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Research Articles

Social Equity

Book Reviews

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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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Editor's Introduction: Highlighting Strategies of the Nonprofit Sector

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In this new issue of *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs*, we offer a collection of R*esearch Articles* focused on the nature and implications of nonprofit higher education programs, the communication strategies and evidence-based information used by different types of organizations in the nonprofit sector, and the volunteering behaviors of nonprofit association members. Our *Social Equity Section* article highlights the important issue of re-entry and reintegration programs for ex-offenders to reduce recidivism and provide greater access to opportunity. Finally, we offer two *Book Reviews* related to these topics of important recent work focusing on higher education programs in public administration and advancing social equity.

First, Jeong and Kim (2021) examine higher education programs in public administration among universities in South Korea to determine the extent to which nonprofit- and nongovernmental-focused themes and theories have been incorporated in efforts to better prepare students for these particular public service roles upon graduating with their degrees. The authors differentiate between public administration education categories that focus on the environmental context or 'macro-view' versus participatory governance and contractual partnership or the 'micro-view', as well as between public policy education categories that primarily focus on public policy formation versus policy implementation. From a macro-level perspective, the authors find that civil society and its related challenges appear primarily in the context of economic development, democratization, and globalization curricula in South Korea, thereby reflecting an interconnectedness between the government, private, and nonprofit sectors. In terms of the micro-level perspective, nonprofit and nongovernmental education in South Korea tends to focus on participatory governance, including citizen participation, public and global leadership, and social capital. In terms of public policy, the authors note that education in South Korea has expanded to include coverage of topics such as contracting, privatization, and coproduction. The authors conclude by discussing the implications of their findings for enhancing NASPAA's core competencies to further expand their accreditation system globally.

Kuenzi et al. (2021) examine the public service motivation of millennials and how the financial burden accrued from graduate school influences their willingness to work in the nonprofit sector for comparatively lower wages than perhaps could be earned through private sector employment. On the basis of the donative labor hypothesis, the authors find important differences in nonprofit sector commitment and sector choice while also noting the relationship between the two. Specifically, the authors advocate for more longitudinal research on the topic since their findings reveal that nonprofit sector commitment might not remain stable over time. Moreover, while the authors find a connection between perceived financial burden and perceptions of graduate degree worthiness, they do not find a negative

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impact of financial burden on sector commitment, suggesting more nuance in the employment motivations of nonprofit education alumni.

Kanol and Nat (2021) examine the differential strategies used by nonprofit public interest and sectional organizations from Britain that are active at the European Union level to connect with the public in efforts to attract and retain members via the social media platform Facebook. By comparing the different group types and messaging strategies, the authors find that public interest groups use action-type messages intended for networked mobilization more frequently than sectional groups and are able to use such messaging to their advantage in terms of attracting public attention and therefore overcoming their disadvantage (compared to sectional groups) in recruiting, mobilizing, and maintaining their membership base. These findings support existing research indicating group type is an important factor determining the ways in which interest groups engage with the public on social media to accomplish advocacy goals. With increasing importance of social media platforms for nonprofit advocacy, the findings from this study pose important implications for political organizations in terms of collective action problems and democratic influence.

Suh et al. (2021) also examine the external communications strategies of nonprofit organizations, including their use of social media platforms, to determine how U.S. nonprofit museums institutionalize such strategies and use their communication outlets. Through the lens of institutional theory, the authors find important differences between social media and non-social media communication channels in terms of their uses, particularly that social media channels are generally used for maintaining public relations as opposed to general management functions. However, while the use of social media has certainly proliferated among nonprofit museums, the authors find that social media platforms have not replaced more traditional communication channels, including mail, email, phone, and newsletters as outlets for reaching donors, visitors, and the general public. Yet, the authors conclude that movement toward a hybrid communication strategy that includes both social media and non-social media outlets is crucial for organizational sustainability, particularly for those nonprofits targeting different age groups, as the use of social media platforms for market-oriented activities allows nonprofits to attract and maintain donors and generate more earned income while also expanding their social impact.

Horne et al. (2021) examine U.S. social service funding programs for which nonprofit organizations are eligible recipients to determine the extent to which such programs promote the use of evidence by nonprofits to improve their youth development programming in terms of needs assessment, program design, program implementation, program evaluation, and knowledge dissemination. By recognizing the competing goals that federal funding agencies face of promoting the use of evidence to accomplish more effective and efficient programming and fostering innovation and community-specific adaptation in service provision, the authors find that federal funding of nonprofit social services appears to be rather successfully balancing these important goals through the promotion of broad types of evidence use, low levels of coerced use of evidence, and encouraging the prescriptive use of evidence for program design while also fostering innovation.

Finally, AbouAssi (2021) examines the extent which gender similarity between members of membership associations and the senior managers or leaders of such associations has any influence on the volunteering behaviors of association members. The author finds that while gender congruence does not impact the likelihood of volunteering or the depth of volunteering, both the number of volunteering activities and satisfaction with volunteering activities among female members are higher when membership association leadership is also female. The findings from this research pose important implications for leadership and engagement with membership associations, highlighting the importance of effective and charismatic leaders in the nonprofit sector.

In this issue's *Social Equity Section*, Moorer (2021) offers an important discussion of re-entry programs and reintegration services for Black female parolees in Alabama, which consists of communities that are historically under-resourced in terms of community-based criminal justice administration. Noting the high rate of recidivism among ex-offenders released from prison, the author uses social equity theory conceptualized by the National Academy of Public Administration and the analytical tool of intersectionality to examine re-entry program design and implementation and finds a general lack of investment in such programs in the 'Black Belt.' Attributing the trend to a public policy decision, the author acknowledges that systemic discrimination inhibits access to opportunity and cautions against inaction as a policy response to reducing societal barriers associated with the carceral state.

In his review of the book by McDonald III and Hatcher (2020), Overton (2021) describes the edited volume authored by directors, deans, and chairs and that which provides an overview for public administration faculty of designing, leading, and managing public affairs programs of higher education as 'essential knowledge' offering important administrative tools, as well as highlighting the connections between public affairs programs and the stakeholders they serve. With a nod toward NASPAA accreditation, the book covers important information regarding the processes and requirements for successful pursuit, as well as for ensuring the best student learning outcomes and fostering greater cultural competency and social equity in public administration curricula.

Finally, in his review of the book by Guy and McCandless (2020), McDonald III (2021) describes the edited volume as one that moves beyond discussion of social equity we regularly encounter within public organizations to advancing our knowledge on the topic by highlighting the connection between academic research on social equity with the real-world experience of public administrators. By offering a simple and relatable definition of social equity and explaining the demographic factors that commonly give rise to social inequities, the book's chapters are then able to focus on challenges for the field of public administration in terms of incorporating greater social equity into the innerworkings of our governing institutions and policy solutions.

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Research Article

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NPO/NGO Education in Public Administration in South Korea

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This study examines how NPO/NGO-related themes and theories are incorporated into public administration education in South Korea. By analyzing NPO/NGO-related courses in selected public administration programs, this research breaks down their curricula into major categories from the public administration and policy standpoints. This study found that civil society constitutes the public administration environment on the macro-level, while NPO/NGOs are key actors in the participatory governance and contracting-out on the micro-level. From the public policy standpoint, the advocacy function of NPO/NGOs took the central role in the public policy formation stage, while their service delivery function was highlighted in the public policy implementation stage. South Korean PA education is evaluated to take a top-down-style approach in embracing the roles of NPO/NGOs in the public policy implementation process. This study contributes to strengthening ties between PA education and NPO/NGO education and practices.

Keywords: NPO/NGO Education, Civil Society, Public Policy Process, Public Administration Categories, South Korea

The primary goal of public administration (PA) education is to prepare students to acquire skills and knowledge for public service roles (Haupt et al., 2018; Raffel et al., 2011). To delineate the required skills and knowledge for the specialized professional field of public administration, public administration educators and researchers have dedicated themselves to identifying and enhancing core competencies for public administration. The Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA, 2014) highlights five core competencies[1] for accountable public administration education, and these core competencies stress commitment to public service values as the heart of the profession.

Since the early 1990s, some leading studies in the public administration education curricula have been conducted with a focus on the needs of education for management in public service (Cleary, 1990). With the increased role of nonprofits in the public sector, the incorporation of nonprofit management into the public administration discipline has ensued. Salamon (1999) states that public administration schools should incorporate nonprofit education to train professional managers in the comprehensive public and nonprofit sector. Salamon (1999) asserted workforces in both public and non-profit sectors should be collectivelyeducated because public and non-profit institutions are interconnected and collaborate with shared objectives in public service provision. More recently, Smith (2012) indicated that understanding principles and concepts related to nonprofit management is vital for students in public administration.

Jeong, B. G., & Kim, S. J. (2021). NPO/NGO education in public administration in South Korea. *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs*, *7*(2), 173–191. https://doi.org/10.20899/jpna.7.2.173–191

Since Young (1999) pointed out the close philosophical boundary between public administration and nonprofit management, nonprofit education has been gradually incorporated into public administration programs in the U.S. The Commission on Peer Review and Accreditation (COPRA) of NASPAA started to grant accreditation to the Master of Nonprofit Management Program in 2018. The School of Public Administration at the University of Central Florida is the first PA program that received NASPAA's Nonprofit Management Program Accreditation (COPRA, 2019). This recent change demonstrates that the U.S.-based PA schools have been moving toward embracing nonprofit management within its discipline and creating stand-alone nonprofit management programs and concentrations. According to Mirabella et al. (2019), in total, 339 universities and colleges offer 651 nonprofit degree programs in the U.S., and about 30% of the programs are located in public administration schools. Higher education for NPO/NGO in South Korea has also been highlighted during the last decades. In 1999, the first nonprofit education program in South Korea was founded as a stand-alone program at Song-Kong-Hoe University. As of 2018, 11 universities were offering 16 nonprofit degree programs in South Korea (Kim & Jeong, 2018). However, a few of the NPO/NGO education programs were closed down or absorbed as a major or concentration in traditional schools due to enrollment and retention issues (Kim, 2002). While declining as a stand-alone NPO/NGO higher education program in South Korea, nonprofit topics have been highlighted in public science studies such as public administration, public policy, social work, and interdisciplinary studies.

The purpose of this study is to examine the existence and prevalence of nonprofit components in the curricula of South Korean PA programs. Furthermore, this study aims to analyze the analytical frameworks of the NPO/NGO-related courses into the PA curriculum. This study investigates the following research questions: How are NPO/NGO components represented in PA curricula in South Korea in association with public administration/public policy topic categories? From the PA standpoint, this study examines the existence and prevalence of NPO/NGO-related courses in PA education by the sub-topic categories of: i) civil society as the environmental context, ii) NPO/NGOs in participatory governance, and iii) NPO/NGOs in contracting-out and coproduction. From the public policy standpoint, NPO/NGO-related courses are examined for their existence and prevalence by the sub-topic categories of i) public policy formation and ii) public policy implementation.

This paper first overviews the historical and empirical background of South Korean NPO/NGO higher education as well as that of the U.S., after clarifying the research scope based on the inter-departmental collaboration model and best location model of NPO/NGO education. Secondly, this paper provides a research framework focused on PA thematic categories suggested in this study's research questions. Lastly, after describing research methods and data collection, this study summarizes findings and discusses pedagogical implications for forecasting future PA education in regards to civil society and NPO/NGOs.

NPO/NGOs in Public Administration Education in South Korea

Since South Korean society was modernized after the early 1900s, PA education is one of the disciplines that has rapidly grown and expanded in South Korea because of multiple reasons, including government-led initiatives and modern developmental history after the Second World War. The first PA program was established in the College of Law at Seoul National University in 1948. Since then, the number of South Korean PA education programs has expeditiously increased. According to statistics compiled by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology, the number of masters-level PA programs increased from 270 in 1999 to 322 in 2011 (Moon et al., 2014). In 2013, a total of 617 PA programs were operating in various types of higher education institutions in South Korea such as universities, 2-year-colleges, and vocational colleges (Kim & Myeong, 2014). Moon et al. (2014) asserted that the majority of South Korean universities have PA programs and/or related programs including public policy, local public administration, and other related areas. Kim (2012) stated that South Korea has the largest number of PA programs in Asia.

Highlighted educational themes in South Korean PA programs have changed over time. According to Kim and Myeong (2014), legal studies were dominant subjects in PA education in South Korea before the Second World War because of German and Japanese influence on these programs. Since modern curricula has been established in PA programs in South Korea, the curricular themes in PA programs have evolved with varied frames. Cho (2006) illustrated the evaluation of South Korean PA programs and teaching topics with four different stages. Kim and Myeong (2014) described the progress by three phases. The first phase (1950s–1970s) was the era of imitation of the U.S. PA programs in South Korea. After the Korean War (1950–1953), South Korean PA programs were forced or coerced into adopting the American PA education system from the International Cooperation Agency (ICA), also known as the Minnesota Project (Kim & Myeong, 2014).[2] In this phase, management courses focused on development, and comparative theories were highlighted in the PA programs in South Korea. The second phase (1980s–1990s) was the era of adjustment and adaptation for PA programs in South Korea. In this era, public personnel management, public financial management, organizational theory, administrative principles and policy remedies were broadly taught in PA programs in South Korea (Kim, 2012; Kim & Myeong, 2014). The third phase (2000–present) was the era of interaction with the global community and South Korean PA programs. In this era, logical thinking, multiple perspectives, critical pragmatism, and attention to new intellectual movements with the global community were emphasized (Kim & Myeong, 2014).

Based on the evolution of highlighted themes in South Korean PA education, PA programs have served to educate potential civil servants and teach professional skills and knowledge for public services. However, South Korean PA education has faced several challenges such as structural readjustment, continuously-adapted curricula, pedagogy, and its quality control for further sustainable development (Kim, 2012). Cho (2006) enumerated limitations of PA programs, including irrelevant response to social demands, lack of practical skills, and ethics and values for citizenship. Kim and Myeong (2014) asserted that PA programs in South Korea heavily rely on its educational curricula for the civil service examination, even though a substantial portion of PA graduates still find jobs in business or non-government sectors.

The NPO/NGO education in PA has not received undivided attention as an independent research topic in South Korea. PA education started to embrace values and ideas of citizen participation in the 1980s (Choi & Lee, 2009) in its curricula, which may reflect the democratization stage in South Korean history. According to Choi and Lee (2009), the primary focus of PA education was organizational theory and personnel administration in the 1960s and policy-making and planning in the 1970s. The incorporation of responsibilities, comparative administration, values, and citizen participation in the 1980s signifies the expansion of PA education scope, from centralized planning and internal management to values in decentralizingpublic policy environments. The 1990s' PA education started to focus on government reform and extended its focus to local governments beyond the central government. In the 2000s, South Korean PA education was reported to synthesize and converge previously partialized focuses from previous stages.

The roles of civil society[3] have been critical in the democratization process of South Korea (Cho, 2007; Cho & Kim, 2007; Jeong, 2013). The involvement of NPO/NGOs in public policy agenda setting and public discourse has been significant in South Korea (Kim, 2006). Given the substantial roles and contributions of NPO/NGOs, subsequent questions occur, such as whether and how the NPO/NGO components are embraced in PA education.

Nonprofit Academic Studies in the U.S.

During the last several decades, NPO/NGO education has been built up in American higher education since the first university-level nonprofit education was founded at Yale University in the early 1970s. A most recent study reports that a total of 339 universities and colleges provide nonprofit education courses and/or degree programs in various schools in the U.S. (Mirabella et al., 2019).

With nonprofit higher education advancing and expanding in the U.S., an array of research topics have been discussed, including required curricula in nonprofit education, types of nonprofit education programs, and the "best place" debate. Notably, the "best place" debate, focusing on the best-fitted discipline for teaching nonprofit education, began in the early 2000s (Mirabella, 2015; Mirabella & Wish, 2000; O'Neil, 2007; Young, 1999) and still continues (Alexander, 2017).

Some studies state that the default model of placing nonprofit education within one discipline is inappropriate because of practical differences between nonprofits and other kinds of organizations, as well as the interdisciplinary nature of nonprofit education (Mirabella & Wish, 2000; Smith, 2017; Young, 1999). Other studies report that the fundamental philosophical nature of nonprofits is congruous with the PA discipline (Mirabella & Wish, 2000; Young, 1999).

Conversely, scholars also pointed out limitations and constraints in non-profit education curricula covered in existing PA programs. Alexander (2017) claimed that nonprofit education in PA is under-resourced and not fully comprehensive in scope. Young (1999) affirmed that nonprofit education in PA mainly focuses on the inside function of nonprofits and tends to be more applicable to larger governmental bureaucracies.

The NPO/NGO Higher Education in South Korea

Nonprofit education in South Korea has been increasingly highlighted, keeping pace with the growth of civil society and the advancement of democracy in the country. After the 1987 Democratic transition in South Korea, civil society organizations have expanded exponentially and have played a key role in the fields of economic justice, welfare policy, women's rights, and other social/political issues (Lee & Arrington, 2008). The number and scope of nonprofit organizations[4] in South Korea has significantly increased its scale since the late 1990s in various subsectors, including civil society, social service, international aid, environment, and education.

The growth of civil society stimulated the needs of nonprofit education to existing and prospective leaders and staff in the nonprofit sector in South Korea. In a recent study, Kim and Jeong (2018) reported that 11 universities were offering 16 NPO/NGO degree programs in South Korea. This number was later updated by the same authors to 16 universities and 22 NPO/NGO degree programs, which make up 3.84% of all 417 colleges and universities in South Korea (Ministry of Education, 2019). Although the number 16 itself seems small, this is quite a substantial portion of South Korean colleges and universities, compared to 7.9% of all higher education in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Education, 2018) offering NPO/NGO degree programs (Mirabella et al., 2019). Out of the 22 NPO/NGO degree programs, six are offered in public administration or policy schools in South Korea, constituting 37.5% of the total NPO/NGO degree programs, including Kyunghee University (Graduate School of Public Policy), Sogang University (Graduate School of Public Policy), Hanyang University (Graduate School of Public Policy). While the NPO/NGO degree programs housed in PA graduate schools mainly confer civil society or NGO majors, these civil society/NGO majors often reflect the curricula of the graduate schools' fields (e.g., public affairs and policy). For example, Social Policy and NGO (Kyungpook National University), Global Governance (Kyunghee University), and Civic Leadership (Gyeongsang National University) majors reflect the focuses and interests of the public affairs and policy schools. Another interesting case is that the Social Economy Studies major (Wonkwong University) came into the realm of PA schools. This might be because South Korea has driven the development of social enterprises by governmental policies with nonprofit organizations' influx. With the facilitative roles of government policies, a large number of nonprofits entered human services and job creation fields as hybrid organizations with their social mission and business skills.

