are included in the same group (non-government employees). This measure also does virtually nothing to differentiate employees working in hybrid organizations (e.g., semi-publics). Even within these categories, all full-time workers are treated the same. Whether a public sector employee is a janitor or a manager, they are coded as a public employee. Likewise, regardless of whether someone is a bellhop or the CEO of a large corporation, that person is coded as a nongovernment worker.

Similarly, because the GSS includes no information about the type of organization a person is employed in (outside of the sector), this study cannot consider well-established theories of organizational homophily that would suggest that organizations tend to focus on hiring certain types of people who fit with their organizational culture (Boone, Olffen, van Witteloostujn, & Debrabander, 2004). While these limitations apply to numerous studies in the literature, they should not to be ignored. Indeed, it is possible that many of the findings in this study would change if we had a more nuanced version of employment sector and workplace context.

Conclusion

The norm in the social sciences is to publish statistically significant results. The findings in this study, however, run counter to that norm. Thus, I am asking the reader to go against the norm and to find these findings of difference not only interesting but important (at least as it relates to employment sector). I believe that this will ultimately benefit the field and our knowledge of public management.

As scores of studies have indicated, the "file drawer problem" (Wagner, 2019, p. 1) biases our view of the world and suggests differences that may not always be apparent in the real world (e.g., Franco, Malhotra, & Simonovits, 2014; Gerber & Malhotra, 2008; Scargle, 2000). Van Witteloostuijn (2016, p. 489) urges us to fight against this "pro-positives bias" in order to achieve a more complete picture of human and organizational behavior (see also Meyer, Witteloostuijn & Beugelsdijk, 2017; Walker, Brewer, Lee, Petrovsky, & van Witteloostuijn, 2018). As a result, it is important to publish various types of research that can move our knowledge of public personnel administration forward, even if some of the findings accept the null.

In this study, the non-findings provide an important challenge to the (often untested) assumption that public employees are fundamentally different than employees in other fields. All told, this paper does not purport to offer the final word but rather represents an important step on a longer path toward understanding 1) the applicability of personality to our understanding of public sector administrative behavior; 2) when, how, and why public and non-government sector employees differ; and 3) how to maximize job satisfaction in the public sector.

Notes

1. This factor is often reversed and referred to as emotional stability.
2. While this statement is generally true, there is some evidence that the FFM does not apply to every culture. For example, Gurven, Von Reudon, Massenkoff, Kaplan and Vie (2013, p. 354) found that the "Tsimane forager-horticulturalist men and women of Bolivia" may not confirm to the FFM, thus raising questions about the applicability of the FFM to small, isolated, rural societies. See McCrae (2013, p. 563), however, for a different interpretation of these findings.
3. Aspects of the five factor model have been identified in chimpanzees, gorillas, rhesus monkeys, vervet monkeys, hyenas, dogs, cats, donkeys, pigs, rats, guppies, and octopi (Gosling & John, 1999).
4. While the FFM remains the preeminent theory of personality, variations such as the HEXACO model (honesty–humility, emotionality, extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, openness to experience) suggest that, in addition to the big five personality traits, there is an additional factor (honesty–humility) that can help explain human behavior (Ashton & Lee, 2005). While the HEXACO model helps explain outcomes in public administration (e.g., Van Witteloostuijn et al., 2016), it is substantively similar to the FFM. As a result, the big five remains the predominant theoretical and empirical construct in personality psychology.
5. The other popular short instrument is the 10-item personality inventory (Gosling et al., 2003). Although the two are similar, the BFI-10 has preferable measurement characteristics (Rammstedt & John, 2007).
6. An alternative measurement strategy would be to create personality types, consisting of the various combinations of personality (see Semeijn, Boone, van der Velden, & van Witteloostuihn, 2005).
7. Occupational prestige is a frequently used measure in the GSS that ranks hundreds of occupations from the lowest prestige level to the highest prestige level using averages of respondent assessments of "prestige." See Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi (1964) for the original rating protocol.

Disclosure Statement

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Where Do Nonprofit and Civil Society Researchers Publish? Perceptions of Nonprofit Journal Quality

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The field of nonprofit and civil society studies has grown tremendously in the past few decades, and scholarly journals have played a central role in this growth by facilitating circulation of research in the academic community. To date, only three nonprofit journals are indexed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and, as such, have an impact factor. There are, however, far more journals serving the nonprofit and civil society academic community. Thus, focusing solely on impact factors is not necessarily suitable for creating rankings or assessing journal quality in this field. Indeed, doing so fails to capture most scholarly publication outlets that focus on nonprofits and civil society. Seeking to overcome shortcomings of relying merely on impact factors, this exploratory study uses survey data collected from nonprofit and civil society researchers in the United States and Europe to provide insight into which journals they perceive to be quality outlets for nonprofit and civil society scholars. Our findings reveal that, while the impact factor can be one indicator of journal quality, newer outlets without an impact factor are also perceived to be viable outlets for publication by scholars in the field.

Keywords: Journal Quality, Nonprofit and Civil Society, Perceptions, Stated Preference Ranking

The field of nonprofit and civil society studies has grown tremendously in the past few decades, which has prompted a number of scholars to argue that the state of knowledge production in the field has reached a point of maturity (e.g., Ma & Konrath, 2018). Scholarly journals such as *Nonprofit Management & Leadership* (NML), *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (NVSQ), and *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Non-Profit Organizations* (Voluntas) have undeniably played a critical role in this growth and maturity. Indeed, these journals have facilitated and promoted the "circulation of literature on nonprofits in the academic community, which can help to form a scholarly identity of nonprofit studies" (Ma & Konrath, 2018, p. 1146).

Although many scholars would probably agree that having a robust set of quality journals is essential for the dissemination and accumulation of scholarly knowledge, it is surprising that less than a handful of studies have assessed the perceived quality of nonprofit and civil society journals. The three journals identified above are all indexed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), a multidisciplinary index containing over 3,000 social science journals and

made available through Web of Science. The SSCI relies on the impact factor to compare the quality of journals vis-à-vis other journals in related fields.

There are several journals serving the nonprofit and civil society academic community, however, that do not appear in the SSCI. Thus, relying solely on the impact factor as the principal indicator of journal quality may not be suitable for this field. Indeed, many nonprofit and civil society scholars may consider non-impact factor journals to be high-quality outlets for their research. Seeking to overcome the limitations associated with the use of the impact factor as a measure of journal quality, this exploratory study uses survey data collected from nonprofit and civil society researchers in the United States and Europe to understand which journals these researchers perceive to be quality outlets in this field.

The Notion of Journal Quality

Academic journals started to emerge toward the end of the 17th century. One of the earliest scholarly outlets was *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, which was created in the mid-1660s (Andrade, 1965). Over the past 350 years, academic journals have become crucial in the natural sciences as well as in the social sciences as a means of disseminating scholarly work and research findings. According to Schaffner (1994), academic journals play a number of key roles in scholarly communities including building and communicating a collective knowledge base, validating the quality of research, and bringing coherence to scientific communities. Indeed, in most scientific fields, publishing articles in top-tier peer-reviewed journals (above other types of scholarly publication outlets) is considered to contribute to disciplinary knowledge (Seipel, 2003).

Publications in academic journals also play a vital role in the promotion and tenure process for many scholars (Gomez-Mejia, & Balkin, 1992; Seipel, 2003). Authoring articles published in high impact factor peer-reviewed journals tends to be considered the most credible evidence of scholarship. This often sends a strong signal of thought leadership and research competence—qualities that many departments, schools, and universities expect of their faculty members (Park & Gordon, 1996).

Journal quality and impact are factors often assessed based on how widely a particular journal is read, how often it is cited, and how favorability it is perceived by its associated scholarly community (Bradshaw & Brook, 2016). These factors are commonly quantified by an impact factor. A journal's impact factor is calculated as a count of all citations articles in the journal have received in the preceding two years. This count is then divided by the number of articles that the journal published during those years (Baum, 2011; Garfield, 1999). Originally intended as a means to sort journals according to their citation rates for the purposes of library catalog selection (Garfield, 1999, 2006), the impact factor is now predominantly used to classify journals and compare their relative importance.

Using the impact factor to rank journals does have some distinct benefits. Indeed, it can be seen by some as a tool to easily compare research performance (Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1992). However, the impact factor was never intended for this use; unfortunately, it has been used in myriad unintended ways. For instance, the journal impact factor is frequently considered in hiring decisions, evaluations for promotion and tenure, grant awards (Adler & Harzing, 2009; Baum, 2011; Nkomo, 2009), and pay increases (Adler & Harzing, 2009; Baum, 2011; Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1992). Thus, scholars frequently use impact factors when considering where to submit their manuscripts (Garfield, 2006). This has led some scholars to believe that the impact factor is "a powerful incentive in academia [that] has taken a role as the new currency for scientists [and, therefore] has the potential to deeply change the motivational forces of scientists" (Paulus, Rademacher, Schäfer, Müller-Pinzler, & Krach, 2015, p. 1-2). There have been instances, for example, where researchers have been known to modify their research

questions as well as their research designs in an effort to appeal to high-impact factored journals (Baum, 2011).

Adler and Harzing (2009) have also found that scholars may not elect to send their research to new and innovative journals that do not (yet) have an impact factor since publication in these outlets may not be valued by their departments, schools, and/or universities. Moreover, there has been a tendency to use journal impact factor rankings as a proxy for article quality. As such, "It has become common to refer to a scholar's worth by saying that he or she has two AMJs [*Academy of Management Journal*]...without ever mentioning the content, quality of impact of the article itself, the implication is that the scholar must be good" (Adler & Harzing, 2009, p. 78). Doing so, however, leads to judgment errors since many influential articles are published in less highly ranked (or not ranked at all) journals, while many less influential articles are published in highly ranked (i.e., impact factored) journals (Aguinis, Cummings, Ramani, & Cummings, 2019; Singh, Haddad, & Chow, 2007)

Journal rankings based on impact factor and citation analysis, as described above, are classified as revealed preference rankings (Tahai & Meyer, 1999; Walters, 2017). This is the most commonly used method for ranking journals (Tahai & Meyer, 1999). Scholars have, however, identified a second approach—stated preference—which captures the preferences, perceptions, and choices of academic experts and scholars in a respective field (Bernick & Krueger, 2010; Tahai & Meyer, 1999; Walters, 2017). This approach "has gained recognition in the academy as a means of assessing journal quality because the resulting list reflects the cumulative opinion of active scholars who produce and consume research published in journals being ranked" (Serenko & Bontis, 2018, p. 749). Indeed, rather than relying on statistics generated through citations, this approach integrates the perceptions of research-active individuals in the respective field.