Analytical Framework

As aforementioned, the purpose of this study is to identify the existence and prevalence of nonprofit components in South Korean PA programs, and to analyze the NPO/NGO-related courses in the PA curriculum based on the following analytical framework. The NPO/NGO components in PA education could be analyzed based on two categories: i) the public administration standpoint that covers the environmental context (macro-view) and the participatory governance and contractual partnership (micro-view) (Denhardt et al., 2013; Kettl, 2017; Kim, 2006; Lee et al., 2014; Milward et al., 1993; NASPAA, 2014; Oh, 2016; Ostrom, 2010; Renz, 2006; Rainey, 2009; Savas, 2000; Smith & Lipsky, 2009; Whitaker, 1980), and ii) the public policy standpoint that covers public policy formation and public policy implementation (Kim, 2006; NASPAA, 2014; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Sabatier, 1986; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980).

There is no single unified classification framework to address the required educational topics in public administration education. Numerous scholars and educators have designed their structure of what PA education should cover and incorporate. Lee et al. (2014) stressed that PA education may converge a couple of major intermediary categories, including contextual aspects, PA's internal management, external relations, and other activities. The context category may include values, environment, theories, culture, and ethics (Lee et al., 2014; Oh, 2016). PA's internal management includes government structure, governance, leadership, human resource management, budget, public policy and its management, and local government (Kettl, 2017; Lee et al., 2014; Oh, 2016; Rainey, 2009; Renz, 2006). PA's external relations involve civil society and NPO/NGOs, market, media, and international/transnational actors (Kettl, 2017; Lee et al., 2014; Oh, 2016). PA's other activities encompass public service, e-government, regulations, and public sector reform (Lee et al., 2014; Oh, 2016; Stone & Moloney, 2019).

The major intermediary categories can also be re-grouped depending on the focus of education. If the focus is given to politics of the administrative process, the following will be the main components: governmental activity, governmental structure, people, decision-making and implementation, and administration in democracy (Kettl, 2017). If the focus is given to actions by participants, PA can be divided into personal actions in a public organization, the political context of PA, the inter-organizational context of public organizations, planning/implementation/evaluation, ethics of public service, managerial functions (e.g., budgeting, human resources, and leadership), and administrative reform (Denhardt et al., 2013; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). If the focus is given to the overall trend or context upon which the public sector stands and operates, then globalization, democratization, marketization, and other aspects, have been separately discussed (Denhardt et al., 2013; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Farazmand & Pinkowski, 2006; Frederickson, 1980; Young, 1999).

When aiming to build an analytical framework related to NPO/NGO topics in public administration education, PA education can be re-grouped into two pillars of its educational focuses: management in public governance and public policy process. This structured idea is also hinted at by NASPAA's core competencies for PA scholars and practitioners. From a pedagogical standpoint, the curriculum structure of PA departments may also be reviewed in relation to NASPAA's core competencies. The management-related competencies can be divided into two views: micro- and macro-views. The micro-view of the public administration standpoint is closely associated with public governance, leading, and management (NASPAA's competency 1). The macro-view of the public administration standpoint is mirrored in the changing administrative environment, including communication and interaction with the workforce and citizenry (NASPAA's competency 5). In addition, the public policy process-related competency will be the other pillar of PA education (NASPAA's competency 2). The two stages of the public policy process (formation and implementation) will be the main focus to clarify the connection with the NPO/NGO and civil society.

PA literature and educational textbooks also support this typology. From a macro-view management standpoint, NPO/NGOs are interpreted as one of the actors that constitute the surrounding environment of public administration and its system. NPO/NGOs interact with government agencies and their personnel as part of the surrounding environment (Oh, 2016; Rainey, 2009). NPO/NGOs are given their roles in the context of the relationship between PA and the nation or citizenship (Oh, 2016) or understood in the context of democracy (Denhardt et al., 2013; Kettl, 2017). From a micro-view standpoint, participatory governance among inter-sectoral agencies and contractual partnership between public and nonprofit agencies can be focused (Savas, 2000; Smith & Lipsky, 2009). From the public policy design and process perspective, public policy implementation itself can be a major category that includes various variables in a flow diagram of the tractability of policy problems, the ability of statute to structure implementation, and the non-statutory variables affecting implementation (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980).

The public management-focused aspect related to NPO/NGOs can be broken down by the types and extents of civic participation. The levels of citizen participation and participatory governance in public sector decision-making may vary depending on the society and the government.

Whether NPO/NGOs are empowered and given substantial authority in public sector decision-making or whether NPO/NGOs are regarded as non-substantial actors without substantial authority in the PA process, would become a significant criterion in assessing the portrayal of NPO/NGOs in PA education curricula. From this standpoint, it would be also worth examining whether PA education curricula incorporate a certain level of governance aspect through NPO/NGO participation or citizen participation (Ostrom, 2010; Renz, 2006). The model of coproduction can be an example that shows more engaging and sustaining citizen participation in public service delivery (Brudney & England, 1983; Whitaker, 1980). The key element is that service agents and citizens contribute to the provision of public services in a collaborative manner (Brudney & England, 1983; Whitaker, 1980). On the other hand, NPO/NGOs may simply engage in contractual partnerships with public agencies, rather than exerting a more proactive level of influence with a certain level of ownership (Savas, 2000; Smith & Lipsky, 2009).

The public policy process stage in which NPO/NGOs are engaged is crucial in determining the roles and functions of these civil society actors in public sector interactions. If NPO/NGOs get involved in the policy formation stage, the roles would more likely be advocacy-focused, information-providing, and awareness-increasing activities toward the general public. NPO/NGOs at this stage often participate in the preliminary decision-making as experts of specific public policy areas. If the roles of NPO/NGOs occur in the policy implementation stage, the roles would generally be service providers. In the case of policy implementation stage involvement, the roles of NPO/NGOs can be interpreted from two different approaches: top-down or bottom-up (Hjern & Hull, 1982; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Sabatier, 1986). These two different approaches may affect how policymakers and implementers treat and regard civil society organizations and citizens. The top-down approach suggests the following as necessary conditions for the effective implementation (Sabatier, 1986): clear and consistent objectives, adequate causal theory, legally-structured implementation process, skillful implementing officials, and the maintenance of political support of interest groups. On the other hand, the bottom-up approach allows local implementation structures (network) involved in a policy area. In this approach, evaluation criteria are less clear, and even goals are not sometimes clear in public policy issues. The overall focus is on how multiple actors strategically interact with each other in a policy network. Therefore, to examine how nonprofit organizations are portrayed in public policy implementation in PA higher education curriculum would be a significant observation point.

Methodology

Data Collection

The primary data in this study targeted PA courses containing NPO/NGO components in PA degree programs that are offered in the PA department of South Korean universities. In this study, we employed three stages to collect data.

In the first stage, regarding the selection of PA education in universities, the authors identified the top 50 universities in South Korea using international and national resources for university rankings including U.S. News Best Global University in South Korea, World University Rankings 2019, and QS World University Ranking–South Korean universities. Furthermore, the 2018–2019 JoongAng Ilbo National University Rankings was utilized, which is the most frequently cited list of university rankings in South Korea. We cross-checked these four national and international lists to determine the top 50 South Korean universities.

In the second stage, we identified universities that offer at least one or more nonprofit or nonprofit-related courses in their PA school or department based on the listed top 50 universities. Finally, all NPO/NGO related courses and their course descriptions and objectives were collected in the PA discipline based upon elected PA programs with three or more NPO/NGO courses. The courses were cross-checked by the two authors and one more external expert in the nonprofit field. As a result, the authors identified 27 PA schools that have provided three or more NPO/NGO courses in South Korea. From the identified 27 PA schools, 59 NPO/NGO-related courses were collected. The stand-alone NPO/NGO degree programs from PA programs are excluded in this study, because the stand-alone NPO/NGO degree programs not only have developed their own educational agenda and framework, but also they have been analyzed in separate pedagogical research (Mirabella & Wish, 2007; Mirabella et al., 2007; Mirabella et al., 2019; Jeong & Kim, 2019).

Data Analysis

Regarding assigning the collected NPO/NGO courses in the provided analytical framework, the authors used the course title and description for assessing the focus of the respective courses. The authors examined the existence of keywords that characterize the main aspects of civil society's roles in public administration as well as the public policy process. First, this study checked whether the respective course highlights aggregated civil society as a whole and its characteristics (macro), or individual civil society organizations and their inter-sectoral interactions (micro). When a course mainly focuses on the former theme with exemplified keywords, it was classified as macro-view-centered. Those keywords include an overview of sectors (e.g., the third sector), over-time trend of social change (e.g., social movement, globalization, and national development), and characteristics of system/regime (e.g., democracy) (Denhardt et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2014; Oh, 2016).

For identifying a micro-view of the course, the following keywords were checked in the title and course description: governance, citizen participation, coproduction, privatization, and contracting out. The authors specified whether those courses involve decision-making and ownership by civil society and citizens through their participatory governance, such as coproduction, community action, and leadership roles (Kettl, 2017; Ostrom, 2010; Renz, 2006; Whitaker, 1980). Additionally, the authors checked whether the course addressed civil society and nonprofits as a transactional relationship in service delivery processes such as contractual service provision through social enterprises or nonprofit agencies (Savas, 2000; Smith & Lipsky,2009).

For the public policy aspect, the authors checked whether a course focuses on nonprofits' role in public policy agenda setting via advocacy activities (public policy formation) or service delivery roles via service activities (public policy implementation). If both activities appear, the authors assigned them to both categories (Kim, 2006; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980; Sabatier, 1986).

Results

As noted in the data collection discussion, this study observed 27 PA schools or departments and their NPO/NGO-related courses. Yonsei University provided the largest number of NPO/NGO courses in their PA program (10 courses), followed by Chungang University (8 courses) and Seoul National University (5 courses). Most of the other universities provided one or two NPO/NGO courses in their PA programs.

In addition to counting the number of NPO/NGO-related courses, course description and course objectives were examined. For example, the purposes of the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations Course and the Civil Participation Course from Seoul National University are stated as follows:

> *The purpose of this course is to examine the various roles of NGOs in democracy and market economy and to deal with the policy issues generated by the activation of NGOs. This course will examine the performance and incentives of NGOs and the political, economic and social roles of NGOs from the perspective of political economy; discussion topics include the relations of NGOs with the government, market and civil society. This course will acquaint students with the academical approach to the functions and roles ofNGOs and the relations between the government and NGOs (Government and Non-Governmental Organizations Course, Seoul National University's Public Administration Department, n.d.).*[5]

In this example, democracy and the market economy seem to be the contextual foundation for the NPO/NGOs' roles in society. The political, economic, and social roles in the political economy were covered from the perspective of the course. The performance and incentives from institutional, managerial, or organizational behavioral perspectives on NPO/NGOs were incorporated. It is also noteworthy that the NGO-government relationship was included as one of the main focuses of the course, showing the uniqueness of the PA discipline. In the government and nonprofit relationship courses, democracy and the market

Table 1. NPO/NGO-Related Courses Offered in PA Departments

No.	University	Course Title
1	Ajou University	Citizen Participation
2	Chonbuk National University	Government & Civil Society
3	Chonnam National University	NGO Case Studies Government and NGOs
4	Chosun University	Civil Society and Public Policy Government and NGO
5	Chungang University	Social Economy and Public Administration Government and NGO Social Economy Policy Civil Society Government and NGO Citizen Participation Comparative Social Enterprises Social Economy & Seminar of Public Administration
6	Chungnam National University	Governance & NGO Public Administration and Citizen Participation
7	Ewha Womans University	Nonprofit Organizations
8	Gachon University	State and Civil Society
9	Gyeongsang National University	Theory and Practice of Public Organization
10	Incheon National University	Civil Society
11	Inha University	NGO & Government
12	Jeju National University	Volunteerism NGO and Government (closed since 2017) Government & NGO
13	Kookmin University	NGO Management
14	Korea University	Government and Civil Society
15	Korea Maritime and Ocean University	Government and NGO
16	Kyungpook National University	Social Capital Government and NGO
17	Myongji University	Civil Society & Public Administration Public Administration & NGO
18	Pukyong National University	Bureaucracy and Civil Society
19	Sejong University	Public Governance and Network NGO and Citizen Participation
20	Seoul National University	Citizen Participation Government and Non-Governmental Organization Governance and Public Leadership Citizen Participation Research Global Governance and National Development
21	Seoul National University of Science & Technology	Government and Society
22	Sogang University	Non-Profit Organization & Administration
23	Sookmyung Women's University	Government and NGOs Studies in State and Civil Society Government and NGO
24	Soonchunhyang University	The Third Sector

25	Sungkyunkwan University	Civil Society and Governance Understanding Governance
26	University of Seoul	Citizen Participation Citizen Participation Research Government and Non-profit Organization Nonprofit Organization Seminar Globalization and Governance Globalization & International Organization
27	Yonsei University	NPOs Management Voluntarism Theories of Social Movement Global Leadership Civil Society and NGO Social Movements in Korea

economy were the contextual foundation, and political economy was the perspective for the course and textbook. It also mentioned multiple themes such as performance, NGO-government relationships, and roles of civil society as its main focuses.

In the case of Civic Participation or Government and Civil Society courses, the following components of civic participation were emphasized. These courses highlighted democracy theories and micro-level components such as technical skills, methods, and behavioral factors. Itwas noteworthy that environmental, as well as structural factors, were equivalently emphasized. The course was designed with the assumption that citizen participation can be enhanced with the advancement of methods and technologies (e.g., e-government and e-participation).

> *This course concentrates on civil participation. Based on the understanding of various theories of democracy, concept, and method of civil participation, the attitude of civil services toward civil participation, and environment and governance structure for promoting civil participation are dealt with in this class. Besides, students will discuss e-participation, civil politics and the relationship between power and participation as important topics on civil participation (Civil Participation Course, Seoul National University's Public Administration Department, n.d.).*[6]

A close look into the curriculum design of PA programs may offer a comprehensive insight into how the curriculum is structured and where the NPO/NGO components fit in the knowledge system of PA. For example, in the case of Korea University's PA curriculum, civil society, alongwith law, politics, economy, and international society, were categorized as part of the knowledgeto understand a complex society. This implies that civil society serves as the background and contextual knowledge for the management of public organizations.[7] This is consistent with one of the most widely-adopted PA textbooks' indications of civil society as a contextual environment for PA process and structure (Oh, 2016; Rainey, 2009).

As shown in Table 2, classification of the contents in the listed NPO/NGO-related courses was analyzed based on two standpoints: public administration and public policy. The public administration standpoint was analyzed with two main perspectives: micro- and macro-view. In the micro-view, the inter-organizational interactions of individual NPO/NGO actors were analyzed in governance or contracting-out in the public sector, whereas, in the macro-

Table 2. Classification of NPO/NGO-Related Courses in Public Administration and Policy

Standpoint	Main Aspects	Educational Contents	Course Title (Examples)
Public administration standpoint	Civil society as environmental context (Macro-view)	The environment for promoting citizen participation; democratization; civil society as the contextual environment for public administration; civil society in a globalized context	Civil Society & Democracy; Government & Civil Society; Social Economy Policy; The Third Sector; Theories of a Social Movement; Social Movement in South Korea; Civil Society & Public Administration; Globalization and Governance; Global Governance and National Development
	NPO/NGOs in participatory governance (Micro-view)	Theories of democracy; Governance structure for citizen participation; civil society and citizen participation; and coproduction.	Citizen Participation; Civil Society & Governance; Governance & NGOs; Governance and Public Leadership; Understanding Governance; Globalization and Governance; Global Governance and National Development; Social Capital and Public Policy; Global Leadership; Volunteerism
	NPO/NGOs in contracting out (Micro-view)	Theories of privatization; contracting-out.	Comparative Social Enterprises; Social Economy & Seminar of Public Administration Public Governance and Network; Civil Society, Market, & Governance
Public policy standpoint	Public policy formation	Policy agenda setting by NPO/NGOs; advocacy roles of nonprofits; Policy issues generated by the activities of NPO/NGOs	NGO & Public Policy; Civil society & Public Policy
	Public policy implementation	Social service provision by NPO/NGOs; mobilization of social capital as public policy resources	Social Capital and Public Policy; NGO & Public Policy; Civil Society & Public Policy

view, the civil society is understood in the overall structure and system of PA. The macro-perspective perceives civil society as the environmental context, which is a pre-condition for PA, whereas the micro-perspective perceives NPO/NGOs through the angle of inter-agency interaction, either as participatory governance or a contracting-out partnership (John et al., 1994; Kettl, 1993, 2017; Kim, 2006; Lee et al., 2014; Milward et al., 1993; Milward et al., 1994; Oh, 2016; Rainey, 2009; Smith & Lipsky, 2009; Whitaker, 1980).

These two microscopic views underscore NPO/NGOs' proactive roles as an actor, compared to the passive perception of civil society in the macroscopic view. In other words, in the macro-view, civil society is understood in the overall structure and system of PA. Whereas, in the micro-view, the inter-organizational interactions of individual NPO/NGO actors are analyzed in governance or contracting-out in the public sector.

The overarching theme of civil society vis-à-vis the environmental context is that NPO/NGOs constitute the condition for PA process, rather than highlighting the internal management or decision-making of key actors inside the government or public agencies (Oh, 2016; Rainey, 2009). One cautious note regarding this interpretation is necessary. The idea of civil society as the environmental context does not indicate that civil society is a subsidiary in terms of its significance in PA. Rather, it may imply that civil society's contribution is a facilitating factor forPA and government agencies to function and operate effectively in an accountable way to its stakeholders in a complex environment. In other words, civil society and its participation may serve as the watchdog for the government to operate to the expectations and demands of involved and interested stakeholders, which is a fundamental rationale of democratic government and its existence (Behn, 2001; Jeong & Kearns, 2015; Kearns, 1996; Romzek & Dubnick, 1987).

The exemplary courses addressing civil society as the environmental context were as follows: Civil Society & Democracy; Government and Civil Society; Social Economy Policy; The Third Sector, Theories of Social Movement; Social Movement in South Korea. Educational contents falling under the civil society as environmental context include, but are not limited to, socio-economic condition for promoting the citizen participation, democratization as a condition for citizen participation, social capital as an intermediate condition for facilitating citizen participation, the overall civil society and its maturity as a condition for PA's consideration in its process, and civil society in the globalized context.

The microscopic view of the interactions between government and the NPO/NGOs can be divided into two lenses: partners in public sector decision-making (participatory governance) or implementers in public service provision (contracting-out). The first micro-viewunderlines the proactive contribution of NPO/NGOs in public sector decision-making as well as a collaborative partnership in governance (John et al., 1994; Kettl, 1993; Kettl, 2017).