In theory, then, stated preference rankings should allow for the capture of other aspects of journal quality besides the impact factor. Stated preference rankings are used in fields with relatively small audiences as well as in fields with relatively poor coverage in mainstream citation databases, such as SSCI. In this article, we argue that the stated preference approach of ranking journals is likely a suitable (and more appropriate) method of evaluating journal quality in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies, as we describe below.

Nonprofit and Civil Society Journals: Previous Inquiry and Research Questions

This study focuses on nonprofit and civil society studies, an interdisciplinary field that draws from areas such as political science, public administration, management, sociology, social work, and education (Ma & Konrath, 2018; Shier & Handy, 2014). Over the past three decades, the study of nonprofit and civil society has witnessed substantial growth in the academy (Brudney & Herman, 2004; Mirabella, 2007). As a result, there has been tremendous expansion in knowledge production in the nonprofit and civil society field, as indicated by the proliferation of scholarly articles (Ma & Konrath, 2018) and an ever-growing number of dissertations and theses related to these areas (Shier & Handy, 2014).

The number of journals targeting nonprofit and civil society studies has also increased substantially. Before 1990, there was only one peer-reviewed journal (*NVSQ* founded in 1972) devoted exclusively to nonprofit and civil society topics, e.g., voluntary action, citizen participation, philanthropy, and nonprofit management. Today, there are 61 journals worldwide that include terms such as "nonprofit," "third" or "voluntary sector," "philanthropy," "civil society," "social economy," or "social movements" in their titles (Smith, 2013).

In addition to these journals devoted exclusively to nonprofit and civil society topics, Smith (2013) created a comprehensive list of outlets for scholarship in this area (what he refers to as *altruistics*). He found that that there are more than 100 active and inactive generalist and specialized academic journals that publish research related to nonprofit organizations and civil society. Despite this proliferation of scholarly outlets, relatively few inquiries have sought to assess the quality of nonprofit and civil society journals. Indeed, beyond basic descriptive information, Smith's article does not include any discussion about journal quality.

Although Ma and Konrath (2018) recently utilized the core list identified by Smith (2013) to evaluate knowledge production in nonprofit and philanthropic studies from a thematic perspective, they were only able to focus on a small sub-set of the journals that Smith (2013) identified (*n*=19). As noted by Ma and Konrath (2018), many of the journals were published irregularly and "deviate[d] greatly on quality" (p. 1142). Unfortunately, though, Ma and Konrath (2018) neither listed the names of the 19 journals nor engaged in an explicit discussion about differences in quality among these journals.

Brudney and Herman (2004) conducted a novel study comparing nonprofit and civil society journals and purposefully included a quality indicator. They asked 186 individuals who were subscribed to the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA) and International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR) listservs to answer questions about (among other things) readability, relevance for practice and theory, utility, and perceived quality of the articles in three journals: *NVSQ, NML*, and *Voluntas*. Clearly, these three journals are key to any discussion about outlets for nonprofit and civil society scholarship; however, they are not the exclusive outlets for nonprofit and civil society research.

It is important to point out that although the study of nonprofits and civil society draws heavily from other fields and disciplines, nonprofit and civil society journals have not traditionally been included in research on journal quality in these areas. Particularly within public administration, which could arguably be considered most akin to the study of nonprofits and civil society (Mirabella & Wish, 2000), most studies of research and journal quality have failed to include any discussion of nonprofit and civil society specifically.

In one of the only studies to do so, Bernick and Krueger (2010) surveyed editors and board members of 39 public administration journals. They found that *NVSQ* ranked 23rd overall among these journals and *NML* ranked 35th overall. Aside from these two journals, *Public Administration Review* (*PAR*), *Administration and Society* (*A&S*), and the *Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory* (*JPART*) were the top-five outlets for nonprofit- and civil-society-related research. However, "a number of respondents indicated that they felt uncomfortable ranking nonprofit journals […] because they did not consider themselves knowledgeable about the quality of […] nonprofit journals" (Bernick & Krueger, 2010, p. 104).

The time is now ripe, then, to conduct a survey of those knowledgeable about nonprofit and civil society journals, i.e., researchers in the field. Therefore, we undertake an exploratory study utilizing a stated preference approach to assess researcher perceptions of nonprofit and civil society journal quality. In the study, we seek to explore two basic questions: 1) Which scholarly journals do nonprofit and civil society scholars perceive as the most relevant and viable outlets for their research? and 2) Of the identified journals, which are perceived as being most prestigious and of highest quality (top tier) and which are perceived as second and third tier?

Research Approach

Taking a stated preference approach in this study has several distinct advantages (Walters, 2017). First, this study uses an alternative to impact-factor-based rankings of journal quality

since "many subdisciplines are underrepresented in the databases used to calculate the most commonly used, and supposedly 'objective' measure of journal 'quality'—the ISI journal impact factor (which actually measures influence, not quality" (Adler & Harzing, 2009, p. 80). Particularly, for the field of nonprofit and civil society studies, newly emerging journals without an impact factor (which many scholars tend to publish in) such as *Nonprofit Policy Forum* (*NPF*) and this journal, *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs* (*JPNA*), do not have an impact factor.

Second, solely relying on the impact factor to rank journals or, by extension, the quality of an author runs the risk of assuming that only journals with high impact factors are publishing high-quality research and researchers (Adler & Harzing, 2009; Aguinis et al., 2019; Singh, Haddad, & Chow, 2007). Third, as Serenko and Bontis (2018) argued, "It is extremely difficult to deliberately influence the journal quality perceptions of a large group of independent scholars, whereas citations may be dramatically boosted in the short term by means of questionable practices such as forced citations or excessive self-citations" (p. 749). As such, the stated preference approach is considered more suitable for the purposes of our study, since developing a revealed preference journal ranking may not only be difficult to achieve (given the interdisciplinary nature of nonprofit and civil society studies), but it is also not desirable given the well-known limitations of these rankings.

To summarize, although the field of nonprofit and civil society studies has seen tremendous growth, including in the number of publication outlets, only a handful of journals have been captured in revealed preference rankings (Ma & Konrath, 2018). Moreover, journals publishing related research are ranked under different categories such as social issues, public administration, and/or management (Journal Citation Reports, 2018). This makes it difficult to assess their quality in comparison to nonprofit and civil society studies. Ultimately, this absence of a ranking leaves tenure-seeking nonprofit and civil society scholars in a bind, particularly since many of these scholars may work in departments, schools, and universities where journal rankings are used to assess the quality of one's publication record. One added goal of this study, then, is to provide tenure-seeking faculty with evidence to contextualize their choice of publication outlets and to more persuasively make their case for promotion and tenure.

Data and Methodology

Studying perceptions of journal quality is a fairly new endeavor in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies. Given the exploratory nature of the research questions that we ask, and following other scholars who have studied journal quality (e.g., Meggs, Greer, Bian, & Gustina, 2017), in this study we use a convenience sample drawn from three different groups.[2] The first group includes administrators of nonprofit degree programs that belong to the Nonprofit Academic Centers Council (NACC). This list of administrators was collected using contact information provided on the NACC website.

The second group includes North American nonprofit and civil society scholars. This list was obtained by identifying the leading nonprofit programs using the 2018 US News & World Report nonprofit management rankings. We visited each ranked program's website to collect contact information and the names of relevant scholars. For the two groups, a total of 123 individuals were identified. We received a total of 63 responses from groups one and two (a 51.22% response rate).

We also included a third group, which consisted of a small number of European nonprofit and civil society scholars who were specifically identified by the authors. Individuals in the European group were also asked to share the survey link with others whom they deemed

knowledgeable about the subject. This sample consisted of 19 European nonprofit and civil society scholars, all of whom responded to the survey.

Before analyzing the data, we excluded 13 survey responses from the total sample. These responses were excluded due to missing data. Nine responses were excluded from the US samples and four responses excluded from the European sample. The final sample size, therefore, was 69. Data were collected in October 2018.

Survey Instrument

Perceptions of journal quality were assessed by asking each respondent to think about journals that, in their opinion, serve as the most viable outlets to publish nonprofit and civil society research. Each respondent was then asked to write the name(s) of the journals and to classify each journal mentioned (on a scale of 1 to 3) based on how the respondent perceived the quality of that journal (1=top tier, i.e., most prestigious/high quality; 2=second tier, i.e., somewhat prestigious/medium quality; and 3=third tier, i.e., less prestigious/lower quality).

A few considerations went into the decision not to provide respondents with a predetermined list of journals. First, we wanted to avoid biasing respondents. Allowing the option to freely write may elicit journal mentions that are not part of a predetermined list (Walters, 2017). Second, since there is no dedicated ranking of journals in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies, compiling a list would have been challenging. Similarly, existing lists—such as the one created by Smith (2013)—may exclude new journals, may not be comprehensive with regard to coverage (Walters, 2017), or may be outdated (Ma & Konrath, 2018).

To determine whether there were differences between subgroups, we collected a range of demographic and background information. Specifically, respondents were asked about their gender (1=female, 2=male, 3=nonbinary, 4=prefer not to say), age (in years), tenure status (1=tenured, 0=untenured), main areas of research (1=nonprofit management, 2=governance, 3=human resource management, 4=fundraising/development, 5=marketing, 6=collaboration, 7=social entrepreneurship/social enterprise, 8=volunteering, 9=finance/economics, 10=philanthropy, 11=NGOs/international civil society, and/or 12=other), whether they served as an editorial board member of a journal (1=yes, 0=no), and whether they held an administrative role with regard to a nonprofit or civil society academic program within their school (1=yes, 0=no).

To evaluate the extent to which, if at all, their departments and/or schools considered particular journals when making decisions on promotion and tenure, we also asked: "Is there a list of journals that your department/school considers when evaluating tenure decisions for these faculty?" Answer options were "yes" (coded as "1") and "no" (coded as "0"). Respondents were, optionally, permitted to elaborate if lists were available.

Finally, we asked an open-ended question at the end of the survey: "Is there anything else you would like to share with regard to your perceptions of journal quality in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies?" Responses to this question were used to contextualize our findings, where appropriate.

Findings

The average age of the respondents was 45 years (median=42.5; s.d.=9.09; min=30, max=70). About half of the sample was female (50.72%). One person preferred not to reveal their gender, and the remainder of the sample was male (47.83%). Approximately 58% of respondents were tenured; and, about 39% indicated that they served in an administrative role with regard to a nonprofit or civil society academic program. More than half the respondents (56.5%) indicated

they currently served as a member of a journal editorial board. Most respondents (58.8%) reported three or more main research areas, 23.5% reported having two main areas of research, and 17.6% reported having a single major area of research. The maximum number of research areas reported was six. Nonprofit management (with 50 mentions), NGO/civil society (with 28 mentions), and Governance (with 21 mentions) were the three most frequently mentioned main research areas (see Figure 1 for a breakdown of research areas).

In total, respondents mentioned 75 different journals.[3] The average number of journals mentioned was 6.48 (s.d.=4.45) and the median was 5 (the mean is considerably larger due to four respondents mentioning over 15 journals each). Forty-five journals received only one mention (60%). These statistics highlight how extensive the field of journals is that nonprofit and civil society scholars deem as viable outlets for publication. A full list of journals mentioned can be obtained from the authors.

Table 1 provides an overview of journals that were mentioned at least three times. The information in this table illustrates the perceived quality of the respective journals as indicated by the respondents. We supplemented Table 1 with information on the total number of volumes, number of issues published yearly, impact factor (where applicable), whether or not the journal is peer-reviewed, and whether or not the journal is open access. Journals are sorted by highest overall mention (i.e., in the "count" column).

Voluntas received the highest number of mentions (*n*=69). This is closely followed by *NVSQ* with 68 mentions (98.6% of respondents) and *NML* with 62 mentions (89.9% of respondents). As indicated by the high total number of volume for these journals, they have been in operation for several years (several decades in some instances).

Respondents were almost unanimous in rating *NVSQ* as a top-tier publication outlet (98.53%), while responses for *NML* and *Voluntas* were more dispersed. Sixty-four percent of respondents rated *Voluntas* as a top-tier publication outlet, and 35% of respondents rated this journal as a second-tier publication outlet. *NML* was rated as a top-tier publication outlet by 55% of respondents, and 42% of respondents rated it as a second-tier publication outlet. Not surprisingly, these three journals are the only nonprofit and civil society journals, earlier mentioned, listed in the SSCI.

This first group of journals is followed by a second group that received fewer mentions. Indeed, this second group received between 17 and 24 total mentions (representing 24.60% to 34.80% of respondents). The journals in this second group are: *NPF, Journal of Nonprofit Education and Leadership (JNEL), Voluntary Sector Review (VSR), JPNA,* and *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing (IJNVSM)*. This group of journals is quite diverse.

Indeed, it consists of a mix of open access and non-open access journals. Notably, however, journals in this group have not been around as long as journals in the first group. Moreover, none of the journals in this group has an impact factor.

The third group of journals includes *Journal of Civil Society, Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing (NPSM), Public Administration Review (PAR)*, and *Public Performance and Management Review (PPMR)*. Journals in this group received nine to 14 mentions (representing 13.00% to 20.30% of respondents). The latter three journals, in particular, have been around for quite a long time. These journals have volumes of 30, 78, and 41, respectively. Among the journals in this third group, *PAR* is perceived as a top-tier journal (with 92% of respondents indicating so). However, only 12 respondents mentioned it as a quality publication outlet for nonprofit and civil society studies. This may indicate, then, that although nonprofit and civil society scholars believe that *PAR* is a top-tier academic journal, many of these scholars may not perceive it as an outlet suitable for their research (whether that be for

Figure 1. Research Areas by Frequency of Mentions
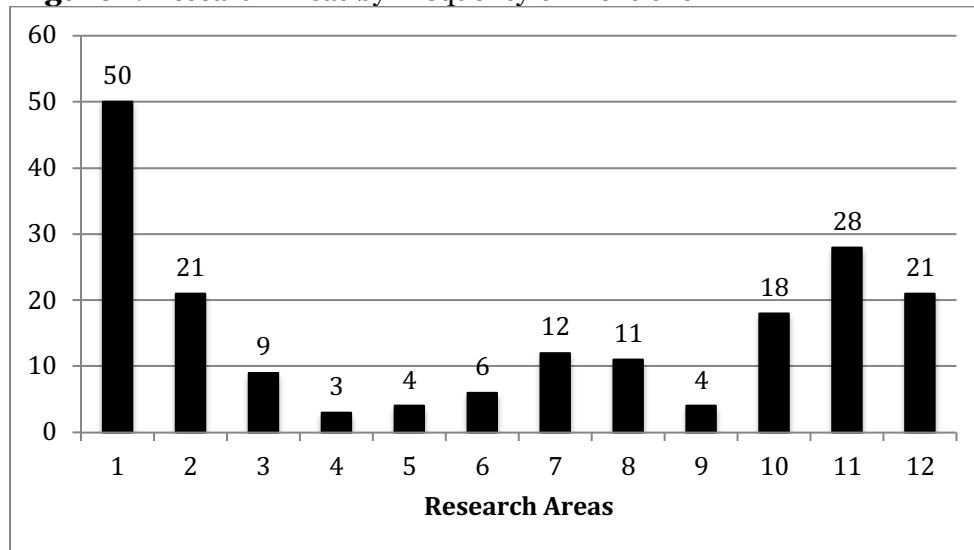
Notes: "1"=Nonprofit Management, "2"=Governance, "3"=Human Resource Management, "4"=Fundraising/Development, "5"=Marketing, "6"=Collaboration, "7"=Social Entrepreneurship/Social Enterprise, "8"=Volunteering, "9"=Finance/Economics, "10"=Philanthropy, "11"=NGOs/International Civil Society, and "12"= Other (e.g., Evaluation, Leadership, and Advocacy).

reasons relating to substantive focus or the likelihood that the journal is welcoming to nonprofit and civil society research).

Journals in the last group include *Foundation Review, Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory (JPART), Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research (ANSERJ), Journal of Public Affairs Education (JPAE), Nonprofit Quarterly, Community Development Journal, Human Service Organizations, Nonprofit Times,* and *Stanford Social Innovation Review.* These journals were mentioned anywhere from three to five times by respondents (representing 4.30% to 7.20%). These journals were also quite diverse in terms of their age, open access policies, and perceived quality.

We also asked respondents whether or not their department/school had explicitly identified certain journals to guide and evaluate candidates for promotion and tenure. Nearly three out of four (72.46%) respondents said no such list existed. Furthermore, of the respondents who answered "yes," the basis for their department/school's list of journals varied greatly. Some respondents indicated that the list was based on impact factor. Others indicated that the list was created based on rankings available in other disciplines; still others indicated that the list in their department/school was decided by that particular department/school. It is also worth noting that the presence of a list for promotion and tenure was more common among European respondents (53.33%) than among North American respondents (20.37%).

It is also important to note that Table 1 consists of a diverse range of journals that are both peer-reviewed and nonpeer-reviewed, open and non-open access, and with and without an impact factor. The majority of journals perceived to be viable publication outlets in the nonprofit and civil society studies field do not have an impact factor. In cases where journals do have an impact factor, the impact factor does not necessarily translate into respondent mentions. This is notable because publishing in impact factor journals is often an important factor in achieving tenure (Gomez-Mejia, & Balkin, 1992). Two of our open-ended responses captured the choices researchers face when considering where to submit their work for publication.

Table 1. Journal Mentions by Tier

	Journal Name	Count	% Top Tier	% Second Tier	% Third Tier	Total Volumes	Issues/ Year	Open Access	Peer Review	2017 IF
Group 1	Voluntas	69	63.8	34.8	1.5	29	6	N	Y	1.273
	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly *(NVSQ)*	68	98.5	1.5	0	47	6	N	Y	1.932
	Nonprofit Management & Leadership *(NML)*	62	54.8	41.9	3.2	29	4	N	Y	1.633
Group 2	Nonprofit Policy Forum *(NPF)*	24	8.3	58.3	33.3	9	4	Y	Y	n/a
	Journal of Nonprofit Education and Leadership *(JNEL)*	23	13.0	26.1	60.9	8	4	N	Y	n/a
	Voluntary Sector Review *(VSR)*	20	5.0	75.0	20.0	9	3	N	Y	n/a
	Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs *(JPNA)*	18	0	50.0	50.0	4	3	Y	Y	n/a
	International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing *(IJNVSM)*	17	17.7	52.9	29.4	23	4	N	Y	n/a
Group 3	Journal of Civil Society	14	15.4	46.2	30.8	14	4	N	Y	n/a
	Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing *(NPSM)*	13	14.3	64.3	21.4	30	4	N	Y	n/a
	Public Administration Review *(PAR)*	12	91.7	8.3	0	78	6	N	Y	4.591
	Public Performance Management Review *(PPMR)*	9	55.6	44.4	0	41	4	N	Y	1.197
Group 4	Foundation Review	5	0	20.0	80.0	10	4	N	Y	n/a
	Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory *(JPART)*	5	100	0	0	28	4	N	Y	3.907
	Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research *(ANSERJ)*	4	0	75.0	25.0	9	2	Y	Y	n/a
	Journal of Public Affairs Education *(JPAE)*	4	0	75.0	25.0	24	4	N	Y	n/a
	Nonprofit Quarterly	4	25.0	75.0	0	-	-	N	N	
	Community Development Journal	3	0	33.3	66.7	53	4	N	Y	0.750
	Human Service Organizations	3	0	66.7	33.3	42	5	N	Y	0.836
	Nonprofit Times	3	0	0	100	-	-	Y	N	-
	Stanford Social Innovation Review *(SSIR)*	3	33.3	0	66.7	-	-	N	N	-

Note: Only journals with three or more mentions are shown. Volume numbers presented are as of December 2018.

> *The highest quality journals are not necessarily those with the highest (or any) impact factor. For example, Nonprofit Policy Forum has no impact factor but publishes work by highly esteemed scholars and is the only journal focused on the intersection of nonprofits and public policy. The articles in NPF are, in my opinion, consistently high quality.* (female, untenured)

> *The more practitioner-oriented journals like Nonprofit Quarterly, Stanford Social Innovation Review, and Chronicle of Philanthropy also serve as important outlets for scholars although publishing in these venues counts less toward tenure.* (male, tenured, editorial board member, administrator)

To further investigate whether the perceptions of journal quality differed for certain subgroups, we break down the top eight journals with regards to number of mentions (group 1 and 2 journals) by tenure status of the respondents (Table 2), main fields of research (Table 3), and service role (Table 4).

Table 2 presents findings comparing nonprofit and civil society scholars with and without tenure. In general, respondents with and without tenure agreed on the quality of the listed journals. However, a few differences are worth mentioning. *NPF*, a newer publication outlet in the field (see Table 1), was perceived as a top-tier publication outlet by 12.5% of both tenured and untenured respondents; however, further classification of journals into the second- and third-tier publication outlets restyled in differences between these two groups.

Whereas 25% of tenured respondents perceived *NPF* as a second-tier publication outlet, 62.5% of untenured respondents did. Similarly, while *VSR* and *JPNA* were perceived as top-tier publication outlets by at least 6.7% of tenured respondents, no untenured respondents rated these journals as top-tier. Interestingly, *VSR* was rated as a third-tier journal (60%) by untenured respondents, while tenured respondents rated this journal as a second-tier publication outlet (87%).