This view puts the stress on democratic accountability through the collaboration between public agencies and NPO/NGOs in the era of globalization and devolution (Kettl, 2000). The key concern in this view is how to coordinate diverse interests, give representation and voices to all stakeholders including under-represented groups, and embrace values that are often conflicting among different actors in public-sector decisions. Exemplary courses that embrace the theme of civil society in participatory governance are as follows: Citizen Participation; Civil Society & Governance; Governance & NGOs; Governance & Public Leadership; and Understanding Governance. Educational contents classified into the civil society in participatory governance are as follows: theories of democracy affecting the governance in PA, the governance structure for citizen participation, civil politics describing the actual interactions in the PA process, coproduction, and the mutual interaction between civil society and citizen participation in participatory governance.

The second micro-view pays attention to the NPO/NGOs' roles as service providers through contracting-out. These roles were interpreted in the context of hollow-state or shadow-state, or new-street-level bureaucrats (Milward et al., 1993; Milward et al., 1994; Smith & Lipsky, 2009). The main interest of this view is how and to what extent the NPO/NGOs conduct privatized service provision through contracting-out. This viewpoint calls attention to the separation of government from the services they provide (Milward et al., 1993). The contracting regime incorporates the structures, rules, and actions of the state and voluntary organizations outside of the political system of the state (Smith & Lipsky, 2009). In this view, the key concern is how to manage networks of service providers in the most effective manner in the decentralized PA system. Exemplary courses that embrace the theme of civil society in contracting out and coproduction are as follows: Comparative Social Enterprises and Civil Society, Market, & Governance. Educational contents classified into this category are as follows: theories of privatization, hollow-state, and contracting-out.

From the public policy standpoint, NPO/NGO-related courses were broken down into public policy formation and public policy implementation toward citizen participation (Kim, 2006; Sabatier, 1986; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980). The public policy formation sub-theme highlights the leading roles of NPO/NGOs in public policy agenda-setting. In other words, this sub-theme features how NPO/NGOs get involved in identifying social problems and transforming identified social problems into the public policy agenda. This approach embraces a bottom-up approach that allows more substantial and constructive contributions by NPO/NGOs in the decision-making process in the public sector. The public policy implementation aspect mainly focuses on social service provision by NPO/NGOs. Mobilization of social capital and NPO/NGOs as partners in this mobilization process reveal this top-down-style public policy implementation procedure. Exemplary courses that incorporate public policy process participation include: Social Capital & Public Policy, NGO & Public Policy, and Civil Society & Public Policy.

Summary and Discussion

This study investigated how NPO/NGO-related topics are reflected in Public Administration (PA) education in South Korea. This study analyzed NPO/NGO-related courses in PA schools or departments from selected top 50 universities in South Korea to break them down into major categories from the PA and public policy standpoints.

The main findings of this study lead us to the following discussion points. First, from a macro-level perspective, civil society and its collaborations or confrontations with PA were depicted in the context of economic development, democratization, and globalization in the PA curricula in South Korea. PA courses located civil society between market and government, reflecting potential concord and discord between them. The causal path, leading from economic development to increased roles of civil society, was an initial point of NPO/NGO-related courses' learning objectives in the PA discipline. The historical role of South Korean civil society for democratization portrayed as a social movement was remarked as another point of discussion in PA courses. These macro-level findings suggest a task to scan the changing landscape of the multi-stakeholder environment that defines the nature of the relationship between the three sectors—state, market, and civil society. It is necessary to scrutinize democratic accountability of civil society in meeting expectations and demands of varied stakeholders in multiple sectors (Jeong & Kearns, 2015; Kearns, 1996; Romzek & Dubnick, 1987).

Second, from a micro-level perspective, participatory governance was incorporated as the key term to describe NPO/NGOs in PA education in South Korea. The key concept of governance was addressed in many aspects of micro-level PA issues, such as governance structure for citizen participation, governance and public leadership, social capital and public policy, and global leadership. These observations resonate with the recent emphasis on the proactive contribution of civil society to PA and its interaction with its governance partners (Kettl, 2017; Ostrom, 2010). This study's findings also suggest future studies to examine the breadth, depth, and nature of NPO/NGO participation reflected in PA education to assess their comprehensive impact on society.

Third, from another side of the micro-level perspective, South Korean PA education has expanded its coverage to the phenomena of contracting-out, privatization, and coproduction. It was observed that the theoretical/historical background and empirical cases of contracting-out and privatization have been incorporated in PA education in South Korea. However, PA education may not have covered coproduction-based cases much in the curricula. The emerging phenomena of social economy and social enterprises allow authors to give them a careful examination in terms of their implications on the micro-level interaction between NPO/NGOs and public agencies.

Fourth, NPO/NGOs have been incorporated both in top-down and bottom-up public policy implementation as reflected in PA education in South Korea. While the advocacy function of NPO/NGOs was remarked in the public policy formation stage, in the public policy implementation stage, NPO/NGOs were highlighted by their roles in complementing public service delivery (Kim, 2006). PA education embraced the NPO/NGOs in the public policy implementation mainly from a top-down-style approach. These findings also suggest future studies to further examine the types and nature of the interactions between NPO/NGOs and government in the public policy formation and implementation processes.

Fifth, this study also found that the inter-departmental collaboration model works for NPO/NGO education in South Korean higher education. It seems that PA education, as well as other departments, share their roles and specialize in their strengths in terms of delivering coordinated curricula to cover comprehensive theories, histories, and cases of NPO/NGO education. Especially, PA education seems to have focused on citizen participation, governance, and contracting out as the main phenomena in the PA field and mobilized their contribution to public policy processes. Lastly, due to the historical mission conducted by NPO/NGOs in the establishment of South Korean democracy, it is evaluated that South Korean PA education has focused more on macro-level transformation in terms of the dynamics between state, market, and civil society. More recent courses seem to have expanded their focus to the micro-level themes of NPO/NGOs including citizen participation, governance, network, contracting-out, and social enterprises.

This observation suggests future studies might examine how the focus of PA education has changed over time in terms of the macro- and micro-level aspects of NPO/NGOs' roles in PA and public policy.

This study also has pedagogical and practical implications. For pedagogical implications, this study contributes to increasing the relevance of NPO/NGO education for PA practice by aligning NPO/NGOs and their roles within the purview of PA. In particular, this study offers insights into how South Korean PA programs have incorporated NPO/NGOs as actors in the practice of public administration and the processes of public policy formation and implementation. This study also has implications in terms of NASPAA's core competency enhancement. Leading and managing in public governance (competency 1), participating in and contributing to the public policy process (competency 2), and communicating and interacting productively with a diverse and changing workforce and citizenry (competency 5) are reflected in this study's suggested analytical framework. Therefore, this study's findings may exhibit whether and how South Korean public administration programs and courses are aligned with this globally expanding accreditation system and its focuses. For practitioners in public management, this extended purview of PA education will help identify the space for NPO/NGOs either as service providers or as collaborative partners in the public sector. For scholars in PA and NPO/NGO areas, this study may suggest an overarching framework that integrates NPO/NGO research into the PA field from the standpoint of higher education.

For future studies, this research can be extended to a regional comparative study from the Eastern and Western perspectives. Comparing how the different development histories of respective eastern and western countries have affected their model of collaboration between government agencies and NPO/NGOs in public administration will contribute to the understanding of the nature of governance and management in the public sector. For example, it would be interesting to contemplate whether the "state-led" or "state-superior" tradition of South Korea has affected the way and extent of incorporation of NPO/NGO components into PA education curriculum. The tradition of associational life in the U.S. has been interpreted as demonstrating the superiority of a decentralized society and the counterbalance to the centralization of state power (De Toqueville, 1948). In contrast, the East Asian development model is characterized by the intent and capacity of the state in policy formulation and implementation and the historical path of government-led economic growth (Johnson, 1982; Woo-Cumings, 1999).

In spite of its contribution and implications, this study has some limitations. The analysis of course descriptions reveals some limitations in fully showing the actual teaching of each course. The course descriptions sometimes do not provide full descriptions of courses' perspectives and do not provide actual examples and their applications. Therefore, the analysis of the approach or perspectives of certain courses on NPO/NGOs could not reach an in-depth level, other than describing the relative proportion of respective perspectives in PA courses.

Notes

1. The Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA) accreditation standards suggest that MPA programs adopt the following five required competencies: 1) to lead and manage in public governance; 2) to participate in and contribute to public process; 3) to analyze, synthesize, think critically, solve problems and make decisions; 4) to articulate and apply public service perspectives; 5) to communicate and interact productively with a diverse and changing workforce and citizenry (NASPAA, 2014).
2. According to Kim & Myeong (2014), The International Cooperation Agency (ICA) made a contract with the University of Minnesota to provide educational and technical support to teach engineering, medicine, agriculture, and PA to Seoul National University in September 1954, which was called the Minnesota Project.
3. Civil society has been defined in various ways and it has diverse images in it (Edwards, 2004; Howell & Pearce, 2001). One aspect of civil society is an associational life as part of the society of diverse actors having their interests and goals based on liberal roots of civil society thinking. Another aspect of civil society is a type of society characterized as having institutionalized civility in classical republicanism thoughts (Edwards, 2004). In this study, civil society is defined as a public sphere in which inclusive associational life and public deliberation coexist through the process of participation and engagement of citizens and associations in society.
4. Roughly characterized, the term "nonprofit" highlights the management aspect of non-distribution constraints, tax-exempt status, and public/mutual benefits nature, whereas the term "non-governmental" stresses the independent nature of civil society either simply as the counterpart of government or as the force for social movement. In South Korea, the term nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations have been used interchangeably. Although some scholarly discussions differentiate these two terms in South Korea, the scope of these two organizational entities is substantially overlapping (Kim, 2006). NPOs and NGOs were conceptually perceived as a self-governing, private, non-governmental organization for civil society in South Korea, covering all kinds of nonprofit organizations with various public purposes such as human services, arts and culture, education, health, and others. In this sense, the terms NGOs and NPOs were interchangeably used in South Korea despite their differentiated conceptual definition and origins. In this study, the term NPO/NGO education will be used to discuss nonprofit education programs unless specified otherwise such as in the official title of the education program (e.g., Sungkonghoe University Graduate School of NGO).
5. Masters of Public Administration Curricula, Seoul National University, Retrieved from http://gspa.snu.ac.kr/master_administration (February 15, 2019)
6. Masters of Public Administration Curricula, Seoul National University, Retrieved from http://gspa.snu.ac.kr/master_administration (February 15, 2019)
7. Public Administration Curriculum Outline, Korea University, https://kupa.korea.edu/kupaeng/info/faculty/curriculum.do

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Research Article

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The Role of Financial Burden in Nonprofit Sector Commitment

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Evidence about millennial work motivations and the increasing importance of compensation questions the durability of the donative labor hypothesis in explaining nonprofit sector commitment. Nonprofit graduate education offers an employment pipeline into the sector, but what if the importance of compensation is partly driven by the financial burden accrued from education? Could it be that financial burden contributes to choices about work and commitment to the nonprofit sector? Using longitudinal data of nonprofit education alumni, we inquire about their sector commitment in light of the financial burden from their degree. Findings of this exploratory study offer a starting point for future research into how nonprofit education alumni view career opportunities in the nonprofit sector.

Keywords: Nonprofit Sector Commitment, Financial Burden, Nonprofit Graduate Education, Student Debt

The primary assumption of the labor donation hypothesis is that nonprofit employees are willing to accept lower wages than their for-profit counterparts and, as such, donate a portion of their labor to the nonprofit organizations for which they work (Hansmann, 1980). This assumption may no longer hold true. Recent studies have found that the nonprofit sector attracts mission-driven employees while easily losing them because of the inability to pay competitively (Kim & Charbonneu, 2020; Ng & Johnson, 2019). More specifically among the millennial generation—the main generation now entering and increasingly dominating the workforce—findings show that compensation influences younger workers' career decisions (Abouassi et al., 2019; Johnson & Ng, 2016; Walk et al., 2019).

Whereas the evidence supporting the relationship between compensation and commitment to the nonprofit sector is mounting, not much is known about other factors—aside from membership in the millennial generation—that could explain why compensation appears to be an emerging consideration. One potential explanation is the role of graduate education and the accompanying financial burdens in light of high education costs. The growth of nonprofit graduate education degree offerings and enrollments signal that more students seem to opt into the sector by means of their education choice (Kuenzi et al., 2020; Mirabella et al., 2019). Yet, these diplomas come with an associated expense, and nonprofit professionals with graduate degrees accrue on average of $50,000 in debt (Berkshire, 2012). When nonprofit alumni leave with their diploma in hand, they may be heavy laden with debt, and gainful employment, regardless of sector, may be the most pressing priority. Thus, given these

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potentially heavy debt loads, we are interested in further understanding the impact financial burden has on an individual's commitment to the nonprofit sector.

This descriptive study examines tangible financial burden in the form of student debt, but also considers the potential impact of perceived financial burden and the worthiness of the monetary investment the degree necessitated, on nonprofit sector commitment, controlling for education, a factor associated with sector commitment (Johnson & Ng, 2016). We use longitudinal survey data from 71 nonprofit education alumni of three nonprofit graduate degree programs (e.g., nonprofit management and philanthropic studies) in the Southeastern and Midwestern United States. Our findings and suggestions for future research further the understanding of career commitment in the professionalizing nonprofit sector that values specialized, albeit costly, graduate training. These findings also have important implications for nonprofit organizations as they consider how to attract and retain top talent.

Nonprofit Sector Commitment

A sizeable number of studies explore individuals' motivations for choosing work in one sector over another; however, these studies often capture motivation at one point in time with less focus on the variables that influence an individual's commitment to that sector long-term. However, sector commitment, the dedication of an individual in continuing a career within a specific sector of employment, has received increased attention among public and nonprofit researchers as a means of understanding and engendering retention (see Walk et al. 2019 for a summary of this research). Sector commitment is an extension of Weisbrod's (1988) theory of managerial sorting, which posits individuals will opt for opportunities within the sector whose incentives match their preferences, and conceives that individuals will stay in a sector that aligns with these preferences. Research on sector commitment has examined the role of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, and findings imply that rewards and commitment have a complex relationship with recruitment and retention of employees (e.g., Chetkovich, 2003; Johnson & Ng, 2016; Lee & Wilkins, 2011; LeRoux & Feeney, 2013; Ng & Johnson, 2019).

Prior research describes nonprofit sector commitment as driven by a complex set of motivations, including a combination of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards (LeRoux & Feeney, 2013; Ng & Johnson, 2019; Walk et al., 2019). Evidence suggests that the nonprofit sector offers more to individuals who are motivated by intrinsic factors such as a public service orientation, and altruism (LeRoux & Feeney, 2013; Mirvis, 1992). These motivations may help explain why nonprofit employees seek opportunities and remain in a sector that typically offers lower wages than in government or for-profit organizations (Cohen, 2010). Yet research increasingly documents extrinsic factors as drivers of sector commitment, pointing out how wages might outweigh the motivational impacts of altruism and public service orientation. Particularly, Johnson and Ng (2016) show that millennials (referring to people born between 1981–1996) who have a college education and are in managerial positions are especially likely to report low or no nonprofit sector commitment. Further, while some past studies assume sector commitment is stable over time, there is evidence that it diminishes with time spent in the sector (Berkshire, 2012; Walk et al., 2013). This is especially true for younger employees when considering starting a family in light of low compensation (Walk et al., 2013). Therefore, while mission and intrinsic rewards may influence an individual to work in the sector in the first place, other factors such as extrinsic rewards may mitigate their commitment to remaining.

Student Debt and Financial Burden

A professional's "personal financial considerations" may weigh heavily as they seek to maintain their overall financial health and meet financial obligations as they pursue professional opportunities (Ng & Johnson, 2019, p. 2). These financial considerations include such factors as their job's compensation as well as personal obligations, such as home mortgages or rent, child-rearing expenses, healthcare expenses, and education-related debt. Financial industry research, however, has documented that student debt weighs heaviest in terms of personal repayment obligations (Lewin, 2011). Further, Lange and Byrd (1998) documented the psychological burden student debt holds for graduates.

This burden may be manifested in the debt-holders' employment decisions. Accruing evidence suggests the significant role education debt has as a driver of job choice and even sector choice. Hausdorf's (2007) research among university graduates reveals financial need rather than career interest and educational investment as the driver of employment decisions. Similarly, studies found that individuals with higher debt burden took positions with higher paying base salaries post-graduation (Minicozzi, 2005; Phillips et al., 2014; Rothstein & Rouse, 2011; Velez et al., 2019). Higher levels of student debt increase the likelihood of individuals working outside their field (Huelsman, 2015; Minicozzi, 2005) and is also related to career choice: Graduates with debt are less likely to take public interest positions or public service positions (Field, 2009; Minicozzi, 2005; Rothstein & Rouse, 2011).

Most of the evidence on debt and its impact on career choices and sector commitment is found outside the nonprofit sector. For instance, lawyers with higher levels of debt were more likely to work in private firms (Sieg & Wang, 2017; Wright & Christensen, 2010). In a study of social work students (at both the baccalaureate and master's level), researchers indicated that the majority of students (76%) had accumulated student debt, and that debt levels among this population were higher than when measured a decade earlier (Unrau et al., 2020). Further, the economic hardships faced by these students had impacts in their ability to stay in school and eventually engage in social work careers, potentially compromising career stability in the social work field.

Chetkovich (2003) remarked on the relationship between debt and sector choice, "Among these policy students, those who enter the private sector hope to gain skills, credibility, and experience; to make enough money to pay off debts and live comfortably; and to enjoy a resource-rich and fast-paced environment" (p. 670). Related research on undergraduate students found, educational debt has a marginal impact on initial job choice and that rising educational debt may discourage students from choosing public and nonprofit sector jobs, despite high levels of public service motivation (Ng & Johnson, 2019). These findings indicate that students' financial needs outweigh more personal and intrinsic motivations such as desire to serve the public, work in a cause career, or do work associated with their chosen degree.

The nonprofit practitioner audience, particularly Young Nonprofit Professionals Network (YNPN), along with *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* and the Nonprofit Leadership Alliance, have also studied the role of compensation among the nonprofit sector workforce (Berkshire, 2012; Rendon, 2019; Solomon & Sandahl, 2007). Despite limited generalizability since the samples were derived from YNPN membership, findings show that among nonprofit professionals who had been in the sector five years or less, 65% reported college loan debt, and 30% responded that their debt burden was $50,000 or higher (Berkshire, 2012). Of those with debt, the majority (80%) noted that their debt burden was an influential factor in shaping their career decisions, noting a trade-off between work that is meaningful and earning enough to pay off student loan debt. Nonprofit professionals were more likely to hold a graduate degree and highly likely to report "they had to stretch to make ends meet" (Rendon, 2019, p. 4). As Paul Schmitz, founder of Public Allies, explains: "The combination of low pay and student debt could cause many young people to flee nonprofits" (quoted in Berkshire, 2012, para. 29).