Table 3 presents perceptions of journal quality by the three most frequently mentioned areas of scholarly research: Nonprofit Management, NGOs/International Civil Society, and Governance. Since respondents were able to indicate multiple research areas, these categories are not mutually exclusive. From the results in this table, there are no differences in patterns among the three journals in group 1.

Journals in group 2 were rated differently depending on research focus. For instance, 28.6% of researchers who identified NGOs/international civil society as their main area of research rated *JNEL* as a top-tier publication outlet. None of the researchers who identified Governance as their main area of research rated *JNEL* as a top-tier publication outlet. This is an interesting observation since *JNEL*, among other things, focuses on leadership. We found similar trends for *NPF* and *VSR*.

Table 4 presents responses from program administrators and those serving on an editorial board for a journal in the field. There were 20 respondents serving as editorial board member on a journal. Eleven respondents were program administrators and 16 respondents indicated that they held both roles.

Table 2. Journal Mentions by Tier and Tenure Status

Journal Name	Tenure Status	Count	% Top Tier	% Second Tier	% Third Tier
Voluntas	Tenured	40	67.5	30.0	2.5
	Untenured	28	60.7	39.3	0
Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly *(NVSQ)*	Tenured	40	97.5	2.5	0
	Untenured	28	100	0	0
Nonprofit Management & Leadership *(NML)*	Tenured	35	51.4	45.7	2.9
	Untenured	27	59.3	37.0	3.7
Nonprofit Policy Forum *(NPF)*	Tenured	16	12.5	25	62.5
	Untenured	8	12.5	62.5	25.0
Journal of Nonprofit Education and Leadership *(JNEL)*	Tenured	16	12.5	25	62.5
	Untenured	7	14.3	28.6	57.1
Voluntary Sector Review	Tenured	15	6.7	86.7	6.7
	Untenured	5	0	40.0	60.0
Journal of Public Affairs Education *(JPAE)*	Tenured	15	6.7	53.3	40.0
	Untenured	7	0	57.1	42.9
International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing *(IJNVSM)*	Tenured	16	18.8	50.0	31.3
	Untenured	1	0	100	0

Note: Only the top eight journals (by mentions) are shown. Tenured and untenured respondents are mutually exclusive. One respondent did not state tenure status.

Similar to the previous findings, there were no notable differences in the perceptions of journals in group 1 (i.e., *NVSQ*, *NML*, and *Voluntas*) among these respondents. Interestingly, however, differences emerged regarding how these respondents perceived journals in group 2. On the one hand, editorial board members perceived *NPF* as being of higher quality than did program administrators. Administrators, however, regarded *VSR* as more prestigious than did editorial board members.

Main Takeaways and Future Research

High-quality, peer-reviewed academic journals represent an essential outlet (albeit not the only outlet) for scholars to present and distribute their research. However, as we have illuminated in this exploratory study, what is considered a high-quality journal in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies is neither straightforward nor apparent. This exploratory study proposes a different avenue to identify viable publication outlets (Nkomo, 2009). Specifically, this inquiry asked nonprofit and civil society scholars in both Europe and North America to identify journals that they perceived to be the most viable publication outlets for their research. We then asked them to indicate how they perceived the quality of these journals.

Our research utilized a stated preference approach. That is, we examined perceptions of journal quality rather than revealed preferences where respondents identify journals and rank them by impact factor (Tahai, & Meyer, 1999; Walters, 2017). By inviting nonprofit and civil society scholars to free write journal names instead of presenting them with a predetermined list, we are able to more accurately account for the journal outlets that exist within the field. Indeed, using this approach we are able to capture journals that may not (yet) have an impact factor as well as those that do not aim to achieve one (Serenko & Bontis, 2018). In general,

Table 3. Journal Mentions by Tier and the Top Three Main Research Areas

Journal Name	Main Research Area	Count	% Top Tier	% Second Tier	% Third Tier
Voluntas	NPM	50	70.0	28.0	2.0
	NGO/CS	27	77.8	22.2	0
	Governance	21	66.7	33.3	0
Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly *(NVSQ)*	NPM	50	98.0	2.0	0
	NGO/CS	27	100	0	0
	Governance	21	100	0	0
Nonprofit Management & Leadership *(NML)*	NPM	47	61.7	34.0	4.3
	NGO/CS	22	54.6	40.9	4.6
	Governance	19	63.2	26.3	10.5
Nonprofit Policy Forum *(NPF)*	NPM	20	5.0	65.0	30.0
	NGO/CS	10	20.0	60.0	10.0
	Governance	7	0	57.1	42.9
Journal of Nonprofit Education and Leadership *(JNEL)*	NPM	20	15.0	30.0	55.0
	NGO/CS	7	28.6	28.6	42.9
	Governance	5	0	40.0	60.0
Voluntary Sector Review	NPM	16	6.3	75.0	18.8
	NGO/CS	6	16.7	33.3	33.3
	Governance	10	0	80.0	20.0
Journal of Public Affairs Education *(JPAE)*	NPM	14	0	57.1	42.9
	NGO/CS	6	0	33.3	66.7
	Governance	3	0	100	0
International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing *(IJNVSM)*	NPM	14	21.4	64.3	14.3
	NGO/CS	5	0	80.0	20.0
	Governance	6	16.7	66.7	16.7
Journal of Civil Society	NPM	9	0	88.9	11.1
	NGO/CS	11	36.4	45.5	18.2
	Governance	4	0	75.0	25.0
Nonprofit and Public Sector Marketing *(NPSM)*	NPM	12	25.0	50.0	25.0
	NGO/CS	3	33.3	0	66.7
	Governance	4	25.0	50.0	25.0
Public Administration Review *(PAR)*	NPM	8	87.5	12.5	0
	NGO/CS	1	100	0	0
	Governance	2	100	0	0

Note: Only the top 11 journals (mentioned 12 or more times) are shown. Research areas not mutually exclusive; *n*=50 respondents who identified NPM as their main research area; *n*=28 respondents who identified NGOs/Civil Society as their main research area; *n*=21 respondents who identified Governance as their main research area.

the journals identified in this study are, on average, newer and more specialized in substantive content area than are journals with an impact factor (Adler & Harzig, 2009).

Our findings indicate that nonprofit and civil society scholars' perceptions converge with regard to three journals: *Voluntas, NVSQ*, and *NML*. These journals are all well-established (*NVSQ* was established in 1972, while *Voluntas* and *NML* were established in 1990). As shown in Tables 3, 4, and 5, the relevance of these three journals holds across subsamples of tenured/untenured respondents, the top-three self-identified main research areas, and service roles. This finding, that these three journals are consistently at the top of each list, may not surprise scholars in the field, as these journals have long been viewed as core publication outlets for nonprofit and civil society scholarship (Brudney & Herman, 2004; Ma & Konrath, 2018).

Table 4. Journal Mentions by Tier and Service Role

Journal Name	Service Role	Count	% Top Tier	% Second Tier	% Third Tier
Voluntas	Administrator	27	66.7	33.3	0
	Editorial Board	36	66.7	30.6	2.8
Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly *(NVSQ)*	Administrator	27	100	0	0
	Editorial Board	36	97.2	2.8	0
Nonprofit Management & Leadership *(NML)*	Administrator	26	53.9	42.3	3.9
	Editorial Board	33	60.6	36.4	3.0
Nonprofit Policy Forum *(NPF)*	Administrator	7	0	57.1	42.9
	Editorial Board	16	6.3	68.8	25.0
Journal of Nonprofit Education and Leadership *(JNEL)*	Administrator	13	15.4	30.8	53.9
	Editorial Board	14	14.3	7.1	78.6
Voluntary Sector Review	Administrator	6	16.7	83.3	0
	Editorial Board	15	0	86.7	13.3
Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs *(JPNA)*	Administrator	8	0	37.5	62.5
	Editorial Board	11	0	54.6	45.5
International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing *(IJNVSM)*	Administrator	7	14.3	42.9	42.9
	Editorial Board	11	9.1	45.5	45.5

Note: Only the top eight journals (by mentions) are shown. Administrators and editorial board members are not mutually exclusive.

In addition to these three journals, however, we uncovered a wide variety of other publication outlets that scholars deem viable for their publications. Many of these journals come from neighboring disciplines such as public administration (e.g., *PAR*) or social work (e.g., *Human Service Organizations*). As noted by Smith (2013), the study of the nonprofit sector and civil society has significant breadth, which translates into an interdisciplinary field of inquiry. Indeed, our research reflects the multidisciplinary span of research areas among a majority of the respondents as indicated by the range of research areas listed (see Figure 1).

A notable finding in this study, though, is that aside from the top-three identified journals (*NVSQ, NML,* and *Voluntas*), nonprofit and civil society researchers perceive journals and their quality differently depending on their main area of research. We suggest, then, that future research investigate why such differences may exist.

Future research should also more intentionally incorporate other potential publication outlets. For instance, researchers studying social entrepreneurship may seek publication in journals such as *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship* or *Social Enterprise Journal*, whereas those studying human resource management may submit their research to outlets such as *International Journal of Human Resource Management* or *Review of Public Personnel Administration.*

To date, we lack a good understanding of the decision-making processes leading faculty to seek publication in a specific journal. Learning more about the publication decision-making process may provide us with more information about how and why the use and relevance of

research findings differs across subfields. It may also be the case, however, that certain schools (e.g., business schools) encourage publication in content specific journals, whereas public affairs schools may not have such a preference.

Our findings also show that tenure status does likely play a role in perceptions of journal quality. Given the relative absence of explicit lists showcasing preferred journal outlets, tenure track faculty may have difficulty in deciding where to submit their publications. Indeed, if tenured faculty perceive some outlets as being of higher quality while untenured faculty do not, it is uncertain how faculty on the tenure track can know whether its research is appropriate for certain outlets. This is a particular issue for tenure-track faculty members of interdisciplinary schools, where performance, promotion, and tenure evaluations are made by tenured faculty with different scholarly backgrounds and foci.

This issue becomes further complicated if some of the publication outlets perceived by tenured faculty as being of higher quality lack indicators (such as an impact factor score). Thus, gaining insight into what senior (i.e., tenured) faculty consider to be high-quality journals is important to junior faculty seeking promotion and tenure, since, given the relatively small size of the field of nonprofit and civil society studies, senior faculty members are likely to serve as external reviewers in their promotion and tenure. However, it may be the case that tenured faculty— for their own research—seek out these publication outlets because they apply different selection criteria for journal submission than junior faculty. It may also be the case that untenured faculty perceive peer-reviewed journals with an impact factor as necessary for their career advancement (Adler & Harzing, 2009).

As a final point, our study should provide useful information for administrators and departments. The findings here should help both administrators and departments to contextualize the choices that their faculty have when considering where to send their manuscripts in this field. Administrators wanting to develop publication guidelines for junior (and senior) faculty can draw upon this research to better guide their faculty. This would certainly be more preferable than having junior faculty rely upon anecdotal testimonies and informal guidance.

Conclusion and Limitations

Many studies exploring perceptions of journal quality have used predetermined lists that respondents are asked to rank (Catling, Mason, & Upton, 2009; Meggs et al., 2017; Serenko & Bontis, 2018). In order to be able to rank journals from a list, however, it is important that respondents have familiarity with the journals that are listed(Walters, 2017). Since the field of nonprofit and civil society studies is interdisciplinary in nature we were not in a position, nor was it our intention, to create a comprehensive list for ranking nonprofit and civil society journals. Moreover, we did not want to bias respondents by (unconsciously) excluding journals from such a list. Still, we encourage future researchers to build on our findings and take steps toward building such a comprehensive list fully incorporating the diversity of publication outlets in the field.

Because researchers on the tenure track are generally evaluated by the quality of their publications (Gomez-Mejia, & Balkin, 1992), publication in nonpeer-reviewed outlets may not count much toward promotion and tenure. However, we find that nonpeer-reviewed outlets, for example, *NQ* and *SSIR*, are considered (at least by some respondents to our survey) quality outlets in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies. One interpretation of this finding is that publishing in nonpeer-reviewed journals may provide the opportunity to have an impact on practice in more tangible ways. Thus, we propose that the field should begin having more discussions about what is meant by "impact." Impact is multidimensional; and, research

findings can influence other academics as well as those outside of academia (Aguinis, Suárez-González, Lannelongue, & Joo, 2012).

Although promotion and tenure processes have clear criteria to evaluate scholarly impact when it comes to having an impact on other academics (e.g., frequently measured in number of publications in top journals as well as number of citations), impact outside of academia is not well assessed and rewarded (Aguinis et al., 2012). A discussion about what impact means for the field must involve multiple stakeholders from within and outside of academia including scholars, educators, administrators, and those impacted and/or seeking to practically apply findings from the scholarly community.

We believe that major membership associations—such as ARNOVA and ISTR—can play important roles in these discussions. After all, these institutions are meant to be platforms for, among other things, debates about where scholars can have the greatest impact on society and how their work can be valued by their institutions.

This exploratory study comes with several key limitations that should be noted, especially with regard to the sample, which only included a small number of European scholars. Future studies should focus on drawing from the listservs of membership associations, similar to Brudney and Herman (2004). This will allow researchers to obtain a more comprehensive sample of respondents. Moreover, the stated preference approach of capturing perceived journal quality used in this study can be prone to bias (Tahai & Meyer, 1999). For instance, scholars may give preference to journals they are familiar with (Walters, 2017) as well as journals that influence their personal research interests (Serenko & Bontis, 2018). Future research, therefore, should include measures of familiarity to disentangle and control for the influence of personal research interests.

Finally, our analyses were descriptive in nature, and we acknowledge the limitations of this method. We were not able to test hypotheses, nor can we make generalizations beyond the discrete group of nonprofit and civil society scholars surveyed in this study. Still, our purpose has been to take important first steps toward understanding perceptions of journal quality in the field of nonprofit and civil society studies. To nonprofit practitioners and others outside of academia, the notion of journal quality may seem irrelevant. However, to nonprofit and civil society academics—doctoral students and junior faculty, in particular—having a better understanding of what is perceived as a high-quality journal is a matter that can cannot be understated.

Notes

1. Both authors contributed equally.
2. Before collecting data, the university's Institutional Review Board reviewed this study and classified it as exempt from Human Subject Review.
3. Six entries had ambiguous abbreviations and were excluded.

Disclosure Statement

Marlene Walk is currently the current issues in practice (CIP) editor for *JPNA*. Other than this, the authors declare no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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Creative Placemaking: Creating Change by Building Partnerships

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Arts, artists, and creative strategies can be critical vehicles for achieving social, economic, and community goals. Creative placemaking is one type of arts-led planning that incorporates the goals of communities with stakeholder participation. Questions exist, however, around who participates in the creative placemaking process and to what end. This study explores a case where a state-sponsored workshop brought together people from diverse backgrounds to facilitate community development and engagement through creative placemaking. The study highlights how a one-shot intervention can reshape perceptions of creative placemaking that are held by planners, nonplanners, artists, and nonartists. The study shows that while pre-workshop participants focused on identifying resource-based challenges, post-workshop participants focused more on initiating collaborations and being responsive to community needs. The different attitudes before and after the state-sponsored workshop demonstrate the importance of not only building stakeholder understanding but also facilitating stakeholder engagement for successful creative placemaking.

Keywords: Creative Placemaking, Economic Development, Collaboration

In its most basic form, planning "attempts to link scientific and technical knowledge to action in the public domain" (Friedmann, 1987, p. 37). The American Planning Association expands this definition to describe planning as a process used to maximize "health, safety, and economic well-being for all residents" and to anticipate future needs in order to "create communities of lasting value" ("What Is Planning?," n.d.). Planners consider all elements of a community (including infrastructure, buildings, and greenspaces) in order to advise on land-use decisions related to growth patterns, the location of public services and facilities, preservation, economic development, and environmental issues (Levy, 2017). For these reasons, planners are considered to be public servants, builders of community consensus, entrepreneurs, advocates, and agents of social change (Levy, 2017). Planners operate within systems that are both social and political in nature. Friedmann (1987), therefore, identifies many actors in this space, including (but not limited to) public administrators, political scientists, statisticians, environmentalists, architects, and community organizers.

Creative placemaking is a specific type of planning that intentionally leverages the power of the arts, culture, and creative initiatives to implement changes in communities. In a 2010 white paper, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) introduced the concept of creative placemaking and defined it as the involvement of "partners from public, private, nonprofit, and community sectors strategically shap[ing] the physical and social character of a

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neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities" (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010, p.3). This definition features strategic actions initiated through cross-sector partnerships and place-oriented enterprises through and with the arts (Markusen & Nicodemus, 2014).

In general, creative placemaking contributes to three important goals: *livability*, *diversity*, *and economic revitalization*. These goals are intended to address local residents' concerns about public safety as well as their aesthetic and expressive needs while also promoting environmental transformation by improving public infrastructure and design landscapes. Arts and culture-based creative placemaking also helps to attract more local spending that can result in additional local government tax revenue. For instance, community members can spend more on local venues instead of traveling to other towns for entertainment and cultural activities (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010). Indeed, according to the *Arts and Economic Prosperity 5* report (Cohen, 2017), the arts and cultural sector generated nearly $28 billion in total government revenue and created about 4.6 million full-time equivalent jobs in 2015.

Creative placemaking "revitalizes public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired" (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010, p.3). The goal is to create places that are "cultural industry crucibles where people, ideas, and organizations come together, generating new products, industries, jobs, and American exports" (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010, p.5). The creative placemaking approach differs from other planning and cultural policy initiatives because it involves a much boarder array of stakeholders, emphasizes the role of nonarts stakeholders, and cultivates non-traditional arts funders (Nicodemus, 2013). Further, creative placemaking constructs a platform through which unique cross-sector partnerships can be built. In the past few years, arts agencies in cities like San José and Minneapolis have collaborated or merged with economic and community development agencies to leverage their partnerships to become central players for planning (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010). This kind of initiative has brought artists to the center of community planning, highlighting their potential for creatively designing "locally informed, human-centric, and holistic" solutions ("Introduction | ArtPlace," n.d.; Redaelli, 2016).

The present study focuses on a concrete intervention designed to foster creative placemaking initiatives among local stakeholders, with a specific focus on small and/or rural communities. The section that follows briefly discusses the role of artists as well as arts and cultural organizations in the planning process. This is followed by a description of the intervention, which is a state-sponsored workshop about creative placemaking.

The study is intended to explore how stakeholders perceive the role of arts and culture in creative placemaking before and after the state-sponsored workshop. Findings highlight the need for stakeholders to enhance their shared understanding of the goals of creative placemaking and focus on building platforms for collaboration among artists, planners, nonartists, and nonplanners. Successful creative placemaking cases have often emphasized that building partnerships across sectors and levels of government was key to their success (e.g., Kovacs & Biggar, 2017; Redaelli, 2016). Yet, forging partnerships and assembling adequate financing have constantly come up as challenges in these endeavors (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010). As such, the concluding section discusses how a one-time intervention, such as a state-sponsored workshop, can be a cost-effective means of amplifying the efficacy of creative placemaking.

Arts, Artists, and Creativity as Planning Tools

Artists and the arts can interact with planning in multiple ways, e.g., fostering the incorporation of diverse voices, facilitating creative expression, and encouraging participatory

processes. "The artist in today's society has a mandate to act in ways that no other agents of governance could themselves afford to do" (Metzger, 2011, p.222). Artists can disrupt linear thinking (Gordon, 2005) by introducing informational entropy (Lehrer, 2012; Thomas, Pate, & Ranson, 2014) and illuminating social dynamics between stakeholder groups (Gordon, 2005). Artists can also shape cultural atmospheres (Metzger, 2011) and provide avenues to understand social dynamics (Gordon, 2005).

Even though planning can, and should, span several disciplines, the actual planning process can often fall short of properly incorporating local voices since planners tend to be defined by their "established professional role" (Metzger 2011, p.222). They are not, for example, trained as storytellers (Dang, 2005). However, because planning affects many stakeholders, the planning process should incorporate diverse voices (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014) in order to tell a community's unique story. This type of planning approach fosters the contribution of a broad range of perspectives from local community members—many of whom likely prioritize microlevel issues rather than the macro-level focus of top-down leadership (Pollock & Sharp, 2012).

Existing research highlights the role of artists as well as arts and cultural organizations in planning (e.g., Evans, 2005). However, a need exists to examine how meaningful interventions can bring in artists and nonartists as planning catalysts. As Metzger (2011, p. 215) has noted,

> Both Sandercock (2003, 2004) and Hillier (2002, 2003) have used art analogies to expand our mode of thinking about planning theory and practice, but neither of them suggests any concrete measures as to how the analogies between art and planning can be put into concrete practice in the form of planner-artist collaborations within the planning process.

Further, arts and culture-focused planning research focuses mainly on urban cities (Evans & Foord, 2008; Florida, 2002; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2006) leaving cases in suburban or rural areas largely out of the picture. Finally, successful artist-planning collaborations rely on nonartist, nonplanner stakeholder support for implementation. The literature to date, however, tends to focus mainly on the role of professional planners and, to a lesser degree, artists.