Study Context and Methods

This descriptive study explores the role of financial burden from nonprofit graduate degrees and nonprofit sector commitment. The sample was compiled in two phases. In phase 1 (summer 2017), we recruited recent alumni (past 5 years, n=700) of three nonprofit graduate degree programs to participate in an online survey. The programs are within public universities in the southeastern and midwestern United States with enrollment ranges less than 25 students, 50–75 students, and 75–100 students. One program is accredited by the Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA), another is accredited by NASPAA and is a member of the Nonprofit Academics Center Council (NACC), and the third is a member of NACC only. The first phase secured 184 responses (26.3% response rate), of which 153 were usable given missing data (>30%). In Phase 2 (summer 2019), a survey was distributed to those who indicated their willingness to receive follow up surveys (n=155). Of those, 75 responded for a 48.4% response rate. Four respondents were dropped due to missing data (>75%) resulting in a final matched sample of 71. Both surveys were delivered using an initial invitation and two or three reminder emails. A raffle for gift cards was offered during both phases to increase the response rates.

A longitudinal design allowed us to evaluate changes in sector commitment over time, as well as to identify changes in individual circumstances such as age, marital status, and employment. In sum, the surveys captured aspects related to nonprofit sector commitment, financial burden of the graduate degrees, alongside demographic information. How each concept was operationalized is described below.

Nonprofit sector commitment was assessed in wave 1 and 2 using a question developed by Johnson and Ng (2016). Participants were asked, “How do you currently feel about building a career in the nonprofit sector?” and were provided with four options: (1) “I am 100% committed to building a career in the nonprofit sector”, (2) “I will only leave the nonprofit sector for the right professional opportunity”, (3) “I will be looking for the best job regardless of sector”, and (4) “I do not plan to build a career in the sector”. Given that there were limited numbers of responses to categories 3 and 4, we collapsed these into one to capture those who were agnostic towards the sector. Category 1 captures those fully committed to a career in the nonprofit sector, and category 2 captures those conditionally committed to a career in the nonprofit sector.

Graduate education can entail financial burden that goes beyond student debt, especially for those who did not rely on loans but rather on work to fund their graduate education. Further, financial burden can be assessed in more objective ways such as loan amounts as well as more subjective ways with regards to alumni perceptions. We therefore devised measures capturing financial burden in multiple ways. First, we assessed *perceived financial burden* by asking: “What was the financial burden you experienced from earning your graduate degree from the [University Name]?” Respondents were prompted to indicate their responses using a slider with a scale of 0 (no financial burden) to 100 (significant financial burden). Second, we further inquired about the kinds of *financial assistance* that alumni sought out and/or received to fund school-related expenses. Respondents were presented with 5 options (financial assistance from their university, financial assistance from other source, student loans, work study, financial support from family) with response categories of “1=yes, I sought or applied for this type of assistance, 2=yes, I received this type of assistance, 3=no, I did not seek or apply for this type of assistance. We combined categories 1 and 2 to reflect an overall need for financial assistance regardless of actual receipt of said assistance. Further, those who received *student loans* were also asked about the amount of student loans for the graduate degree. We recoded the initial 9 options into: 1=loans<$19,999; 2=$20,000–$49,999; and 3=loans $50,000 and greater. Finally, we inquired about the *perceived worthiness of the degree* with regards to the costs to capture the respondents’ evaluation of their monetary investment into their education. On a 5-point scale ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree,

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Gender (1=female; T1)	71	0.73	0.45	0–1
Race (1=white; T1)	71	0.87	0.34	0–1
Age (T2)	70	41	10.16	25–69
Employment (T2)	68			
- Full-time		0.76	0.43	
- Part-time		0.16	0.37	
- Not employed		0.07	0.26	
Employment Sector (T2)	57			
- Public		0.12	0.33	
- For-Profit		0.21	0.41	
- Nonprofit		0.67	0.48	
Current Salary (T2)	56			
- $1–$49,999		0.20	0.40	
- $50,000–$79,999		0.43	0.50	
- $80,000–89,999		0.38	0.49	
Financial Burden	65	49.49	29.47	0–100
Financial Assistance from University	64	0.63	0.49	0–1
Financial Assistance from Other Source	61	0.36	0.48	0–1
Student Loans	64	0.53	0.50	0–1
Work Study	61	0.21	0.41	0–1
Financial Support from Family	63	0.17	0.38	0–1
Worthiness of Degree/Money	68	2.22	0.77	1–3

respondents were asked to respond to the question: “This degree was worth the money I invested in it.” As few respondents indicated disagreement/neutrality with this statement we collapsed categories 1-3 into one for analysis.

Employment-related information was captured by three questions. First, we asked respondents about their *current employment status*. Response categories were: 1=full-time (35 hours or more per week); 2=part-time (less than 35 hours/week); 3=unemployed or looking for work; 4=in school full-time; 5=caring for family full-time; 6=retired; 7=other (please describe). After recoding the few responses in the ‘other’ category (e.g., “self-employed, full-time” was recoded into “full-time employment”), we recoded all responses into: 1=full-time employment; 2=part-time employment; and 3=not employed. Second, we inquired about the respondents’ work sector to reflect *sector choice* (the initial 3 options were recoded into 1=employment in the nonprofit sector, and 0=employment in all other sectors), and *current salary* (10 initial options recoded into: 1=<$49,999; 2=$50,000–$79,999; and 3=$80,000 or greater).

Demographic information collected at time 1 was *age* (in years), *race* (recoded initial 7 options into: 1=white, and 0=other), *gender* (recoded three options into: 1=female, and 0=male). The time 2 survey asked about *marital status* (recoded initial 5 options into: 1=single, and 0=other) as well as *children in the household* (total number recoded to: 1=children, and 0=no children).

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics Over Time

Variable	Time 1 Mean (SD)	Time 2 Mean (SD)	Test Statistic
Marital Status (1=Single)	0.28 (0.45)	0.25 (0.44)	t(70)=-1.00, p=0.32
Children (1=yes)	0.30 (0.46)	0.54 (0.43)	*t(70)=-4.69, p<0.0001*
Employed (1=yes)	0.88 (0.32)	0.88 (0.32)	t(67)=-0.70, p=0.48
Sector Career Commitment			
- *Fully committed*	0.46 (0.51)	0.65 (0.48)	*t(67)=-2.85, p=0.006*
- *Conditionally committed*	0.38 (0.49)	0.29 (0.46)	t(67)=1.23, p=0.22
- *Agnostic*	0.16 (0.37)	0.06 (0.24)	*t(67)=2.77, p=0.007*

Note: Rounded to two decimals. Significant differences in italics.

Findings

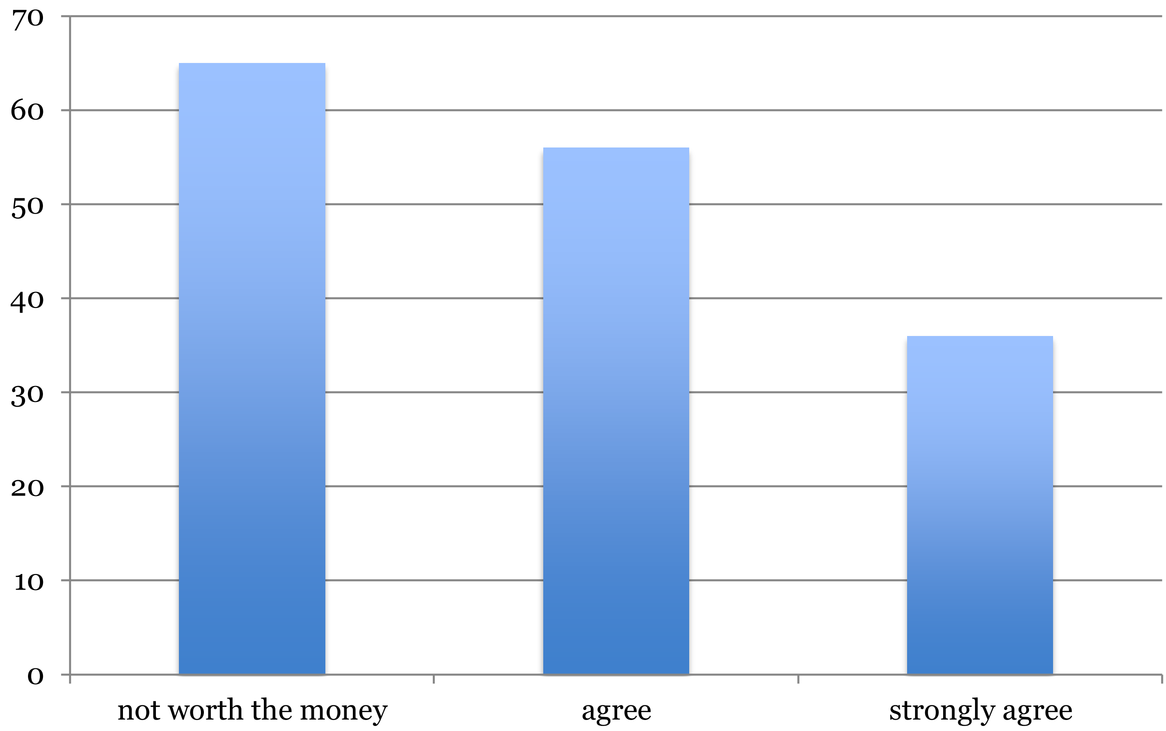
Table 1 presents summary statistics of variables that were collected at time 2 only or that were collected at time 1 and remained stable over time. The sample is predominantly female and white with an average age of 41 years. Of those who were employed full- or part-time (92.7%, see Table 2), 66.7% worked in the nonprofit sector, whereas 33.3% worked in other sectors. A sizeable number of nonprofit alumni earned more than $80,000 (37.5%). Perceived financial burden ranged from 0 to 100 with a mean of 49, a median of 51, and a mode of 80 (8 respondents). Alumni sought out and received financial assistance from various sources; coming from the university (63%), student loans (53%), or other financial sources (36%) were among the most often mentioned. Overall, nonprofit alumni perceived their degree to be worth the money (2.22).

Table 2 presents differences between variables that were collected over time. Since time 1 data collection (2 years prior), fewer nonprofit alumni are single and, on average, more nonprofit alumni report to have children. Most notably, though, is the change in self-reported sector career commitment: Fewer nonprofit alumni report to be sector agnostic (a decrease from 16% to 6%; t(67)=2.77, p=0.007), while more nonprofit alumni indicate being fully committed to the nonprofit sector (an increase from 46% to 65%; t(67)=-2.85, p=0.006).

Before exploring the relationship of financial burden indicators (perceived financial burden, financial assistance, worthiness of degree) and nonprofit sector commitment, we investigated the relationship between sector commitment and sector choice. As indicated earlier, not all respondents work in the nonprofit sector. Indeed, drawing on time 2 data, those being fully committed to a career in the nonprofit sector reported to work in the nonprofit sector to a larger degree (M=0.77, SD=0.43) versus those who are conditionally committed or agnostic (M=0.44, SD=0.51; χ^2=5.85, p=0.016).[1] This finding also holds true when considering time 1 sector commitment. Particularly, those fully committed to the nonprofit sector report to work in the nonprofit sector to a larger extent (M=0.78, SD=0.42) compared to those conditionally committed (M=0.67, SD=0.48) and those who are agnostic (M=0.22, SD=0.50; χ^2=6.00, p=0.05).

In the next set of analyses, we explored the relationship among financial burden indicators with results found in Figure 1. Perceived financial burden is negatively related to perceived worthiness of the degree with regards to costs. Particularly, those who did not perceive the

Figure 1. Perceived Financial Burden by Worthiness of Degree



degree worth the money reported the highest financial burden (M=65, SD=25.44); those who agreed to the statement reported a slightly lower score (M=56, 27.31); and those who strongly agreed reported the lowest average financial burden (M=36, SD=28.07; F(64)=6.43, p=0.003).

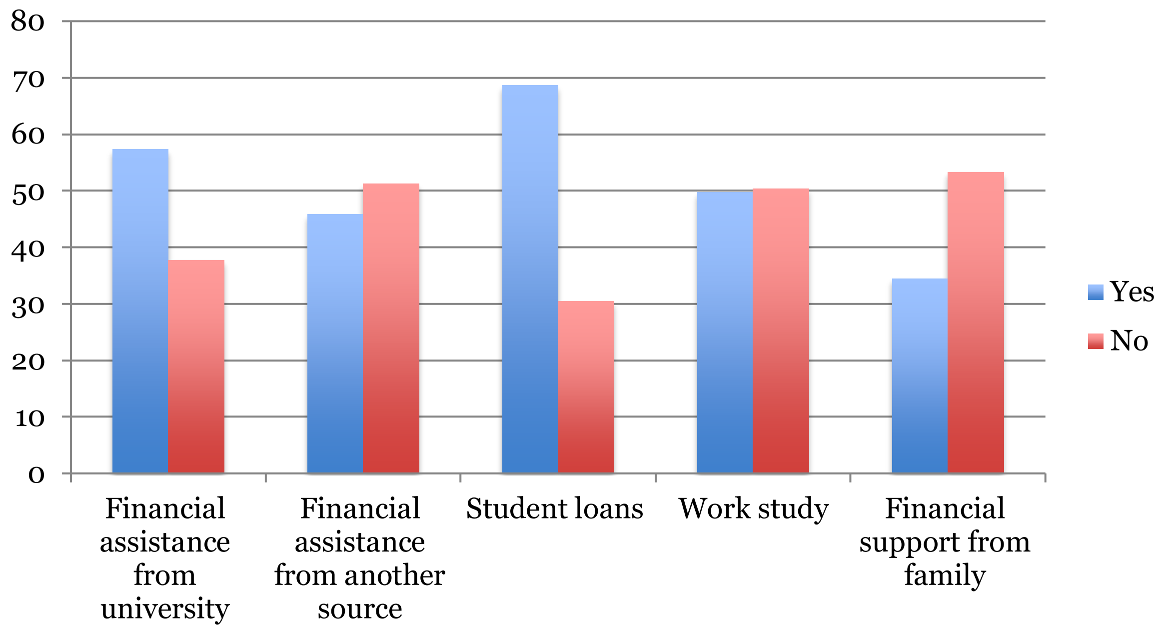
Evidence of the frequency of each type of financial assistance is found in Figure 2. We further explored if specific types of financial assistance are related to perceived financial burden. Indeed, two of the five types of financial assistance are significantly related to perceived financial burden (see Table 3). First, we found when nonprofit alumni relied on financial support from their family they displayed lower levels of financial burden (M=34.45) as compared to those who did not (M=53.31; F(59)=2.40, p=0.0095). Second, alumni who sought out/received student loans (M=69) showed statistically significantly higher levels of perceived financial burden compared to those not having sought out student loans (M=30; F(60)=2.98, p=0.0018).

Among those who received student loans (N=21), we find that those who received more student loans, on average, reported higher financial burden. Particularly, those reporting loan amounts below $20,000 reported lower scores of financial burden (M=56.43, SD=19.73); those reporting up to $50,000 reported higher scores (M= 66.89, SD=12.32); and those having received amounts $50,000 and greater reported the highest levels of perceived burden (M= 81.80, SD=11.78; F(20)=4.12, p=0.03).

Notably, current salary was unrelated to perceived financial burden (F(52)=0.86, p=0.65), student loans (χ^2=1.67, p=0.43), as well as worthiness of the degree (χ^2=2.07, p=0.72).

In the final set of analyses, we explored the relationship between financial burden indicators on nonprofit sector commitment (comparing those fully committed to those conditionally committed/agnostic) and sector choice. Perceived financial burden (F(53)=0.31, p=0.58),

Figure 2. Frequency of Financial Assistance by Type



receipt of student loans (χ^2=0.43, p=0.51), and worthiness of the degree (χ^2=2.29, p=0.32) were unrelated to nonprofit sector choice. Similarly, perceived financial burden (F(64)=1.04, p=0.31) and receipt of student loans (χ^2=0.29, p=0.59) were unrelated to nonprofit sector commitment. However, those who perceived their degree worthy of the monetary investment were more likely to be fully committed to the nonprofit sector (χ^2=6.85, p=0.03).

Discussion and Directions for Future Research

This descriptive study explored nonprofit sector commitment of nonprofit education alumni in light of their personal financial considerations. In what follows we discuss our findings and develop recommendation for future research.

We note that a majority of nonprofit alumni are currently working in the nonprofit sector. Since a nonprofit graduate degree is positioned as professional training for prospective nonprofit professionals, this is both confirming and encouraging. However, about one-third of alumni ended up working in other sectors post-degree. This indicates that sector commitment and sector choice are related, but not the same. Previous research mostly focused on sector choice over sector commitment (see, Johnson & Ng, 2016, for an exception). We recommend to study those alongside each other aiming to further disentangle the causal relationships between them.

The responses between the first and second wave of the survey reveal that nonprofit sector commitment may not be stable over time. Prior research has inquired about initial career choice (Ng & Johnson, 2019) or sector commitment at only a single point-in-time (e.g., Johnson & Ng, 2016; Tschirhart et al., 2008; Walk et al., 2013). This finding, though, suggests the importance of longitudinal research. A more nuanced understanding of what other factors lead to changes in sector commitment over time is needed.

The findings indicate that perceived financial burden is negatively related to alumni perceptions of the degree's worthiness. Moreover, perceived financial burden was not related

Table 3. Student Financial Assistance and Perceived Financial Burden

		Perceived Financial Burden		
	N	Yes, sought/received	No, did not seek	Difference test
Financial assistance from university	61	57.31 (27.84)	37.68 (26.97)	F(60)=1.03, p=0.49
Financial assistance from other source	58	45.81 (29.94)	51.24 (30.34)	F(57)=0.89, p=0.62
Student loans	61	68.67 (20.11)	30.43 (24.21)	*F(60)=2.98, p=0.002*
Work study	58	49.77 (28.87)	50.36 (29.62)	F(57)=0.90, p=0.61
Financial support from family	60	34.45 (26.39)	53.31 (29.09)	*F(59)=2.40, p=0.0095*

to nonprofit sector commitment, while worthiness of the degree was. Whereas research from within and outside the nonprofit sector has depicted a direct linkage between education debt and sector commitment (e.g., Berkshire, 2012; Huelsman, 2015; Write & Christensen, 2010), we find a more nuanced picture in the case of nonprofit education alumni. One potential explanation and avenue for future research could be to test worthiness of the degree as a mediator of the financial burden—nonprofit sector commitment relationship.

We also saw that perceived financial burden can be significant when graduating with a nonprofit diploma, as respondents signaled a mid-range financial burden, on average, and a mode of 80. Student loans were the most influential factor related to perceived financial burden. Future research, however, should further investigate the role of other forms of financial support or assistance students can seek to alleviate financial burden such as part- or even full-time employment while pursuing the degree. In light of the finding that family support reduces financial burdens, future research should also elucidate the role of partner or family support in seeking a nonprofit graduate degree and commitment to the nonprofit sector.