Successful creative placemaking initiatives combine intentional incorporation of artist expertise and creativity along with diverse local voices. They are expected to

> be prompted by an initiator with innovative vision and drive, tailor strategy to distinctive features of place, mobilize public will, attract private sector buy-in, enjoy support of local arts and cultural leaders, and build partnerships across sectors, missions, and levels of government. (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010, p. 5)

Dynamic stakeholder relationships are critical to successful creative placemaking initiatives; as such, these relationships require sufficient time to foster trust exchanging ideas (Kovacs & Biggar, 2017). As with many planning initiatives, creative placemaking encourages a bottom-up focus that incorporates a wide range of stakeholder views. However, as Ashforth and Kavaratzis (2016) noted, questions exist around the idea of which stakeholders participate and how they influence the process.

One key to successful integration of artists and creative initiatives is intentional incorporation of their participation in the process, rather than bringing in artists as auxiliary participants after all major decisions have been made (Garrett-Petts & Klohn, 2013). Unfortunately, the incorporation of artists and creativity thus far has been mostly perfunctory or tokenistic, such as the incorporation of Aboriginal arts during the 2000 Sydney games (Garcia, 2004). Indeed, as Mathews (2014, p. 1030) described in relation to Toronto, Ontario's Distillery District redevelopment, "The rote incorporation of artists and craftspeople at the Distillery results in tokenism, highlighting how the 'just add artists and stir' mentality is fraught with issues related to retention and engagement." If done intentionally, however, incorporating artists into the ranks of other planning actors can make creativity a central means to achieving community health, safety, and economic well-being.

The Present Case: A State-Sponsored Creative Placemaking Workshop

In recognition of the factors leading to successful creative placemaking collaborations, the Indiana Arts Commission (IAC) implemented a creative placemaking workshop with the goal of fostering collaborations across placemaking actors. The IAC targeted local community leaders, planners, economic developers, tourism or cultural administrators across the state and assembled them in one place. The IAC promoted the workshop with preference given to participants coming from small and/or rural communities as follows: "This high-energy day and a half-long workshop will introduce the practice of creative placemaking as a viable strategy for small and/or rural Indiana communities and neighborhoods" (Prosperity Indiana, 2017). The IAC requested that each community send at least two representatives (preferably one nonartist).

The program for the day-and-a-half long workshop emerged from a series of meetings with local artists, planners, and community stakeholders. Given that some communities had already been actively engaged in creative placemaking initiatives, the workshop offered concurrent sessions on two tracks: a "foundations track" for those new to the approach and a "deepening track" for more experienced creative placemaking stakeholders. The workshop also included panels for all participants; networking opportunities with representatives of statewide creative placemaking stakeholders, including the IAC, Office of Community and Rural Affairs, and Indiana Housing and Community Development Authority; a bus tour of creative placemaking in Indianapolis (open only to participants from communities with more than one participant, thus ensuring session participation); and a live creative placemaking activation as a concluding event.

Before the workshop, attendees were asked to fill out a survey that served as a registration form. This survey was designed to get participants to identify their connections to and perceptions of creative placemaking, including its roles and challenges as well as their own local priorities. Out of 120 participants, 110 submitted usable pre-workshop surveys that also served the registration purpose (representing a 91.67% response rate). The registration and evaluation surveys are provided as appendices.

After the day-and-a-half long workshop, attendees were asked to fill out a post-workshop survey. This survey asked attendees to identify their key takeaways, any unexpected learnings, whether their pre-event questions were answered, remaining questions that they had, and creative placemaking-related actions that they were committed to taking within the next 30 days. Of the workshop attendees, 74 participants submitted usable post-event evaluation surveys (representing a 61.67% response rate).

Findings

The findings are presented in three sections: the characteristics of participants, pre-workshop participant perceptions, and post-workshop participant perceptions.

Characteristics of Participants

Since the IAC specifically prioritized participation of small and/or rural Indiana communities, findings are disaggregated according to this classification. Purdue University's Indiana County Classification Scheme informed the categorization of each county as rural, rural/mixed, or urban. Just under half of participants (48%) came from either rural (22%) or rural/mixed (26%) counties. The remainder came from urban counties.

Creative placemaking relies on artist input, planning capacity, political support and funding. As such, participants were asked to label their identification with placemaking based on their role as either artists, planners/political stakeholders, or non-political resource-controlling stakeholders:

1. *Creators*: These included artists and nonplanners engaged in arts and culture-based placemaking initiatives,
2. *Coordinators*: These included nonartists, planners, public officials, or other stakeholders with political, regulatory, zoning, or other such responsibilities in the community. These individuals were often non-funders,
3. *Catalysts*: These included nonartists, nonplanners, non-political placemaking stakeholders. These individuals were often funders, or
4. *Consumers*: These included nonartists, nonplanners, non-resource controlling stakeholders. These individuals were often patrons of arts and culture-based placemaking initiatives.

The terminology for these roles evolved during pre-workshop planning sessions with various community stakeholders. Those engaged in the planning sessions agreed that these roles adequately captured the breadth of connections that people can have with creative placemaking without being too technical or full of jargon. Table 1 maps the artistic, planning/public, and nonpolitical roles to the terminology developed by the IAC's stakeholders.

Over half (57%) the participants identified themselves as *creators*, and 66% of the remaining participants identified their role as *coordinators*. Table 2 provides participant details related to role identification and county location.

Pre-Workshop Participant Perceptions

Local Priorities. To get a sense of community priorities, participants were asked to identify their own local government's two main priorities. Responses were coded based on ArtPlace's Community Development Matrix ("Introduction | ArtPlace," n.d.), which identifies 10 areas that constitute healthy communities: agriculture and food, economic development, education/youth, environment/energy, health, housing, immigration, public safety, transportation, and workforce development. The prompts were open-ended. Therefore, some additional categories emerged based on participant responses. These categories included poverty, infrastructure, arts/culture, community growth/quality of life, government/management, urban development, and community involvement.

As Table 3 shows, participants identified economic development as the top priority across all county types, accounting for 32% of all priorities. Infrastructure was the only other priority representing slightly over 10% of identified priorities. In addition, participants from all

Table 1. Mapping Participant Roles to Creative Placemaking Actors

Role	Artist	Planner and/or Public Official	Non-political (*i.e., Resource Controlling*) Stakeholder
Creator	Yes	No	No
Coordinator	No	Yes	No
Catalyst	No	No	Yes
Consumer	No	No	No

Table 2. Participant Role Self-Identification, by County Type

Participants by Role and County Type		Rural	Rural/Mixed	Urban	Total
Creator	Frequency	12	17	34	63
	%Total Role	19.05	26.98	53.97	
	%Total County	50.00	58.62	72.34	
	% Overall Total	10.91	15.45	30.91	57.27
Coordinator	Frequency	8	8	12	28
	%Total Role	28.57	28.57	42.86	
	%Total County	33.33	27.59	25.53	
	% Overall Total	7.27	7.27	25.45	25.45
Catalyst	Frequency	3	3	8	14
	%Total Role	21.43	21.43	57.14	
	%Total County	12.50	10.34	17.02	
	% Overall Total	2.73	2.73	7.27	12.73
Consumer	Frequency	1	0	1	2
	%Total Role	50.00		50.00	
	%Total County	4.17		2.13	
	% Overall Total	0.91		0.91	1.82
Other/Unidentified	Frequency	0	1	2	3
	%Total Role		33.33	66.67	
	%Total County		3.45	4.26	
	% Overall Total		0.91	1.82	2.73
Total		24	29	47	110
		21.82	26.36	42.73	

counties recognized community growth/quality of place, poverty, education/youth, workforce development, arts/culture, government/management, housing, and health priorities. Public safety represented 8% of priorities; however, the majority of this identification came from urban counties. As expected, perhaps, development only registered as a priority in urban counties.

Sense of Creative Placemaking. During registration, participants responded to the following prompt: "An example of a creative placemaking initiative in my community is…" No definition of creative placemaking was included. This was a deliberate choice in order to obtain a snapshot of what the term meant to participants. We used the information provided by participants to research these projects online on their respective organizational and community websites (where available). Using these publicly available descriptions of these projects we categorized the responses (again using ArtPlace's Community Development Matrix categories).

As Table 4 shows, over 80% of all initiatives identified were related to economic development, most of which were tied to art in some ways, including cultural districts and events around gallery hops (e.g., First Fridays). The only other initiative type with a double-digit share in any

Table 3. Perceived Government Priorities

Government Priories by County Type[1]	Rural	Rural/ Mixed	Urban	Priority Total	Participant Examples
Economic Development	7%	12%	13%	32%	Economic development, economic sustainability, bringing in local business
Infrastructure	5%	2%	3%	10%	Infrastructure-water, sewer, internet
Community Growth/Quality of Place	2%	3%	3%	8%	Community growth, improving quality of place
Poverty	1%	1%	6%	8%	Impoverished populace, poverty
Public Safety	0%	1%	6%	7%	Crime prevention, safety
Education/Youth	1%	2%	4%	7%	Keeping top-notch schools
Workforce Development	2%	1%	2%	5%	Jobs
Arts/Culture	1%	1%	3%	4%	Cultural development
Government/Management	1%	1%	2%	4%	Fiscally responsible government, manage city resources, making basic services easy
Housing	1%	1%	2%	4%	Workforce housing, housing shortage downtown
Health	1%	1%	1%	2%	Drug epidemic, fitness
Transportation	1%	0%	1%	2%	Traffic control
Urban Development	0%	0%	2%	2%	Urban development
Other/Unclear	1%	0%	1%	2%	Site activation, educate visitors
Community Involvement	1%	0%	0%	1%	Community buy-in, community involvement
Environment/Energy	0%	1%	0%	1%	Electric rates

Notes: *n*=165. There were 86 1st priorities and 79 2nd priorities.

given county type was education/youth-related projects. These projects represented 10% of initiatives in urban counties (and 5% of total initiatives in all counties).

Creative Placemaking Challenges. Challenges to creative placemaking generally fell within three categories: resource-based, community buy-in, and political/government buy-in. As Table 5 shows the first two categories accounted for over two-thirds (68%) of challenges identified. In rural and rural/mixed counties, a greater number of creators identified challenges related to community buy-in as compared with resources, while urban creators focused on resource-based issues. It should be noted, however, that the need for more buy-in also represents resource-based issues. Participants across all counties identified issues related to the value of arts (without specifically mentioning community support).

Post-Workshop Participant Perceptions

Over 88% of survey participants in the post-workshop survey indicated that they obtained answers to their primary pre-workshop questions about creative placemaking (discussed above). The following section presents participant takeaways from the workshop and creative placemaking action items that participants indicated they planned to take following the workshop.

Table 4. Participant Perceptions of Creative Placemaking, by County Type

Participant Perceptions		Rural	Rural/ Mixed	Urban	Total	Examples
Agriculture/ Food	Frequency	1	0	1	2	Farmers market; Food Truck Square
	%Total Role	50		50		
	%Total County	5		2		
	% Overall Total	1		1	2	
Economic Development	Frequency	16	19	34	70	Art in the Alley; First Fridays; Cultural districts
	%Total Role	23	27	49		
	%Total County	80	79	80		
	% Overall Total	19	22	40	81	
Education/ Youth	Frequency	2	4	4	10	The Cloud Observatory; Art for Learning's Fresh StART
	%Total Role	20	40	40		
	%Total County	10	17	10		
	% Overall Total	2	5	5	12	
Environment/ Energy	Frequency	1	0	1	2	Bike Park
	%Total Role	50		50		
	%Total County	5		2		
	% Overall Total	1		1	2	
Housing	Frequency	0	0	2	2	Tiny House Roadshow
	%Total Role			100		
	%Total County			5		
	% Overall Total			2	2	
Workforce Development	Frequency	0	1	0	1	ARC Artisans
	%Total Role		100			
	%Total County		4			
	% Overall Total		1		1	
Total		20 (23%)	24 (28%)	42 (49%)		

Workshop Participant Takeaways. Participants were asked to identify up to three takeaways (responses are summarized in Table 6). The top takeaways focused on networking/communication, idea generation, planning+creativity, and recognition of stakeholder needs. Of note, resource-based takeaways reflected 9% of all of the participants' takeaways.

Participants also reflected on new or unexpected learnings. Some of the themes from the key takeaways appeared in these learnings, including idea generation (e.g., ideas for public art), the need for "cross communication between all levels focused on economic development celebrating and recognizing place," the diversity of participants and the attendant strong networking, and evidence of successful projects, including "the need for small victories." The IAC's focus on small and/or rural communities is reflected here as well, with participants noting the following:

- "many great ideas that can be applicable to rural communities,"
- "how to direct conservative community members when working in smaller towns,"
- "seeing creative placemaking in rural communities were pleasant surprise [*sic*] based on conversations I have had with attendants."

Next Steps. During the post-survey, participants shared creative placemaking actions that they would be willing to take within the 30 days following the workshop. Table 7 summarizes these responses. Almost all (97%) participants answered that they would focus on outreach of various kinds, implementing specific initiatives, or brainstorming/idea generation. Only a few (approximately 3%) participants specifically mentioned resource acquisition. The focus on

Table 5. Creative Placemaking Challenges Identified by Role and County

	Rural		Rural/Mixed		Urban		Total		Sample Language
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Resource-Based	6	7	7	8	18	21	31	36	People and dollars; isolated assets; parking meters
Creator	3	4	2	2	12	14	17	20	
Coordinator	1	1	5	6	4	5	10	12	
Catalyst	2	2		0	2	2	4	5	
Community Buy-In	7	8	9	11	11	13	27	32	Getting excitement or support; getting folks to understand the value and "why" of creative placemaking initiatives
Creator	5	6	5	6	7	8	17	20	
Coordinator	1	1	2	2	1	1	4	5	
Catalyst	-	0	2	2	3	4	5	6	
Consumer	1	1	-	0	-	0	1	1	
Political/Government Buy-In	2	2	1	1	3	4	6	7	Collaboration of government entities at all levels
Creator	1	1	1	1	3	4	5	6	
Catalyst	1	1		0		0	1	1	
Other	3	4	8	9	10	12	21	25	
Creator	1	1	7	8	5	6	13	15	Quantifying results; valuing the arts
Coordinator	2	2	-	0	2	2	4	5	
Catalyst	-	0	1	1	3	4	4	5	
Total	18	21	25	29	42	49	85	100	

Note: #=number of challenges; %=percent of challenges

Table 6. Participant Takeaways
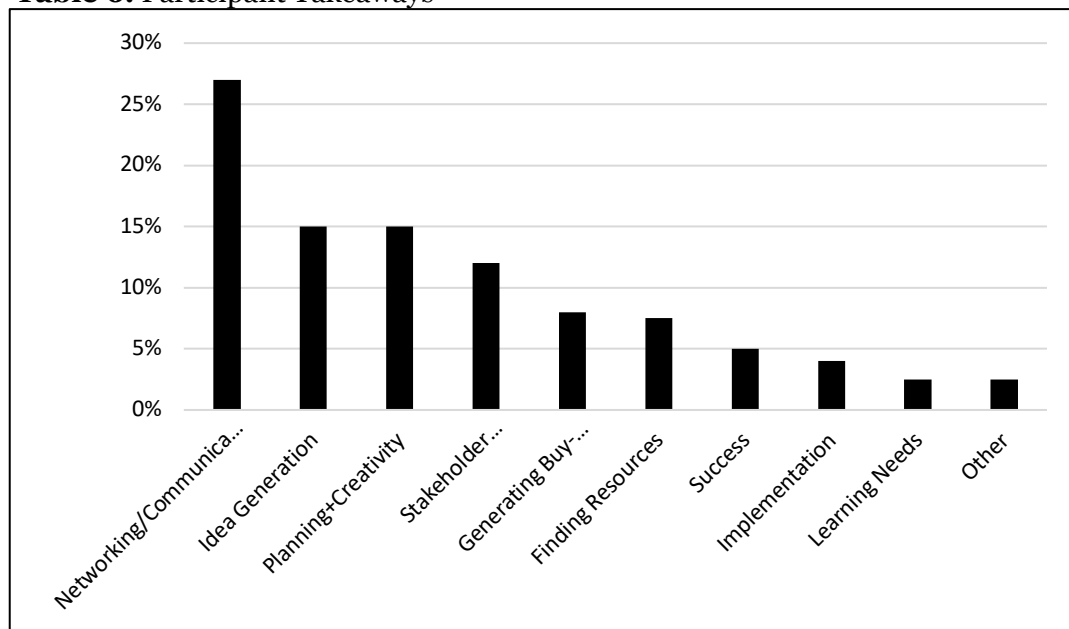
outreach via public officials/managers and the general public reveals that their main takeaways are closely related to networking/communication and stakeholder perceptions/needs.

Table 7. Types of Proposed Actions

Action Type	#	%	Examples
Community Outreach – Consumers, General Public	26	42	Set up an arts council; Ask neighbors or community members what they want to see; plan a brainstorming community meeting
Idea Generation	15	24	Brainstorm visit with other attendees/similar communities; Get together with other workshop attendees from community to plan concrete steps
Concrete Actions – Specific Initiative or Place	15	24	Patronicity Project; Apply to creative places crosswalk painting at charter schools
Community Outreach – Coordinators, Catalysts	4	6	Present to town manager/encourage actions with elected officials; engage local municipalities; Invest in local study
Concrete Action – Resource Acquisition	2	3	Grant application

Notes: *n*=62; #=Number of Actions, %=Percent of Actions.

Discussion and Conclusion

Creative placemaking combines intentional incorporation of artists' experience with the expression of diverse local voices, including arts and nonarts stakeholders. This case examined the impact of a state-sponsored creative placemaking workshops on individual perceptions of the concept and implementation challenges. Prior to the workshop, the majority of participants identified initiatives related to economic development. Resource limitations and community buy-in represented over two-thirds of the challenges that participants identified, reflecting both tangible and intangible resource development-related challenges to creative placemaking. After the workshop, participants focused more on the intangible aspects of creative placemaking, including networking, idea generation, and recognition of stakeholder needs.

As with most social science research, this study has several limitations that must be noted. This case study approach yields results that are mainly exploratory and not generalizable. Future research should build on these exploratory findings to further examine the mechanism to create artist–planner and nonartist–nonplanner collaborations to achieve broader community needs as well as the community factors that may influence such mechanisms.

The study is also limited in that individual pre-workshop and post-workshop forms were only able to be linked for a small number of responses (29 out of 120). This matched set was too small to provide statistically significant effectiveness of the workshop on individual participants. Still, the descriptive findings allowed the opportunity to observe the role of such platforms to foster collaborative creative placemaking.

Despite these limitations, this case highlights the impact that short interventions can have in educating communities about creative placemaking and fostering the collaborations necessary for such implementation. The participants of the creative placemaking workshop indicated challenges related to education about the value of arts, culture, and creative placemaking in general. Ultimately, this one-time intervention helped to enhance stakeholder understanding and engagement and can potentially create lasting spillover effects on communities.

Creative placemaking stakeholders can also use the language of economic development to demonstrate the value of these initiatives as well as to foster community support for collaboration. the value of arts and culture in communities with its *Arts & Economic Prosperity* project (for example, see Cohen, 2017). This project aims to address the

"misconception that communities support arts and culture at the expense of local economic development" and to emphasize that "communities are investing in an industry that supports jobs, generates government revenue, and is the cornerstone of tourism" (Cohen, 2017, p. 9).

Even though participants identified resource-based issues to be the major challenge when asked during the pre-workshop survey, resource-based takeaways reflected only 9% of the participants' takeaways from the workshop. This aligns with research showing that barriers to network goals and collaboration are not only (or often primarily) resource-based (Levine Daniel & Moulton, 2017). This also suggests that participants walked away from the workshop focused on the collaborative and creative elements connected to arts and culture-led planning.

The actions to which participants committed themselves when leaving the workshop also reflected a shift in focus away from resources and toward community engagement and collaboration. Since the majority of participants were creators initially (concerned with resource-based challenges), this type of intentional intervention demonstrates one way to move creative placemaking discussions beyond (or potentially in the face of) resource-based capacity issues. Indeed, an earlier study that examined multiple cases of creative placemaking identified forging partnerships across sectors to be one of the prominent challenges. This study emphasized the need to attract buy-in from the private sector as well as from the general public (Markusen & Gadawa, 2010). The results of our case study suggest that intentional intervention led by local government as well as arts and cultural leaders can make it easier to overcome such challenges.

Further, the need to reach out to various community members brings the role of artists into the spotlight. Artists are valuable assets with entrepreneurial talents ripe for development in creative places. They have the capacity to use creative ways that amplify many community voices as well as bring diverse perspectives to coordinators and catalysts, which traditional planners often fail to address. This approach has broader applications for other institutions and sectors that are involved with revitalization and combating exclusion (e.g., sports) (Lees & Melhuish, 2015). The exploration of a one-shot government intervention described in our case study provides insights into how to overcome one of the biggest challenges in the creative placemaking approach, where artists and arts organizations serve as catalysts for planning.

Ultimately, this study addresses gaps in the creative placemaking literature related to implementation of stakeholder outreach and engagement as well as creative placemaking in nonurban areas. A creative placemaking approach should allow us to better answer the question of "who is a stakeholder?" The framework employed here demonstrates multiple connection levels to creative placemaking and further allows us to answer the questions of "what should we do?" and "how can we achieve the goals of arts- and culture-led planning?" Answering these questions will make creative placemaking approaches more successful and help to create intentional, inclusive collaborations that expand beyond artists and planners.