Taken together our findings show that student loans seem to drive perceived financial burden, that financial burden is related to worthiness of the monetary investment, that worthiness is related to nonprofit sector commitment and, finally, that nonprofit sector commitment is related to sector choice. Especially in light of the increasing number of graduates with nonprofit education degrees (Mirabella et al., 2019), further longitudinal analysis deploying a larger sample size is needed to test this proposed relationship. We also recommend qualitative research to better understand the mechanism between sector commitment and sector choice in light of degree-related financial considerations.

Despite evidence from research on other graduate program alumni (Chetkovich, 2003; Wright & Christensen, 2010), we were unable to find a direct relationship between compensation and financial burden. Since nonprofit employees differ in significant ways from employees in other sectors (Lee & Wilkins, 2011; Mirvis, 1992), we may not find the same or highly similar relationships among nonprofit education alumni. One explanation could be that compensation levels are more salient for those with managerial roles, especially when compensation is not commensurate with work responsibilities (Johnson & Ng, 2016). As such, employment level is an important factor to consider in future studies. It also could be that compensation levels may indirectly rather than directly impact the financial burden–sector commitment relationship. We pointedly call for sector commitment research that considers employment and compensation levels to add nuance to our understanding of millennial work motivations in light of prior research that questioned the durability of the donative labor hypothesis and since millennials now constitute the majority of the workforce.

As an exploratory study, this research is not without limitations. First, the sample size limits the analysis and its inference. We recognize that between its small size and because it is a convenience sample, sampling bias may be present. Therefore, we caution against generalizing, although note that our sample did not vary significantly across programs. Next, our survey included a direct question about the amount of debt alumni held related to their degree. We further recognize this measure was problematic due to missing data and because most respondents chose to select a debt range rather than provide a precise amount. Therefore, future research could seek to employ a different measure as well as inquire to more recent alumni who may be able to recall actual amounts instead of ranges or perception measures. Related, salary does not capture other possible motivators such as fringe benefits or flexible schedules, so future studies should aim to include these in order to further isolate the impact of financial burden. Yet, given the limited evidence of previous studies that financial burden diminishes sector commitment, our study has merit in further disentangling the factors that influence commitment, identifying if and how sector commitment changes over time, and understanding the variables that impact the perceived value of a nonprofit graduate education.

While recognizing these limitations, the findings prompt practical considerations for nonprofit management graduate programs, nonprofits themselves, and for individuals that are considering a nonprofit management graduate degree. For example, given the relationship between financial burden and perceived worthiness of a student's degree found here, individuals may want to weigh their commitment to the sector against the comparative cost of different degree programs. Programs with significant nonprofit placement post-graduation and low costs could also utilize this information in marketing to students. Finally, enhancing financial assistance or reducing programmatic costs to offset burden may be necessary in order to continue to maintain nonprofit graduate education as a viable, worthwhile avenue into the nonprofit sector for all, regardless of ability to pay. This is especially important given equity and inclusivity concerns if these programs are an effective means of providing needed skills and competencies to individuals who aim to work in the sector.

Conclusions

Prior research has depicted education-related debt as having a bearing on employment decisions, but the findings of this exploratory study imply a more nuanced relationship for alumni of nonprofit-related graduate programs. In a sector known for its poor compensation prospects, and in a society increasingly holding educational expectations of paid professionals, how we understand the sector commitment of nonprofit professionals in light of their financial considerations is important. With the rise of a millennial workforce, it is a timely endeavor to understand if conventions, such as the donative labor hypothesis, adhered to by prior generations still hold under this generation. Nonprofit alumni who have recently invested in their graduate education are an appropriate means of inquiry and offer some initial evidence that the risk calculation of a nonprofit-related degree pays off in the form of professional opportunities that endear sector commitment. Future research should build upon these preliminary findings to update how we think of sector commitment, compensation, and educational outcomes in the nonprofit sector.

Notes

1. Given the low sample size, we collapsed those conditionally committed and agnostic into one group for analysis. Analysis on the three groups using Fisher's exact test yielded similar results.

Disclosure Statement

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Research Article

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Group Type and Social Media Engagement Strategies in the EU: The Case of British Interest Groups on Facebook

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Although interest group strategies have been studied by a number of authors who compare different types of groups, our knowledge about how these different types of groups differ in the way they use social media as a strategy to realise their goals is limited. In this paper, we use the hierarchy of engagement model and investigate how British public interest groups and sectional groups, which are active at the European Union (EU) level, engage with the public on Facebook. Compared with information and community-type posts, action-type posts can attract more attention on social media. Public interest groups can use action-type messages as a tool for attracting public attention, thus, alleviating their relative disadvantage in attracting and maintaining members. Results show that the use of action-type messages are significantly higher for public interest groups.

Keywords: Facebook, Interest Groups, Interest Group Strategies, Social Media

Interest groups have adopted social media as a strategy for success. Traditional ways of outside lobbying by interest groups (e.g., contacting reporters, arranging protests) are now being used together, complemented and sometimes even substituted by online activities on social media. It is contended that social media has disrupted the role, functions and activities of interest groups, and some interest groups have benefited, whereas others have faced challenges in legitimating their role as representatives of the public (Fraussen & Halpin, 2018). Interest groups act as citizens' voices in a democratic governance system. Having a disruptive effect on the way interest groups operate, and power balances between different groups, social media has had non-trivial consequences for the way different groups of people are represented in modern democracies.

Social media-focused interest group studies can be categorised into two different groups. The first group investigates the factors which affect the adoption and frequency of social media use by interest groups (see, for example, Brown, 2016; Chalmers & Shotton, 2016; Nitschke et al., 2016; Scaramuzzino & Scaramuzzino, 2017; van der Graaf et al., 2016). The second group analyzes how social media is being used by interest groups. For example, Merry (2013, 2016a, 2018, 2019) investigates how American interest groups construct policy narratives (framing) about gun policy on Twitter. Merry (2016b) also examines how groups working on the gun policy issue engage with the public on Twitter, by looking at the way they use hashtags, Twitter handles, and retweets. In another study, Merry (2014) focuses on the use of interactive communication strategies by environmental organizations on Twitter. One study examines

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public interest groups' and sectional groups' public engagement strategies on Twitter by using Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) hierarchy of engagement model (Kanol & Nat, 2017). This paper aims to contribute to this second group of studies. Our motivation stems from a lack of research in how different types of interest groups use public engagement strategies on social media. Although interest group strategies have been studied by a number of authors who compared different types of groups, our knowledge of how these different types of groups differ in the way they use social media as a strategy to realize their goals is limited. Our aim, therefore, is to conduct a comparative study, using group type as the point of reference.

Previously, Kanol and Nat (2017) used the hierarchy of engagement model to investigate the relationship between group type and engagement with the public on Twitter. However, we are not aware of any study comparing how different types of interest groups (for example, public interest groups and sectional groups) engage with the public on social media via platforms other than Twitter. Auger (2013) demonstrates that nonprofit advocacy organizations use different social media platforms for different purposes; thanking and providing recognition on Twitter, engaging in two-way communication on Facebook, and communicating messages by using authority figures on YouTube.

Figenschou and Fredheim (2020) corroborate our understanding of different social media platforms being suitable for different kinds of purposes. According to these authors, Twitter is the most suitable platform for networked, middle-stage lobbying, and Facebook is the most suitable platform for networked information, community and dialogue, and mobilization. Therefore, interest groups might communicate on different social media platforms differently and for different purposes. Social media platforms other than Twitter are used frequently by a substantial number of groups. For example, research suggests that Facebook is as commonly used by interest groups as Twitter (Obar, 2014; Obar et al., 2012; van der Graaf et al., 2016). So, studying public engagement strategies of different types of interest groups on social media platforms other than Twitter is of utmost importance to draw a complete picture of interest groups' social media strategies.

In this paper, we use Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) hierarchy of engagement model and investigate how British public interest groups and sectional groups, which are active at the European Union (EU) level use Facebook. Using the EU's Transparency Register to compile a list of British interest groups active at the EU level, we randomly select and analyze Facebook posts by public interest groups and sectional groups. We classify these posts as belonging to one of the engagement strategies (information-community-action) and compare the rate of use of each strategy between public interest groups and sectional groups. In the following sections of this paper, we formulate our expectations regarding group type and public engagement strategies on social media, describe our research design, present our results, and discuss the implications of our findings.

Theoretical Framework

We organize this section as follows. First, we define and differentiate between public interest groups and sectional groups and review the interest group strategies literature, which proposes differences in behavior between these two types of groups. We argue that public interest groups face collective action problems more acutely than sectional groups. We discuss how they use protest-type activities to overcome this disadvantage and mobilize and maintain members. Next, we propose our hypothesis by creating a link between the logic of membership and hierarchy of engagement model. We argue that protest-type messages on traditional media are similar to action-type public engagement strategies on social media. Because of the aforementioned collective action problems faced by public interest groups, we expect them to use action-type public engagement on social media more frequently than sectional groups.

Group Type and Interest Group Strategy: The Logic of Membership

We define interest groups as membership-based organizations which try to shape public policies. The organizational definition of interest groups takes the existence of individual members as a sufficient criterion, as opposed to the behavioural definition, which takes the intention to influence policy as a sufficient criterion for defining the interest group concept. Our definition coincides with recent studies which depict each of these criteria as necessary for defining the interest group concept (Baroni et al., 2014). An interest group is an organization with members which tries to influence public policy. This definition does not include organizations which do not directly or indirectly lobby the executive, legislative, judiciary, or bureaucracy. Also, some important lobbying organizations like firms, professional consultancies, and think tanks are excluded since they do not have individual members.

There is a distinction between interest groups which represent specific interests (issues benefiting a specific section of a society) and groups which represent diffuse interests (issues benefiting the society at large). The first type is called 'sectional groups' (Berry, 1977; Stewart, 1958), 'representative groups' (Halpin, 2006), or 'exogenous groups' (Dunleavy, 1988). The second type is called 'cause groups' (Stewart, 1958), 'solidarity groups' (Halpin, 2006), 'public interest groups' (Berry, 1977), or 'endogenous groups' (Dunleavy, 1988). This distinction is based on the logic of representation. Sectional groups are primarily interested in defending their members' interests. The issues that these groups represent exclusively benefit a specific section of society, and sometimes at the expense of another section of society. Business associations might, for example, advocate for the interest of business owners at the expense of workers. Likewise, trade unions could work towards the benefit of the workers at the expense of business owners. Professional associations can also be classified as sectional groups because their endeavour is to represent the interests of a specific section of society consisting of its members. For example, doctors, teachers, etc. have their own associations to protect their rights and pursue their own interests. Public interest groups, however, aim to transform society in favor of either disadvantaged groups or society as a whole. Their work does not exclusively benefit their members. For example, protecting the environment does not only benefit the members of an environmental NGO, but the whole society; advocating for human rights does not exclusively protect the rights of the members of a human rights NGO, but of all people.

According to Olson (1965), public interest groups face collective action problems more acutely than sectional groups. People believe that they can get the same benefits from the actions of a group advocating diffuse interests without participating in its costly activities. Therefore, people might not become active members or might not renew membership of public interest groups. This is not so much the case for groups which represent specific interests. Members of this type of group perceive more direct and material benefits from incurring the participation costs of becoming a member. People must become and stay members of groups advocating specific interests to receive such tangible benefits.

According to Olson (1965), benefits of group membership are confined to material gains. However, the 'revisionist' approach demonstrated that people also seek other types of benefits. People might be joining interest groups because of a sense of duty, satisfaction from doing good, sense of political efficacy, friendship and recreational opportunities, a sense of belonging, and prestige (Cook, 1984; Knoke, 1988; Moe, 1981). Moreover, members and potential members are also affected by how good the marketing strategy of interest group leaders are (Jordan & Maloney, 1996). Nevertheless, public interest groups' relative disadvantage in offering selective benefits to their members is still valid.

This logic of membership influences these two different types of interest groups' strategies. Compared to public interest groups, sectional groups use inside or direct lobbying, providing information directly to public actors more often, and relying less on outside lobbying. (Binderkrantz, 2005; Binderkrantz & Kroyer, 2012; Binderkrantz et al., 2015; Dür & Mateo, 2013). Public interest groups, on the other hand, 'go public' more than sectional groups (Dür & Mateo, 2016; Kollman, 1998). Public interest groups use the means of media to alleviate their relative disadvantage vis-à-vis their members and potential members. Media strategies are used as a tool to maintain their existing members and attract new members (Binderkrantz, 2008; Binderkrantz et al., 2016).

Survival of a public interest group might depend less on the amount of influence it exerts on policies than how successful it is in attracting members. The severity of the collective action problem for public interest groups forces them to attract new members to survive, even if it means less policy influence. Policy influence can, in fact, be used solely to impress members and potential members (Dür & Mateo, 2016). Public interest groups might even deliberately decrease their chances of policy influence by shifting their concentration from narrow and 'reasonable' policy proposals to hot, contentious issues argued in public (Lowery, 2007). They approach these issues with protest-aimed and conflictual messages that target the hearts of people. Public interest groups try to deliver drama, which disrupt the business-as-usual and produce newsworthy material for journalists (Danielian & Page, 1994; Thrall, 2006). The higher the level of action, the higher the level of media attention for public interest groups. Because of this, they might have to increase their tone and make their demands more radical to connect with the public and recruit new members (Dür & De Bièvre, 2007).

Group Type and Hierarchy of Engagement on Social Media

The ease of use of social media provides an opportunity for public interest groups to reach out to potential members and maintain their existing members, thus, alleviating their collective action problems. Social media offers an easy and cheap way of online communication opportunity with members and potential members. Findings of some previous research suggest that public interest groups are more likely to use a social media advocacy strategy than sectional groups (Brown, 2016; Chalmers & Shotton, 2016; Kanol & Nat, 2017). However, can the logic of membership affect how public interest groups and sectional groups use social media too? We argue that it can. In particular, we argue that the way these groups engage with the public should be different. We build our hypothesis by combining the logic of membership with Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) hierarchy of engagement model, which has been used by scholars investigating social media-based advocacy by nonprofit organizations (NPOs) (Auger, 2013; Bürger, 2015; Guo & Saxton, 2014; Zhou & Pan, 2016).

The hierarchy of engagement model proposes three types of public messages on social media by NPOs – information, community, and action. The first message type (information) provides information about the organization, its activities, and what the organization or its members or followers on social media might find interesting. The second message type (community) aims to build a community in the virtual world by interacting with followers and potential followers. The third message type (action) aims to call people to take action for or against something (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012).

It may be contended that the rationale of public interest groups' social media strategy is different from sectional groups' use of social media. As protest-type actions and conflictual messages are used by public interest groups more often to attract and maintain membership on traditional media, we expect public interest groups to use the action strategy more than sectional groups on social media. This is because protest-type and conflictual messages are closest to action-type messages compared to information- and community-type messages. Action-type messages on social media are usually contentious in nature, inviting members, potential members, and the public in general to act against policy proposals or actions that are deemed to be against the public interest. This contrasts with information-type messages, which take a more neutral and less personalized stance towards public issues, and community-type messages, which strive to build personal relationships with the public; however, they lack an attempt to mobilize the public and protest about sensitive public policy issues (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). Using the action strategy on social media is an excellent opportunity for public interest groups, not only to influence policy by shaping public opinion, but to consolidate its membership base and attract new members. Therefore, we expect public interest groups to use the action strategy more than sectional groups specifically for the purpose of building a community.

> *Hypothesis$_1$: Public interest groups use social media more than sectional groups to call on the people to take action.*

Research Design

We employ a case study analysis by studying British interest groups operating in the EU polity. This research design does not allow us to infer to interest groups in other contexts. If contextual factors affect the use of social media strategy, then our data cannot capture this. However, using a case study approach was preferred since the data were manually collected and analyzed by the authors who are not fluent in multiple languages. Facebook, which is a leading social media platform is utilized to gather the messages of British interest groups and compare their public engagement strategies. Facebook is a social media platform that provides an opportunity for organizations to engage with stakeholders in a public forum.

First, we operationalize our main independent variable, which is group type. According to Binderkrantz (2009), "The basic line of distinction in the literature is between public interest groups and other types of groups – or between endogenous and exogenous groups. While this distinction may seem neat and logical when discussed in theoretical terms, categorizing actual groups into different types is challenging" (p. 662). One way of classifying interest groups is by looking at the issues they represent (specific vs. diffuse), then manually coding them as public interest groups or sectional groups. This method allows researchers to use their expert knowledge to code groups as either public interest groups or sectional groups.

The problem with this classification technique, however, is that no matter how knowledgeable experts and carefully analyzed group goals are, there are 'grey areas' that would make it difficult to code groups as either advocating diffuse or specific interests. For example, Weiler and Brändli (2015) could classify 1,127 out of 1,270 organizations they studied into one of the groups. The authors had to create an additional category 'other' for some groups that could not be classified into one of these group types. The authors followed Binderkrantz (2008) when doing this and classified religious groups, patient associations, scientific societies and hobby groups into the 'other' group category. Binderkrantz (2008) validates the distinction between public interest groups and other groups in her sample by directing a question to the respondents, asking if the group appeals to everyone supporting group goals or a specific group. This technique is intuitive; however, it might also have its own problems, as some groups might argue that they appeal to everyone in order to seem like they represent a wider community.

We use an alternative method to classify interest groups into public interest groups and sectional groups (see also, Chalmers & Shotton, 2016). Business associations, trade unions and professional associations represent a specific segment of a society and advocate the benefits of their members. Business associations represent business owners, trade unions represent the workers, and professional associations represent the people who have a certain profession. Therefore, we code them as sectional groups. NGOs, however, primarily advocate for diffuse issues. The NGOs we have selected for this study, for example, are interested in issues like deforestation, whale and dolphin conversation, minority rights, etc., which are diffuse issues. Admittedly, this classification technique might also have its problems, as some

NGOs might still represent specific interests. However, our analysis of the population and the sample we have selected lead us to believe that only a very few number of NGOs had this ambiguous stance. So, we opted for this straightforward classification technique. We categorise British sectional and public interest groups based on the European Commission's Transparency Register categories; "trade and business associations" and "trade unions and professional associations" are classified as sectional groups, whereas "nongovernmental organizations, platforms and networks, and similar groups" are classified as public interest groups.

Our analysis covers Facebook posts of British interest groups between September 1, 2016 and November 30, 2016 (a 3 month period). The full list of British interest groups is downloaded from the EU's Transparency Register. In this list, there were 302 sectional groups (262 trade and business associations and 40 trade unions and professional associations) and 250 public interest groups. In order to identify organizations that have a Facebook account, their web presences were searched, and their Facebook page IDs were collected. Out of 262 trade and business associations, 92 had Facebook accounts. Out of 40 trade unions and professional associations, 25 had Facebook accounts. And, out of 250 public interest groups, 160 had Facebook accounts. Therefore, 38.7% of sectional groups (117 out of 302) and 64% of public interest groups (160 out of 250) adopted Facebook, which is in line with research suggesting public interest groups use social media more than sectional groups (Brown, 2016; Kanol & Nat, 2017).

Our dependent variable is measured by coding Facebook posts one-by-one and classifying them as either information, community, or action. Since we are not able to have access to interest groups' private messages, the analysis was confined to interest groups' public posts. Therefore, our data do not include messages conveyed by interest groups in private exchanges with their audiences. All Facebook messages of organizations were downloaded in .csv format through Facebook developers API and JSON converter. During this processs we realized that, although organizations have Facebook pages, some of them did not post during the period of September 1, 2016 and November 30, 2016. Out of 92 trade and business associations, only 85 posted on their Facebook pages. Out of 25 trade unions and professional associations, only 22 posted on their Facebook pages. And, out of 160 public interest groups, only 145 posted on their Facebook pages. Therefore, we had Facebook posts from 97 sectional groups and 144 public interest groups.

When all Facebook posts were merged and grouped accordingly, we obtained 2,525 posts from trade and business associations, 1,559 from trade unions and professional associations, and 8,780 posts from public interest groups. In other words, we had 4,084 posts from 97 sectional groups and 8,780 posts from 144 public interest groups. We used the stratified random sampling method to select 500 posts representing the 4,086 posts by these sectional groups and 500 posts representing the 8,780 posts by these public interest groups. Since some organizations posted very rarely between September 1, 2016 and November 30, 2016, their posts did not end up in the random sample. Also, it was observed that some posts only included a link, video, or photograph. Since we could not confidently interpret how the messages provided in these videos, photos, and links could be categorized as one of the message types in the hierarchy of engagement model, such posts which do not include any written message were coded as missing observations. Therefore, the number of observations in our analysis is 891, where 446 posts come from 78 sectional groups and 445 posts were made by 108 public interest groups.

We coded each post based on the hierarchy of engagement scheme. The messages of both types of groups were assigned a single code from the scheme to identify the type of public engagement strategy. In cases where a message appeared to serve dual purposes, we assigned codes according to what was considered the primary purpose of the post (see, Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). In order to comply with our conceptual and theoretical framework, we have to mention that our coding criteria slightly deviates from Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012). The latter includes "passive" tweets like "selling a product" under "action" (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012, p. 342). However, since our theoretical framework conceptualizes 'action' as messages calling people to take action on conflictual and contentious topics, messages which aim at things like 'selling a product' fall under the 'information' category rather than the 'action' category in our dataset. Initially, both authors coded 50 posts by sectional groups and 50 posts by public interest groups. Intercoder reliability, comparing the consistency of the two authors' coding was tested with Cohen's κ, and a score of 0.63 was obtained, which shows substantial agreement between the authors (McHugh, 2012). Discrepancies between classifications by the coders were discussed, and coding rules were refined until 100% agreement was reached.

The analysis is conducted with a multivariate statistical model using idiosyncratic control variables used in previous studies on interest groups and social media. The dependent variable, which is action-type messages (coded as 1), as opposed to information- or community-type messages (coded as 0) is dichotomous, so logistic regression analysis is conducted to test the hypothesis. The independent variable (group type) is measured by coding public interest groups as 1 and sectional groups as 0.

Interest group strategies have a long story of scholarly research, however, research on interest groups' social media strategies is in its infancy. Therefore, some of the control variables used in this study can be qualified in future research. These variables include financial resources used for lobbying, number of public affairs employees, and the level of lobbying interest (Brown, 2016; Chalmers & Shotton, 2016; van der Graaf et al., 2016). We do not have any specific expectation about how exactly these variables should affect the use of different public engagement strategies.

Interest groups are asked to insert the approximate costs they have (in Euros) for activities aimed at influencing EU policies on the European Union's Transparency Register website. Transparency Register is a lobby register set up by the EU to strengthen transparency and accountability concerning outside influence on European institutions. Most groups insert this data, but in ranges (e.g., between 1,000 and 24,999 Euros). The data at hand is analyzed, and 5 major groups have been observed and recoded appropriately: groups which spent between €0 and €9,999 (50.3% of all observations), €10,000 and €49,999 (14.9%), €50,000 and €99,999 (12.2%), €100,000 and €199,999 (8.2%), and €200,000 or above (14.3%). Dummy variables are created for each variable, and €0-€9,999 is kept as the base in the logistic regression analysis.

Transparency Register also includes a section where interest groups can provide the number of persons involved in work about influencing EU policies. In our dataset, this number varies from 1 to 50. The vast majority of the groups have either 1 (31.7%), 2 (22.4%), or 3 (10.5%) people involved in such activities. Because of such skewness, the linear variable is converted to a logarithmic variable in line with previous studies (Chalmers and Shotton, 2016; van der Graaf et al., 2016).

In addition, Transparency Register provides data about the venues interest groups are interested in. A group might be interested in working only at the national and local level, they may be interested in the European level or Global level, or they may practice multi-level venue-shopping, lobbying in multiple venues. Following van der Graaf et al. (2016), three dummy variables are created to differentiate between national, European, and global (international) players. In our dataset, 24.2% of the groups are national, 12.2% of the groups are European, and 63.6% of the groups are global actors. In the logistic regression analysis, national actors are kept as the base.

Table 1. Descriptive Information

	Information		Community		Action	
	"War on Want's partners in the global South are at the sharp end of 'cheap' fast fashion and consumer culture. http://www.waronwant.org/media/black-friday-so-last-century" "170 organizations worldwide are supporting No Time to Lose. Read how MTR, Hong Kong's national rail operator is raising awareness..." "Deloitte has resigned as the auditor of Game Digital after five years of service, following a competitive tender process. They will be replaced by BDO."		"A big thank you to all our #era16 sponsors, exhibitors, speakers and delegates. We look forward to seeing you in Athens next year for #era17." "Our next award is National Project. We welcome Ann Newlove from last year's winning project Humber Skills to present. Congratulations to our National Project Award winner @MKCollege Offender Learning! What a great story." "Thank you to @Build_Magazine for our Construction & Engineering Award - Best Trade Industry Intelligence Cooperative - UK #KBB #awards."		"The routine mass-medication of farm animals is contributing to the antibiotic-resistance crisis whilst supporting inhumane farming systems. This must stop! Top UK doctors are calling on the Government to lead global change and ban the routine mass use of antibiotics in farming. Add your voice, and call on our health and agriculture Secretaries of State to take action. >> http://bit.ly/2eTcBR9 #WAAW" "Help us shut down the domestic ivory market in the UK. Please sign & share this petition today. Visit: https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/165905" "Want to #makeadifference in the lives of millions of children? DONATE on #GivingTuesday. http://ow.ly/x8iM306r8Ro"	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	497	55.8%	147	16.5%	247	27.7%
Sectional Groups	271	60.8%	74	16.6%	101	22.6%
Public Interest Groups	226	50.8%	73	16.4%	146	32.8%

Results

Descriptive analysis shows that both types of groups post information-type messages to share one-way information, which usually includes links to additional resources, where people can find more information about a specific subject. Both types of groups post community-type messages to interact, build relationships, and create networks with stakeholders. Both types of groups post action-type messages to prompt their followers to do something such as donating for a cause, attending events, boycotting or protesting. Examples of these three types of posts can be found in Table 1. We provide descriptive information about the posts in Table 1. 55.8% of these Facebook posts belong to the information category, whereas 16.5% belong to community, and 27.7% can be classified as action. 60.8% of sectional groups use the information strategy compared to 50.8% for public interest groups. 16.6% of sectional groups and 16.4% of public interest groups use the community strategy. Sectional groups use the action strategy less than public interest groups (22.6% vs. 32.8%).

The logistic regression results are presented in Table 2. The hypothesis is tested in four different models for robustness. Odds ratios are used to interpret the findings of the logistic regression. Odds above 1 suggest a positive effect, and odds below 1 suggest a negative effect. For example, an odds ratio of 1.25 suggests a 1.25 times more likelihood of using the action strategy. An odds ratio of 0.67 (1/0.67=1.49) suggests a 1.49 times less likelihood of using the action strategy. In Model 1, a bivariate logistic regression is conducted. Compared with sectional groups, the odds of using the action strategy are 1.67 times more likely for public interest groups, which is a statistically significant result at the 99% confidence level.

In Model 2, financial resources spent for lobbying are introduced in a multivariate logistic regression model. Group type is again a significant predictor of using the action strategy at the 99% confidence level. The odds of using the action strategy for public interest groups are 1.81 times more likely than sectional groups. Interest groups which spent between €10,000 and €49,999 are 1.67 times more likely to use the action strategy, as opposed to groups which spent between €0 and €9,999. This effect is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. Interest groups which spent between €50,000 and €99,999 are 1.88 times more likely to use the action strategy than that of interest groups which spent between €0 and €9,999. This finding is statistically significant at the 99% confidence level. Interest groups which spent between €100,000 and €199,999 are 1.79 times less likely to use the action strategy than interest groups which spent between €0 and €9,999. This finding is statistically significant at the 90% confidence level. Interest groups which spent the most (€200,000 or above) are 1.96 times less likely to use the action strategy than interest groups which spent between €0 and €9,999. This finding is statistically significant at 95% confidence level.

In Model 3, the hypothesis is tested while controlling for financial resources and the number of staff allocated for lobbying. Group type is again significant at the 99% confidence level. Public interest groups are 1.79 times more likely than sectional groups to use the action strategy. Financial resources that are used for lobbying activities also matter, albeit only for interest groups which spent between €0 and €9,999 compared to interest groups which spent between €10,000 and €49,999 and €50,000 and €99,999. The odds of using the action strategy are 1.75 times more likely for interest groups which spent between €10,000 and €49,999 compared to interest groups which spent between €0 and €9,999. This finding is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. The odds of using the action strategy for interest groups which spent between €50,000 and €99,999 are 2.27 times more likely than interest groups which spent between €0 and €9,999. This finding is significant at 99% confidence level. The third model shows that the number of staff allocated for lobbying barely manages to reach statistical significance. At the 90% confidence level, it is observed that the likelihood of using the action strategy decreases with the number of public affairs employees. If an interest group employs one more staff for lobbying, the likelihood of using the action strategy decreases by 1.22 times.

Table 2. Logistic Regression Analysis

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Odds Ratio	P Value	Odds Ratio	P Value	Odds Ratio	P Value	Odds Ratio	P Value
Group Type	1.67	0.01***	1.81	0.01***	1.79	0.01***	1.85	0.01***
€10,000–€49,999			1.67	0.03**	1.75	0.02**	1.75	0.02**
€50,000–€99,999			1.88	0.01***	2.27	0.01***	2.37	0.01***
€100,000–€199,999			0.56	0.08*	0.68	0.28	0.70	0.33
€200,000 +			0.51	0.02**	0.70	0.31	0.73	0.39
Staff (ln)					0.82	0.10*	0.81	0.09*
European							1.12	0.72
Global							0.85	0.43
Constant	0.29	0.01***	0.27	0.01***	0.30	0.01***	0.32	0.01**
N	891		769		769		769	
Pseudo R-Squared	0.01		0.05		0.05		0.05	
Log-Likelihood	-520.20		-433.37		-432.00		-431.30	

Note: *** significant at the 99% confidence level, ** significant at the 95% confidence level, * significant at the 90% confidence level.

In model 4, the effects of all the control variables are taken into account. At the 99% confidence level, the odds of using the action strategy are 1.85 times more likely for public interest groups, providing empirical evidence for the hypothesis. Compared with the groups which spent between €0 and €9,999, groups that spent between €10,000 and €49,999 are 1.75 times more likely (significant at the 95% confidence level), and groups that spent between €50,000 and €99,999 are 2.37 times more likely (significant at 99% confidence level) to use the action strategy. This suggests that the likelihood of using the action strategy is higher for groups which spent more for lobbying compared to those which spent the minimum range. However, this is not the case for groups which spent the highest numbers, as there is no statistical significance for the categories of €100,000 to €199,999 and €20,0000 or above. If an interest group employs one more staff for lobbying, the likelihood of using the action strategy decreases by 1.24 times. This finding is significant at the 90% confidence level. We do not find a significant effect of the level of lobbying on the odds of using the action strategy.

Our results show that British public interest groups in the EU are clearly more likely to use the action strategy on social media than sectional interest groups. This statement holds up when financial resources spent for lobbying, the number of staff responsible for lobbying activities, and the level of interest groups are controlled for in multiple statistical models. Our models also suggest a statistically significant relationship between financial resources and the use of the action-type public engagement strategy. Financial resources might increase the chance of using action-type messages; however, too much of it seem to have a negative effect, although this negative effect is significant only in one of the models. A higher number of public affairs personnel has a negative effect on the use of the action-type public engagement strategy. Interest groups with lower numbers of staff responsible for influencing EU policies use the action-type messages more, even though there seems to be only a small and barely significant effect of the number of EU public affairs staff. The level of lobbying does not influence the use of the action strategy.

Conclusion

Interest group theory argues that public interest groups are relatively disadvantageous in attracting and maintaining members compared to sectional groups. Compared with information and community-type posts, action-type posts can attract more attention on social media. Public interest groups can use action-type social media posts as a tool for attracting public attention; recruiting, mobilizing, and maintaining members. Thus, our expectation was to observe a higher frequency of the use of action-type messages by public interest groups compared to sectional groups.

The results of this research suggest that action-type public engagement strategies are used significantly more by British public interest groups active at the EU level than sectional groups on Facebook. Therefore, one can argue that group type is a crucial factor in determining how interest groups engage with the public on social media. This finding not only corroborates previous research on the impact of group type on public engagement strategies on social media (Kanol & Nat, 2017), but it also supports previous studies about interest group strategies which draw a distinction between strategies by different types of groups in the 'offline' world (Binderkrantz & Krøyer, 2012; Dür & Mateo, 2013, 2016). This suggests that there are intrinsic differences between different types of interest groups which determine their use of advocacy strategies both in the digital and non-digital worlds.

Although both sectional groups and public interest groups studied in this research are NPOs, the findings suggest that there can be important differences between NPOs based on things like what types of issues they represent and what types of relationships they have with their members. Therefore, our results contribute to the nonprofit advocacy and social media engagement literature (e.g., Auger, 2013; Carboni & Maxwell, 2015; McKascill & Harrington, 2017) by differentiating between different types of NPOs (public interest groups and sectional groups) and comparing their public engagement strategies on social media.

Although similar differences are found between these groups both in the digital and non-digital worlds, this does not mean that it is business as usual after the introduction of social media into interest groups' toolkits. On the contrary, such differences might be more nuanced or they might be mitigated since social media has become a common medium of engagement and communication by interest groups. So, our findings do not refute the argument that digital disruption has influenced different types of interest groups differently (Fraussen & Halpin, 2018). Increasing importance of social media could imply that we might see increasing effects of digital disruption not only on interest groups' strategies, but also their influence on policies, which should be investigated in future research.

Recently, Figenschou and Fredheim (2020) interviewed 40 Norwegian health care interest groups and observed that different social media platforms are used for different purposes. Similar to Lovejoy and Saxton (2012), the authors differentiate between information-type engagement strategies (networked information and engagement), community-type engagement strategies (networked community building and dialogue), action-type engagement (networked mobilization), and an additional category of direct engagement with decisionmakers as a targeted middle-stage between inside and outside lobbying (networked middle-stage lobbying). It would be interesting to examine if and how group type affects the use of networked, middle-stage lobbying in future research.

All in all, findings such as the ones provided in this paper suggest that old but important questions about political organizations like collective action problems, access, influence, and democratic implications of advocacy might need to be reinvestigated by bringing social media in the discussion. Literatures focusing separately on organizations such as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), NGOs, NPOs, Social Movement Organizations (SMOs), and interest groups would need to be brought together in order to approach political organizations holistically and develop and test integrative theories effectively (Minkowitz et al., 2020).

Disclosure Statement

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Research Article

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Nonprofit External Communications: General Management, Public Relations, or Fundraising Tool?

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In the nonprofit sector, effective communication with stakeholders is pivotal for promoting a good reputation, gaining financial resources and, eventually, pursuing an organization's mission. Although nonprofits increasingly use and diversify their communication channels, such as social media platforms, existing research falls short of explaining how nonprofits institutionalize their different communication strategies. Drawing on institutional theory, this study attempts to bridge this research gap by exploring how nonprofits invest in their communication channels, both non-social media and social media communications, using a sample of U.S. nonprofit museums. The results of the study provide empirical evidence that nonprofits do not treat their non-social media and social media communication channels in the same way. In particular, a significant positive association between advertising expenses and social media channels indicates that nonprofit museums institutionalize their social media communication as the main function of public relations. Further theoretical and practical implications of the results are also discussed.

Keywords: External Communications, Social Media, Nonprofit Museums

As nonprofit operations and activities largely depend on their external environment and on the support of their funders and stakeholders (Barman, 2008; Callen et al., 2010; Froelich, 1999), nonprofit communication is pivotal to achieving organizational missions due to its significant role in building relationships with stakeholders (Cornelissen, 2004). In general, organizational communication, as Cornelissen (2004) argues, is a management function that coordinates work internally to build a favorable relationship with various stakeholder groups. More specifically, external communication is an important vehicle through which nonprofits can engage with multiple stakeholders to acquire and retain donors and volunteers, to raise support for the organization, and to build and promote its reputation within the community (Carboni & Maxwell, 2015; McCaskill & Harrington, 2017; McKeever, 2013; Waters et al., 2009).

While nonprofits utilize standard types of communication channels (e.g., website, direct mail, email appeals, email newsletters), they have more recently taken to using various social media platforms. For example, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube are the top social media sites used by nonprofits, of which Facebook has emerged as the most popular platform in the nonprofit sector (Nonprofit Marketing Guide, 2020). The 2020 Nonprofit Communication

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Trends Report showed that 53% of nonprofits manage an active Facebook group while 42% of them use Instagram on a weekly basis (Nonprofit Marketing Guide, 2020). Donors also consider social media to be a critical communication tool. The 2018 Global Trends in Giving Report found that 29% of online donors claimed that social media was the biggest inspiration for them to donate (Nonprofit Tech for Good, 2018b).

Despite its important role and usage, studies on organizational communication, specifically in the nonprofit sector, have paid little attention to theoretical development (Lewis, 2005). Rather, as Lewis (2005) observed, "these studies have most often left unexamined and untested theories relating to the specific unique features of NPOs" (p. 241). A recent study covering 50 years of organizational communication research also found that the majority of studies in organizational communication have focused mainly on for-profit firms, leaving the nonprofit sector unexplored (Garner et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the aforementioned report shows that the number of full-time employees in communications has not been growing despite the workload in the nonprofit sector continuing to grow (Nonprofit Marketing Guide, 2020). Given the fast growth of new communication tools and demand for better communications in the nonprofit sector, understanding how nonprofit organizations use communication channels is a timely and critical research topic. Scholars have claimed that communications are the key component in marketing strategies. They also have a significant impact on marketing outcomes and satisfaction (Mohr & Nevin, 1990). In contrast, scholars and nonprofit top management may see the communication function as part of administrative spending (Greggory & Howard, 2009).