Disclosure Statement

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Appendix A. From the Ground Up Registration

Professional Title *(leave blank if you do not have one)*:

I work for:

Business address:

I am here in the following capacity *(choose 1)*:
- ☐ Personal
- ☐ Professional (representing an organization)

Check the role that **BEST** represents your connection to creative placemaking *(choose 1)*:
- ☐ Creator – engaged in art-and-culture-based placemaking initiatives
- ☐ Coordinator – public official or other stakeholder with political, regulatory, zoning or other such responsibilities in the community
- ☐ Catalyst – non-political placemaking stakeholder (e.g.: funder)
- ☐ Consumer – patron of arts-and-culture-based placemaking initiatives
- ☐ None – not connected to art-and-culture-based placemaking initiatives

An example of a creative placemaking initiative in my community is:
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

My main question about creative placemaking is:
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

The biggest challenge to creative placemaking in my community is:
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Note: The Indiana Arts Commission is interested in understanding creative placemaking and challenges at the local level. The registration information you have provided will provide valuable insights into these questions. Efforts will be made to keep your personal information confidential, and participation is voluntary.

You can contact Dr. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ at ▮▮▮▮@▮▮▮edu. This research has been approved by the ▮▮▮ University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) process. For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact the Indiana University Human Subjects Office at ▮▮▮▮▮▮ or IRB@▮edu. Your response is important, and your cooperation is appreciated.

☐ Check here to opt out of having your registration information used for research.

Appendix B. From the Ground Up Evaluation

This evaluation will be collected by researchers at SPEA (i.e,: not anyone affiliated with the Indiana Arts Commission). Identifying information will be removed before evaluation contents will be shared with the IAC. Your participation is voluntary, but the feedback you provide is valuable to the IAC in order to help them meet your support and programming needs.

What are your top 3 takeaways from this event? *(Use the back of the sheet if necessary.)*
_____
_____
_____

Was there anything new and/or unexpected that you learned from this event?
_____
_____
_____

Did you go on the bus tour?
   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No

Before coming to this workshop, was your biggest question about creative placemaking?
_____
_____
_____

Was your question answered? If yes, what did you learn?
_____
_____
_____

What question(s) do you still have?
_____
_____
_____

What actions related to creative placemaking do you plan to take in the next 30 days?
_____
_____
_____

--- *Optional*---

Name:

I am here in the following capacity *(choose 1)*:
   ☐ Personal
   ☐ Professional (representing an organization)

Note: The Indiana Arts Commission is interested in understanding creative placemaking and challenges at the local level. The registration information you have provided will provide valuable insights into these questions. Efforts will be made to keep your personal information confidential, and participation is voluntary. This research has been approved by the ▮▮▮▮▮ University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) process. For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact, the ▮▮▮▮▮ University Human Subjects Office at ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ or IRB@▮edu. Your response is important, and your cooperation is appreciated.

   ☐ Check here to opt out of having your registration information used for research.

Financing Nonprofits and Other Social Enterprises: A Benefits Approach by Dennis R. Young

Sandy Zook – University of Colorado Denver

Financing Nonprofits and Other Social Enterprises: A Benefits Approach (Young, 2018) provides needed updates and clarification to *Financing Nonprofits: Putting Theory into Practice* (Young, 2007), which was an edited volume involving 18 scholars in the field of nonprofit resource development and financial management. When *Financing Nonprofits* was published in 2007, it culminated in (what was at the time) an unnamed normative theory of nonprofit finance and resource development. Since this work, research has emerged testing the normative theory that identifies different types of nonprofit beneficiaries and links them to various nonprofit revenue sources.

This new volume contrasts in several notable ways from the 2007 volume—in the authorship, chapter approaches to discussing revenue, the types of organizations included in the theory, new and reclassified beneficiary groups, and potential directions for future research. The most notable difference, however, is the introduction of the term social purpose organizations (SPOs) to describe the range of emergent organizations that have a mission-driven purpose. The introduction of this term allows benefits theory to be applied beyond the nonprofit sector to social enterprises and growing numbers of other legal forms. Since Young presents this book as an update to his 2007 version, in this book review I will highlight some of the key distinctions between the two volumes (see Table 1).

One of the overarching themes in Young's 2018 volume is that benefits theory is no longer solely a normative theory about how nonprofits should operate. Instead, based on research over the last decade, it is now a positive theory with predictive power about how organizations operate. The first two chapters focus on the development and broadening of the theory to encapsulate multiple types of SPOs. The third and fourth chapters provide an update to the theory, including improved economic-based definitions of types of goods linked to each identified benefit group, as well as differentiations in the use of broad categories of revenue streams across different types of SPOs. For example, under the revenue stream labeled "small gifts," nonprofits generally rely on annual donors and crowdfunding. Cooperatives, on the other hand, rely on members and donors; and, social business predominantly rely on crowdfunding.

Table 1. Updates to Benefits Theory of Nonprofit Finance

Attributes	2007 Edition	2018 Edition
Author(s)	Edited	Solo-authored
Organizations Included	Nonprofits	Social Purpose Organizations: i.e., the wide variety of mission-driven organizations
Perspectives on Theory	Normative	Normative and positive
Revenue Approach Categories of Beneficiaries	Revenue sources (individually) Public, Private, Group, and Trade	Revenue portfolios (holistically) Public, Private, Group, Redistributive, and Exchange
Purpose(s)	• Putting forth tenants for testing the probability of theory • In-depth outline of various revenue sources	• Based on emergent research, refining certain tenants of the theory • Extending theory to other types of mission-driven organizations (SPOs) • Setting out new research trajectories

Chapters 5–10 focus on different types of revenue through a lens of revenue portfolios where that revenue is the dominant funding source. Within this discussion, chapter 9 examines mixed income portfolios that don't have a dominant funding stream. Chapter 11 examines capital income opportunities. Each of these chapters relies on illustrative case studies to examine the corresponding revenue strategy. The final chapter synthesizes the main themes across the chapters and highlights how various types of SPOs and entrepreneurs can use the theory to examine, evaluate, and strategize links between beneficiaries, programs, and services to available revenue sources.

There are some minor changes and realignments of identified beneficiary groups. One minor change, for instance, is renaming trade goods to exchange goods to better capture the nature of the relationships within that category. This is done without fundamentally changing how the category is defined. A more substantial change realigns private goods into two groups: private goods and redistributive goods. Private goods are rivalrous and excludable aligned with earned income and fees. Nonprofits can compete in the market with for-profit companies; examples provided include childcare and mental health counseling services to middle-income families.

Redistributive goods are similar to private goods, as they are rivalrous and excludable "but they are considered essential to, but hard to afford, by low income consumers" (pg. 70). Young cites "Affordable housing, basic health care and food" as fitting this category (pg. 65). The differentiation of private and redistributive goods is important to the financing mechanisms available to each type of good—redistributive and private. Private beneficiaries access pure private goods (which are rivalrous and excludable) only through fees-for-service; whereas, redistributive goods include fees-for-service, but may be supplemented by government and philanthropic support.

Nested near the end of Chapter 2 is an interesting (and researchable!) proposition. Young states that "The observed relative stability of nonprofit income mixes over time, especially during a turbulent period such as the first decade of the 21st century, is consistent with the notion that something more basic than the winds of environmental economic change are responsible for the choices that SPOs make for sustaining themselves over time" (pg. 33). This observation is derived from an analysis of revenue portfolio dominant funding streams across two periods (2002 and 2010) in a sample of 150 organizations in three large cities. From this

sample, Young presents the overall stability of the primary revenue source across this period of time for 57% of the organizations as an affirmation of the utility of benefits theory.

Prior research has examined (and continues to examine) revenue diversification and concentration in relation to organizational attributes, organizational stability, and financial vulnerability (see e.g., Carroll & Stater, 2008; Chikoto & Neely, 2014; Foster & Fine, 2007; Froelich, 1999; Frumkin & Keating, 2011; Tuckman & Chang, 1991). Young's proposition, however, presents an interesting and slightly nuanced line of inquiry since the relative stability of the revenue portfolios is a tenant of, and for the use of, benefits theory. Particularly, Young notes that in light of the fact that

> those organizations that did switch categories exhibited a roughly random pattern of transitions from one state to another, with no obvious trend in a particular direction. That is, for example, roughly as many nonprofits transitioned from a contributions-dominant state to a fee-dominant state as moved in the reverse direction, and so on. (pg. 33)

Several interesting research questions arise around those organizations that experienced shifts in dominant-revenue. For example, one question is whether revenue shifts maintained revenue-beneficiary alignments, as put forth in benefits theory, or were a result of other factors not tied to the beneficiary composition? Given that 43% of organizations experienced shifts in revenue dominance, answers to this question could provide insight, not only into the predictive power of benefits theory, but also the utility of benefits theory as a strategy for organizations in times of financial crisis or economic shock.

Conclusion

Overall, this book addresses many of the questions raised through research and application since the 2007 edited volume was released. First, it takes a more holistic examination of revenue portfolio compositions, while still examining the strengths, weaknesses, and organizational considerations for individual revenue sources. Second, it provides clarification around the beneficiary groups by adding redistributive beneficiaries, which has been a running critique of benefits theory and a grey area between private benefits and group benefits. Finally, it clarifies how, and in what ways, an organization's beneficiaries, programs, and services can encompass multiple benefit groups identified in benefits theory, e.g., public, private, group, redistributive, and exchange.

From an applied (or practitioner) perspective, this volume provides more explicit practitioner perspectives for those seeking to utilize and apply benefits theory within existing organizations or in the development of new organizations. The appendix, in particular, contains several worksheets that will certainly be useful to executives, boards, consultants, researchers, instructors of nonprofit resource development, and those seeking to create new organizations. The worksheets provide assistance with identifying beneficiary group(s) served and matching revenue streams corresponding with a particular mix of beneficiaries. The worksheets also provide diagnostic questions for evaluating revenue sources and adjusting organizational strategy.

For instructors who teach nonprofit resource development across a variety of disciplines and need to address the multiplicity of mission-driven organizations, this book provides a useful and broader conception of the theory. Thus, this text can be used as a primary textbook or a valuable supplement. Finally, for researchers, the text provides updates and clarity to the theory based on a decade of research and academic discussion. Moving from *Financing*

Nonprofits (2007), which focused on individual revenue sources, this new volume provides a logical transition to discussing revenue portfolio composition holistically, while still addressing the nuances of individual revenue sources. The updates, clarifications, and new propositions provide some interesting directions forward as research continues to coalesce around and draw on the benefits theory of nonprofit finance.

Disclosure Statement

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest that relate to the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

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