Given this mixed perspective on the function of nonprofit external communication, along with the lack of academic research on this topic, our research seeks to fill that gap by focusing on nonprofit museums and exploring how they define the function of their communication. Nonprofit museums have long been engaged in communication to increase visitors, product sales, and customer satisfaction (Budge & Burness, 2018; Camarero & Garrido, 2009; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Tobelem, 1997). Gilmore and Rentschler (2002) have emphasized that museums have become more focused on "museum–audience interactions and relationships" to cultivate repeat visitors (p. 745). Recent studies also found that museums use social media to build awareness and to engage with communities and visitors, as social media provide personal connections and experiences (Budge & Burness, 2018; Chung et al., 2014).

Considering that museums frequently communicate with their external stakeholders, including the communities that they directly serve, studying museums provides a substantive insight into the utilization of communication channels in the nonprofit sector. Expanding the boundaries of institutional theory to nonprofit museum communication, this paper focuses on general communication functions (Cornelissen, 2004; Garner et al., 2016) and aims to answer two questions: (a) Do nonprofit museums operate their external communication as a general managerial function or as a specialized function? (b) If external communication is handled as a specialized function, which function is it handled as–public relations or fundraising?

To address these research questions, we begin this paper with a review of the principles of institutional theory and its application to organizational communication. We then present nonprofit communication channels, including social media. This section is followed by our methodology and findings. Lastly, we conclude with a discussion of the implications of the findings and offer a future research agenda.

Literature Review

Institutional Theory and Organizational Communication

Organizations have increasingly committed resources to external communication in recent decades (Sandhu, 2009). Explaining this phenomenon, institutionalist scholars have argued that organizations view communication strategies as fundamental to organizational effectiveness because of the demands of their external environments (Grunig & Grunig, 2008; Sandhu, 2009). According to Garner and his colleagues (2016), Institutional Theory was the sixth most employed theory in organizational communication research between 2000 and 2013. However, we still do not know how Institutional Theory applies to nonprofit communications (Garner et al., 2016). In organizational communication research, institutional theory "does not look at a single organization but instead at a specific field of organizations created by social and communicative mechanisms leading to the establishment of new practices" (Sandhu, 2009, p. 74). This theory posits that organizations are influenced by societal norms and expectations (institutional pressure), which lead them to develop structures and practices, including communication strategies (Flanagin, 2000; Meyer, 2008; Sandhu, 2009).

Scott (2008) proposes a three-pillar model of institutions: (1) regulative pillar, (2) normative pillar, and (3) cultural-cognitive pillar. He further argues that, "Institutions are comprised of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that together with associated activities and resources provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott, 2008, p. 48). The underlying mechanisms of institutionalization in these three pillars are 'requirement by law or rule' (regulative pillar), 'demands by publics or other constituents' (normative pillar), and 'copying or imitating of successful organizations' (cultural-cognitive pillar) (Sandhu, 2009). In short, organizations can be forced to institutionalize certain types of practices and behavior by either formal requirements or informal social pressures (Zorn et al., 2011).

The cultural-cognitive pillar posits that such societal expectations and culturally-shared beliefs lead organizations to slowly adopt certain rules and behaviors, and routinize them (Hasselbladh & Kallinikos, 2000). For instance, organizations often observe other organizations and benchmark new systems or practices, such as with social media in recent years (Zorn et al., 2011). Additionally, this pillar includes 'taken-for-granted' assumptions that organizations should communicate with their stakeholders (Sandhu, 2009). Organizations possess their own communication functions even if they do not build them strategically.

Drawing on Grandien and Johansson's (2012) argument that the structure of communication function differs depending on the sector, field, and organizational characteristics, it is important to see how nonprofits' organizational communication is handled. An institutionalized communication function typically resides in a formal structure, allowing the communication function legitimacy and power (Grandien & Johansson, 2012). Research also argues that when certain communication functions are perceived as valuable assets within an organization, then these functions are formally structured to maximize influence (Cornelissen, 2004).

Similarly, the power-control perspective on organizational communication posits that the structure of communication functions is determined by managerial choices (Cornelissen, 2004; Grandien & Johansson, 2012). By the same token, Ihlen (2007) and Sandhu (2009) have proposed indicators of institutionalization. Specialization and routinization describe how communication functions are organized. An already routinized function does not require many resources, but "[t]he higher the level of specialization, the more institutionalization can be expected" (Sandhu, 2009, p. 85).

In a similar vein, independence is a different but related indicator of institutionalization. If a given function within an organization is independent rather than dissolved in other functions, it is more likely to be institutionalized (Ihlen, 2007). When communication is viewed as specialized and as a highly valuable asset within an organization, it is more likely to be treated as an independent function (separate department) with designated resources, including personnel and financial supports (Berger, 2005; Cornelissen, 2004). Some nonprofit organizations may view external communication as a general and routinized function, while others may treat it as a specialized and independent practice such as fundraising or public relations.

External Communication in the Nonprofit Sector

As donors and funders increasingly demand more information about organizational plans and activities (Salamon, 2002), the utilization of different communication channels enables nonprofits to better provide information to their key stakeholders. Particularly, effectively implementing communication strategies, including the use of social media, enables nonprofit organizations to build trust and engage with stakeholders, to increase donations, and to retain dedicated donors (Kent & Taylor, 1998; Levine & Zahradnik, 2012). Also, the development of the Internet and advanced technology has opened new ways for nonprofits to communicate with communities and stakeholders. Scholars emphasized the need to take advantage of Internet communication channels to communicate missions and programs of nonprofits (Corby & Sowards, 2000; Waters, 2007).

On the other hand, organizational communication also incurs costs, including the expense of hiring professionals or training staff to manage communication strategies. While some nonprofits, especially those with a high level of financial and human resource capacity, are better equipped than others to invest in communication as a means to boost their organizational image and reputation among donors and stakeholders (Zorn et al., 2013), the lack of human resources may be a big hurdle for the adoption of advanced media communication in small nonprofits (Briones et al., 2011). Also, whereas nonprofits may be hesitant to invest in their communication strategies because donors prefer to see nonprofit organizations spend donations on services and programs (Sloan & Grizzle, 2014), they increasingly recognize the importance of marketing communication that encourages action (e.g., donations) (Anheier, 2014; Nonprofit Marketing Guide, 2020).

Communication scholars posit that public relations and marketing communication are distinctive functions, and argue that “marketing deals with markets, while public relations deal with all the publics” (Cornelissen, 2004, p. 38). Likewise, marketing scholars also agree that marketing communication is directly related to company profits, while public relations enhances a firm’s reputation and image (Kotler & Mindak, 1978). Specifically, in the case of museums, Gürel and Kavak (2010) argue that “while public relations is responsible for generating favourable publicity, images and attitudes in relation to patrons, sponsors, visitors and other stakeholders, marketing is responsible for attracting and satisfying the same publics” (p. 44). Such a traditional view of the distinction between public relations and marketing communications has been widely accepted by scholars.

However, the distinction between public relations and marketing communications is particularly challenging in nonprofit studies. Existing research considers communication as the result of problem recognition and involvement between the public and the organization (McKeever, 2013; McKeever et al., 2016). According to McKeever (2013), when people are aware of an issue or connect with the issue, they seek more information from organizations that share their concerns. The desire to get involved or to seek information may lead individuals to form an emotional bond with those organizations. Therefore, active involvement such as volunteering or donating can be strengthened by continuing communications. As such, organizational communications can be involved in both public relations and marketing simultaneously as these practices are closely intertwined. Notwithstanding, the distinction between public relations and fundraising is important because it enables scholars and practitioners to better understand the strategic view of communications that are held by nonprofits.

In the nonprofit sector, communication in fundraising activities is generally considered a marketing communication because of its donation-solicitation activities, while advertising is regarded as an essential part of public relations (Andreasen, 2012; Cornelissen, 2004). Several decades ago, Kotler and Mindak (1978) specifically argued, "[i]n nonprofit organizations particularly (e.g., hospitals, colleges, and museums), where public relations is a well-established function, marketing is emerging as a 'hot' topic" (p. 13). However, ever since Kotler and Mindak's argument, scant research has explored how nonprofit organizations institutionalize their external communication along with technological advances such as social media platforms.

Nonprofit Social Media Communication

In recent years, the for-profit sector has paid great attention to social media platforms. Companies widely utilize social media, and scholars have endeavored to explore the theoretical and practical implications of these media channels (Khang et al., 2012). According to Khang et al. (2012), the majority of social media research in the field of business considers social media to be a marketing and advertising tool. As is consistent with the distinction of definitions between marketing and public relations, scholars have argued that "compared to marketing, advertising places greater emphasis on the persuasive power of social media (e.g., how to grab consumers' attention, build brand image, and garner greater attention, interests, and desire), while marketing is more interested in social media's potential for action" (Khang et al., 2012, p. 292).

Nonprofit scholars also have been increasingly considering social media as a research topic, including in terms of building relationships (Briones et al., 2011; Campbell et al., 2014; Clark et al., 2016; Svensson et al., 2015; Waters et al., 2009), fundraising (Castillo et al., 2014; Saxton & Wang, 2014; Zhong & Lin, 2018), advocacy (Guo & Saxton, 2018), and accountability (Saxton & Guo, 2011). The stream of research focusing on stakeholder relationships generally uses theoretical frameworks in public relations. Furthermore, it claims that social media provides a variety of ways for organizations to encourage the public to become involved with organizations (Clark et al., 2016; Waters et al., 2009).

In contrast, studies focusing on fundraising or marketing use various theories stemming from the fields of psychology and microeconomics (Hausmann, 2012; Zhong & Lin, 2018). Further, some scholars make a linkage between the two research streams – stakeholder relationship and marketing efforts (Levine & Zahradnik, 2012; Waters et al., 2009). Their research has shown that nonprofits increasingly utilize social media and other Internet-based communication channels to engage with stakeholders as part of their entrepreneurial management and a market-oriented approach to increasing organizational responsiveness and financial viability. Given that previous studies have been narrowly-focused, it is worth noting that we still need a deep understanding of external communication that is theoretically grounded.

Hypotheses: Nonprofit Museums Communication

Museums, generally, provide services to the public through essential activities such as collection, preservation, and education (Camarero & Garrido, 2009). Unlike commercial museums that produce mass culture, nonprofit arts organizations "produce high culture, which involves labor-intensive technologies" (DiMaggio, 1987, p. 200). Therefore, although some nonprofit museums require an admission fee, a significant number of museums charge no fee for exhibitions not only as "a way to fulfill social responsibility but also as a strategy to cultivate future audiences in an environment of declining participation in the arts" (Kim et al., 2018, p. 140).

This study examines the relationship between nonprofit organizations' expenses and external communications by specifically focusing on nonprofit museums in the U.S. The selection of nonprofit museums advances this study on numerous fronts. The nonprofit sector covers a wide variety of fields (e.g., social service, religion, health care, and education). Moreover, the scope of the arts and culture subfield contains various types of organizations such as symphony orchestras, dance companies, theaters, museums, and zoos that have different internal and external environments (O'Neill, 2002). Considering that the structure of communication function may vary depending upon the field, it is necessary to focus on a specific type of organization (nonprofit museums in this paper's case) rather than expanding the type of organizations (all arts and culture nonprofits), or including auxiliary organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Grandien & Johansson, 2012; O'Neill, 2002).

Additionally, nonprofit museums present similarities and dissimilarities with other nonprofits that make studying their communication strategies interesting. Similar to other nonprofits, nonprofit museums have multiple stakeholders and their communication strategy can be affected by organizational priorities, resource allocation, the public, communities, and institutional structure (Gainer & Padanyi, 2002; Lee, 2005; Liao et al., 2001). However, among nonprofit sectors, nonprofit museums have demonstrated remarkable growth, and are unique in terms of the services they provide and the clients they serve (Camarero & Garrido, 2009; Tobelem, 1997). Museums provide a variety of programs, ranging from exhibitions and displays, educational programs, to preserving history, culture, and the arts.

Unlike other types of nonprofits, nonprofit museums often compete with other museums, including for-profit organizations that provide similar services, for more attention and participation (O'Neill, 2002). At the same time, nonprofit museums serve not only local communities but also all visitors including travelers. Under these circumstances, communications play critical roles in building organizational images, connecting with visitors, volunteers, and customers, as well as in gaining reputation. Therefore, understanding the relationship between resource allocation and communication strategies helps explain how nonprofit museums institutionalize their communication functions.

Non-Social Media Communication

As communication is an important way for nonprofit museums to connect with the public and stakeholders to fulfill their operating purposes, the resource allocation or spending decisions are essential to ensure that these organizations have enough resources to carry out their missions (Weikart et al., 2013). Therefore, one way to understand how nonprofit museums institutionalize their organizational communication is to examine the types of expenditures they use for communication. Scholars agree that accounts quantify organizational practices and reflect realities when an organization institutionalizes rules and structures (Carruthers, 1995; Liguori & Steccolini, 2012). As the regulative pillar of institutions, the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) sets standards of financial accounting for nonprofit organizations (Scott, 2008; Weikart et al., 2013). Based on these standards, nonprofit organizations identify and allocate budgets into categories: administration (support), fundraising, and program (Weikart et al., 2013).

Nonprofit museums may use administrative costs for communication when they treat certain channels as a part of general management, not as a specialized function. Non-social media channels (e.g., phone, e-mail, and e-newsletters) deliver a wide variety of content and encounter all types of stakeholders from the board to the public. For instance, some may call a museum when they have a general question (e.g., admission fee, open hours), while others make more specific inquiries (e.g., donations). Also, museums use e-newsletters for varied purposes: sending welcome messages, delivering information about new exhibitions or activities, and soliciting donations. Besides, non-social media channels often do not target a specific group or audience. Therefore, we hypothesize that non-social media channels are treated as a support function and that museums are more likely to use money from their administrative budgets for these channels.

> *Hypothesis$_1$: Administrative expenses ratio will be positively associated with the number of non-social media channels.*

Social Media Communication

Nonprofit museums may utilize advertising expenditures or fundraising expenditures for external communication if they operate certain communication channels as a specialized function. As Gilmore and Rentschler (2002) found, museums not only focus on the traditional (custodial preservation) roles but also recognize the significance of market-orientation. Previous research has found that institutional pressure is one of the factors leading organizations to adopt communication technologies such as websites or social media (Flanagin, 2000; Zorn et al., 2011). In particular, Zorn and colleagues (2011) argue that normative pressure (normative pillar of institutional theory) leads nonprofits to adopt communication technologies by benchmarking other organizations (cultural-cognitive pillar of institutional theory). In this sense, nonprofit museums' adoption of social media can also be explained by institutional theory as they are under pressure of social trends and expectations (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Kotler et al., 2008).

As government grants to museums have been decreasing, museums have been engaging in more customer-oriented approaches to gain more revenues (Kotler et al., 2008). Yet, previous research has found that museums' customer-oriented activities and events were merely successful in building awareness and that these activities do not necessarily promote revenues (Camarero & Garrido, 2009). Likewise, nonprofit organizations primarily use social media channels to provide information and to build awareness rather than to request actions such as donations that require a higher level of engagement with organizations (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). Scholars have considered social media platforms as the cornerstone of building relationships by two-way communications (Getzendanner, 1999; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Waters, 2007). Thus, we hypothesize that nonprofit museums utilize social media channels for public relations rather than fundraising.

> *Hypothesis$_2$: Advertising expenses ratio will be positively associated with the number of social media channels, the number of Facebook posts, and the number of Facebook engagements.*

> *Hypothesis$_3$: Fundraising expenses ratio will not be associated with the number of social media channels, the number of Facebook posts, and the number of Facebook engagements.*

Data and Method

Sample and Data Collection

We collected nonprofit museum data from several sources: (1) the 2013–2014 fiscal year of NCCS data, (2) official museum websites, and (3) six social media platforms. First, financial data from the 2013–2014 fiscal year were obtained from the NCCS: Statement of Income Statistics (SOI)–GuideStar National Nonprofit Research Database. The museums in the sample have net assets over $10 million. The initial sample contains 505 museums, of which 27 museums were dropped over the course of cleaning the data. One museum with total fundraising expenses exceeding total expenses was excluded, resulting in a sample size of 477 museums.

We acknowledge that some researchers are dubious about the credibility of the NCCS data derived from the IRS 990 forms. Although research has found that the "IRS 990 Return to be a generally reliable source of financial data" (Froelich & Knoepfle, 1996, p. 50), nonprofit organizations might shift their expenses into other items due to a lack of guidelines and due to the pressure to reduce overhead expenses (Froelich & Knoepfle, 1996). Furthermore, financial regulations are a significant challenge encountered by nonprofits, as small nonprofits are particularly unlikely to have employees who have extensive knowledge of financial management, tax-exempt status, and tax returns (St. Clair, 2016).

Despite such internal and external predicaments that might challenge the validity of the NCCS data, we used these data in our analysis for two reasons. First, as Froelich & Knoepfle (1996) argued, the data are a reliable source of financial data. Researchers have been using the NCCS data for decades to conduct nonprofit financial studies and it "has been the only source of data on nonprofit organizations that vary by type and size" (Kim & Charles, 2016, p. 338). Second, the museums that we use for this study are relatively large nonprofits with more than 10 million dollars of net assets. Large nonprofits are more likely to be regulated by federal and state governments. They are also more likely to be assessed by their boards, charity watchdog groups, and donors (Calabrese, 2011; St. Clair, 2016; Ott & Dicke, 2012). Consequently, they are more likely to report the correct financial statements to the IRS.

Information regarding the external communication channels of organizations was collected mainly from the official websites of the museums in our sample and from their social media pages. To collect information on communication channels, such as phone, e-mail, and e-newsletter, from the official museum websites in the 2013 fiscal year, we used an approach established in the literature (Levine & Zahradnik, 2012; Nah & Saxton, 2012; Saxton & Wang, 2014), using the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine to determine whether or not each organization was using such channels. All museums have their own official websites in the sample.

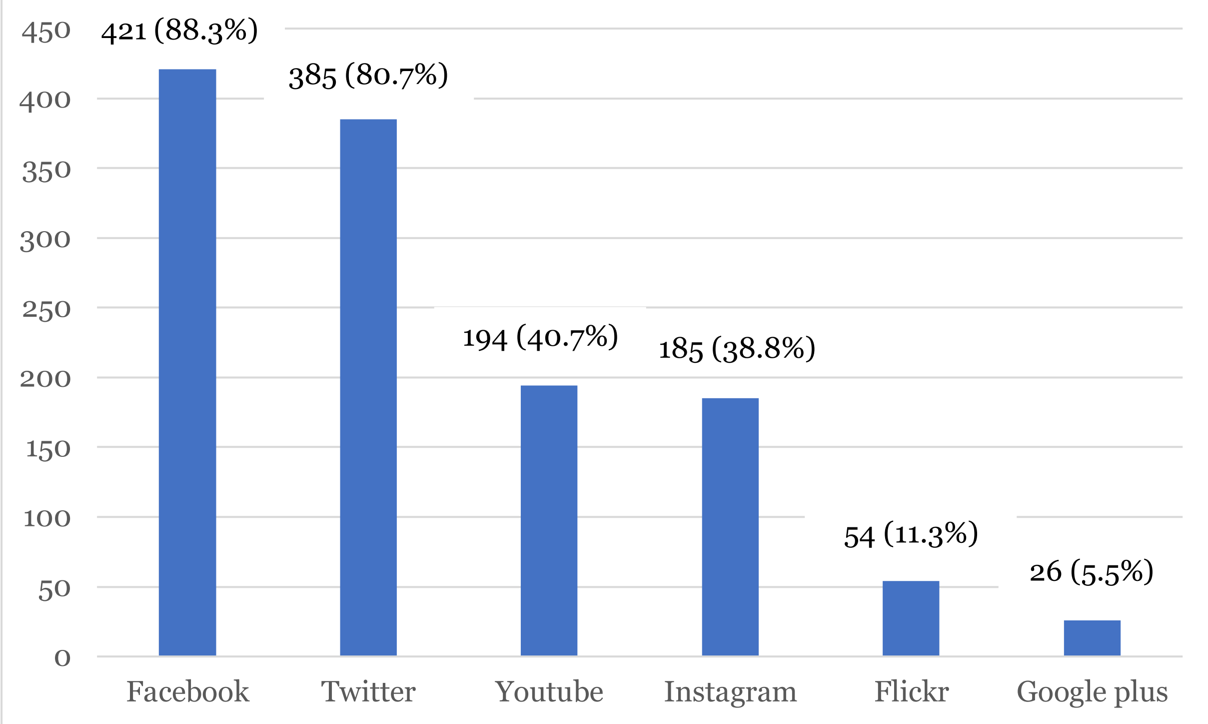
To collect each museum's official social media profiles on platforms including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Flickr, and Google Plus, we first identified a museum's profile account through its website and Google search interfaces. Then, it was determined whether each museum operated such social media channels during the 2013 fiscal year. The number of Facebook posts, likes, comments, and shares were collected by the Facebook application programming interface (API) using a customized R code.

For this study, we chose the 2013–2014 fiscal year, because that is the fiscal year for which the most up-to-date nonprofit financial data are available (e.g., NCCS: Statement of Income Statistics (SOI)). Although there might be some skepticism given that social media has been changing rapidly since 2014, and that social media usage in the 2013–2014 fiscal year might not reflect current social media trends, previous research has found that there are some similarities and consistencies in the types of social media that museums have utilized over the years. Facebook and Twitter are the two main platforms that are utilized the most by nonprofits and museums, with YouTube and Instagram the next most used platforms (Budge & Burness, 2018; Chung et al., 2014; Nonprofit Marketing Guide, 2020; Nonprofit Tech for Good, 2018a). Our data also reflect these ongoing trends (see Figure 1).

Dependent Variables

This paper uses six dependent variables. The first dependent variable is the number of non-social media channels that a given institution utilized. The channels include phone, e-mail, and e-newsletter that are typically used by museums. We did not count the organizational official website as a communication channel because all museums in the sample have their own websites. The second dependent variable is the number of social media channels utilized, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Flickr, and Google Plus. Facebook was the

Figure 1. Nonprofit Museums' Social Media Usage



most popular social media platform (421 museums, 88.3% of the sample), followed by Twitter (385 museums, 80.7% of the sample) as shown in Figure 1. Due to its popularity among the museums in the sample, we chose Facebook to be the basis for the other dependent variables. The third variable is the total number of Facebook posts, while the remaining three variables are the total number of Facebook likes, comments, and shares, respectively, during the 2013 fiscal year.

Independent Variables

To test Hypothesis 1, we use the administrative expenses ratio. The administrative expenses ratio is defined as total administrative expenses divided by total expenses (Calabrese, 2011; Frumkin & Kim, 2001). As to the second independent variable to test Hypothesis 2, we use the advertising expenses ratio to measure organizational public relations efforts. This variable is calculated using advertising expenses divided by total expenses. Lastly, to test Hypothesis 3, we use the fundraising expenses ratio to measure organizational marketing efforts. This is calculated using fundraising expenses divided by total expenses (Frumkin & Kim, 2001). These three independent variables were transformed using natural logarithms to address positive skewness.

Control Variables

This paper includes several control variables. Since larger organizations are more likely to adopt advanced online practices than smaller organizations, this paper takes the natural logarithm of total assets to control for organization size, as per previous studies (Calabrese, 2013; Clark et al., 2016; Saxton & Guo, 2011; Yan et al., 2009). Organization age is the number of years since museums were granted 501(c)(3) status. Metropolitan is a dummy variable indicating whether a museum is located in a metropolitan area (1 = metropolitan area, 0 = otherwise). Report is also a dummy variable indicating whether museums disclose their performance and activities in the annual report on their official website (1 = annual report, 0 = otherwise). Nonprofit organizations that post their annual reports on their websites are

Table 1. Communication Channels

	Non-Social Media (Phone, E-mail, E-newsletter)			Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Flickr, Google plus)		
Number of Channels	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
0	1	0.21	0.21	38	7.97	7.97
1	16	3.35	3.56	49	10.27	18.24
2	141	29.56	33.12	118	24.74	42.98
3	319	66.88	100.00	143	29.98	72.96
4				97	20.34	93.29
5				29	6.08	99.37
6				3	0.63	100.00
Total	477	100.00		477	100.00	

more likely to respond to their stakeholders and to disclose financial and operational information (Saxton & Guo, 2011).

Model Specification

All three independent variables (administrative expenses ratio, advertising expenses ratio, and fundraising expenses ratio) and one control variable (organizational size) were transformed using natural logarithms since they are not normally distributed and are severely right-skewed. We use a Collin Test, a preliminary test that confirms that there is no multicollinearity issue among the independent variables. We use Poisson and negative binomial regression for the analysis. The first two dependent variables (the number of non-social media channels and the number of social media channels) are counts, and the Collin Test confirms that Poisson regression better fits with these dependent variables than negative binomial regression. For the latter four dependent variables (the number of Facebook posts, likes, comments, and shares), we use negative binomial regression since these variables are over-dispersed count data. Another preliminary test using a likelihood ratio (LR) Test also confirms that negative binomial regression better fits with these dependent variables (Long & Freese, 2014).

Findings

Descriptive Statistics

As shown in Table 1, 319 museums (approximately two-thirds of the sample) had all three types of non-social media channels, while one museum did not have any of these channels in the 2013 fiscal year. Table 1 also reports that approximately 55% of museums operate two or three social media channels. The average number of social media channels is 2.65, with a low value of 0, indicating that the museum does not use social media, and a high value of 6, indicating that the museums use all six social media channels, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Flickr, and Google Plus (see Table 2).

Table 2 shows that the average number of Facebook posts is 369 per nonprofit, indicating that a museum uploads a post per day. The average number of users' engagement via Facebook contained several extreme values as we expected, ranging from zero to 18,806,494 for likes, zero to 98,092 for comments, and zero to 569,702 for shares per organization. The average percentage of administrative expenses, advertising expenses, and fundraising over total expense is 18%, 2.5%, and 7.8%, respectively. The average age of the museum is 40 years old.

Table 2. Descriptive Analysis (dollars in thousands, %)

	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Organizational Communication					
Number of non-social media channels	2.63	3	0.56	0	3
Number of social media channels	2.65	3	1.33	0	6
Number of Facebook posts	369	304	315	0	2,040
Number of Facebook engagements					
Likes	28,209	4,467	135,626	0	1,880,694
Comments	1,310	320	5,335	0	98,092
Shares	6,886	1,069	38,172	0	569,702
General Management					
Administrative expenses	2,210	703	10,451	0	209,649
Administrative expenses ratio	18.00	15.40	14.90	0	100
Public Relations					
Advertising expenses	339	104	1,248	0	23,665
Advertising expenses ratio	2.50	2.00	2.70	0	24.20
Fundraising					
Fundraising expenses	865	339	2,562	0	47,143
Fundraising expenses ratio	7.80	6.70	6.60	0	47.50
Total expenses	14,494	4,364	61,549	47	1,162,330
Size (natural log of total assets)	17.50	17.10	1.13	16.10	22.10
Age	40	35	24	0	92
Metropolitan area	0.71		0.45	0	1
Annual report	0.35		0.48	0	1
Observations	477				

71% of museums are located in metropolitan areas, and 35% of organizations disclose annual reports on their websites.

Poisson and Negative Binomial Regression Results

Our Poisson and negative binomial regression results are presented in Table 3. Since our models use natural logarithms for all three independent variables (administrative expenses ratio, advertising expenses ratio, and fundraising expenses ratio) and one control variable (organizational size), the sample size was reduced to 369 museums. The first three models demonstrate the relationship between administrative, advertising, and fundraising expenses and the number of non-social media channels, social media, and Facebook posts. The last three models reveal the effects of the changes in organizational administrative, advertising, and fundraising expenses on the count of Facebook engagement activities, including likes, comments, and shares.

We found that an increase in administrative expenses is not significantly related to the number of non-social media channels, but is negatively associated with the expected count of social media channels (Hypothesis 1 not supported). Conversely, an increase in advertising expenses is positively associated with the expected count of social media channels and the count of Facebook posts (see Table 3). As these findings suggest, an increase in advertising expenses is positively correlated with social media usage, which implies that museums often consider their communication channels, especially social media, to be part of their advertising efforts (Hypothesis 2 supported).

Table 3. Poisson and Negative Binomial Regression Results

	Number of Non-Social Media Channels (b/se)	Number of Social Media Channels (b/se)	Number of Facebook Posts (b/se)	Number of Facebook Engagements		
				Likes (b/se)	Comments (b/se)	Shares (b/se)
Administrative expenses ratio (ln)	-0.0089	-0.0863+	-0.0268	-0.1537	-0.1220	-0.0732
	(0.0170)	(0.0458)	(0.0867)	(0.2081)	(0.1979)	(0.2095)
Advertising expenses ratio (ln)	0.0101	0.0555**	0.1285**	-0.0070	0.0698	0.0143
	(0.0086)	(0.0211)	(0.0421)	(0.1368)	(0.1228)	(0.1121)
Fundraising expenses ratio (ln)	0.0096	0.0351	0.0645	-0.3004+	-0.3280***	-0.3504+
	(0.0115)	(0.0329)	(0.0590)	(0.1649)	(0.0976)	(0.1914)
Org size (ln)	0.0178*	0.1002***	0.1191***	0.6150***	0.4966***	0.6575***
	(0.0078)	(0.0200)	(0.0339)	(0.0818)	(0.0634)	(0.0832)
Age	0.0003	-0.0013	-0.0002	-0.0092*	-0.0060	-0.0098*
	(0.0004)	(0.0009)	(0.0018)	(0.0044)	(0.0041)	(0.0045)
Metropolitan	0.0024	0.0036	0.0608	-0.2869	-0.2754	-0.1062
	(0.0205)	(0.0517)	(0.1030)	(0.3164)	(0.2679)	(0.2987)
Report	0.0141	0.0659	0.1211	-0.0564	-0.2122	-0.2091
	(0.0194)	(0.0438)	(0.0830)	(0.2295)	(0.1864)	(0.2191)
N	369	369	369	369	369	369
Log Likelihood	-548.53	-625.50	-2578.10	-3827.60	-2831.80	-3294.40
χ^2	12.31+	45.17***	28.16***	114.62***	121.73***	128.26***

Note: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Interestingly, the results show that an increase in fundraising expenses is negatively associated with the expected count of Facebook engagement activities, including Facebook likes, comments, and shares, while there is no significant relationship between either administrative expenses and the number of Facebook engagement activities nor between advertising expenses and Facebook engagement activities. This finding suggests that as a fundraising budget increases, a nonprofit museum might favor other fundraising activities or events in order to raise donations. However, considering that social media offers nonprofits a tool to communicate and to engage with their stakeholders for fundraising without additional costs, organizations might increasingly turn to social media platforms to solicit donations when their budget for fundraising is decreasing. In addition, larger museums, which often have higher levels of financial capacity and human resources, are more likely to invest in their communication, including both non-social media channels and social media. These organizations are also more likely to engage with their stakeholders on social media platforms.

In sum, our study's findings shed the light on how nonprofits operate their communications. First, we found that there is a positive relationship between social media usage (number of channels and Facebook posts) and advertising expense. Second, the results show that fundraising expense is negatively associated with the number of Facebook engagements (likes, comments, and shares). Lastly, we found that larger nonprofit museums tend to use more communication channels, both non-social media and social media, and engage more on Facebook.

Discussion

Drawing on Institutional Theory (Hasselbladh & Kallinikos, 2000; Meyer, 2008), and extending this theory to nonprofits' communication (Sandhu, 2009; Zorn et al., 2011), this study provides insights into how nonprofits institutionalize their communication functions. Using data from a sample of 477 U.S. nonprofit museums, this study examines the relationship between different nonprofits' expenditures and their communication strategies–both non-social media and social media communications–an angle not being paid due attention in recent studies (e.g., Budge & Burness, 2018; Carboni & Maxwell, 2015; Clark et al., 2016; Guo & Saxton, 2018; Maxwell & Carboni, 2016; McCaskill & Harrington, 2017; Svensson et al., 2015; Xu & Saxton, 2019; Zhong & Lin, 2018).

The results of the study show widespread use of social media and a diffusion of social media platforms among the majority of the museums in our sample. Findings also indicate that these digital communication strategies have not replaced non-social media communication channels. Even though the use of social media has become more common, the usage of non-social media channels such as mail, email, phone or newsletters still plays an important role in organizational efforts to reach out to donors, visitors, and the general public. We found that in about two-thirds of the museums, non-social media communication strategies are alive and coexist with the newly emerged communication platforms. This hybridization of communication strategies is critical to the survivability of organizations. This is particularly true for nonprofits that target different age groups. While these organizations strive to appeal to the younger, digital generation from which future donors, volunteers, and activists could be recruited, they do not want to risk alienating "the older generation which makes up the majority of the volunteer and donor base" (Briones et al., 2011, p. 40).

The findings further reveal that the museums do not use their non-social media communication channels in the same way as they use their social media communication platforms. These museums treat their social media communications as specialized, independent functions (namely, public relations), not as part of a broader, general management function. This is evidenced by the use of advertising expenditures to fund social media activities. Moreover, because specialization and independence are both viewed as indicators of institutionalism (Ihlen, 2007; Sandhu, 2009), this finding further implies that the public relations of social media activities are more likely to be institutionalized by the museums in our sample.

Despite the importance of fundraising as a proactive marketing tool, the museums in our sample seem to place greater emphasis on advertising as the "persuasive power of social media" (Khang et al., 2012, p. 292). This observation is confirmed with the significant, positive relationship between advertising expenditures and the number of social media platforms and the number of Facebook posts. Thus, in line with previous research (Briones et al., 2011; Hackler & Saxton, 2007; Kent & Taylor, 1998; Levine & Zahradnik, 2012; Waters et al., 2009), this study accentuates the critical role played by social media in boosting the image and reputation of nonprofits, building social capital, and cultivating relationships with nonprofits' stakeholders and the general public.

Due to its strategic role in fulfilling mission-related goals, the advertising function of public relations can be regarded as part of the nonprofits' entrepreneurial management and market-oriented approach, designed to promote organizational responsiveness and to enhance financial viability (Levine & Zahradnik, 2012; Waters et al., 2009). In this sense, the use of social media as a market-oriented activity offers nonprofits the opportunity to manage their financial challenges by attracting and maintaining donors and generating more earned income, while at the same time expanding their social impact and becoming more flexible in responding to the needs of their stakeholders and the general public.

The added value of this study lies in the fact that this study went beyond the narrow distinction between public relations (advertising) and fundraising (marketing) communication activities. Based on the finding that the fundraising expenses ratio is negatively related to the number of Facebook engagements (likes, comments, and shares), one can argue that nonprofit museum advertising communication may complement the fundraising activities or vice versa (Cornelissen, 2004). It may be even possible that social media has become an attractive resource for nonprofit museums when operating on a tight budget, as social media channels effectively enhance the communication between museums and their stakeholders while costing little.

As to organizational size, results show that organizational size was found to be positively related to the adoption and use of social media platforms and engagement activities. This finding is consistent with the organizational innovation literature (Damanpour, 1991, 1992, 1996; Damanpour & Schneider, 2006; Rogers, 1995) that views organizational size as a "surrogate measure of several dimensions that lead to innovation" (Rogers, 1995, p. 379). The size of an organization tells us about its financial, technical, and human resources capabilities. In this sense, larger organizations are more likely to adopt new practices and tools because they possess more sophisticated capacities and varied facilities that enable them to adopt new ideas and practices and, ultimately, to put them into effect (Damanpour, 1991, 1992, 1996; Damanpour & Schneider, 2006). Moreover, large organizations are more likely to tolerate the potential loss associated with unsuccessful innovations (Damanpour, 1991, 1992).

Limitations, Future Research, and Contributions

Like any other studies, this study has its own limitations. One limitation regards the cross-sectional nature of the data, which makes it hard to infer causality. Future research may replicate this study using longitudinal data that allow researchers to track over time the spending behavior of U.S. museums as it relates to communication strategies. Secondly, there is a concern stemming from the lack of accurate financial information reported in the 990 form. Nonprofit organizations might have a different understanding of reporting expense measures in their Form 990s, or different motives to underreport overhead expenses that can cause misleading analysis that, ultimately, results in biases. The use of a subset of large-sized museums can increase the accuracy of financial reports because these organizations have more capacity to hire external professional firms to complete their financial statements and Form 990s. More importantly, these museums are put under the watch of more regulated agencies at the federal and state levels. These practices may limit the generalizability of this study to smaller museums with net assets of less than 10 million dollars.

Likewise, although the sample size covers a wide range of museums from arts museums, science museums, history museums, to children's museums, the emphasis on museums precludes generalizing this study's findings to other types of nonprofits. Repeating the study at a more diversified scale would provide insights into how different nonprofits (e.g., health, education, social services, etc.) vary in the way they institutionalize their communication strategies. Also, triangulating the data collection methods by adding a qualitative component to the study, such as conducting in-depth interviews with nonprofit CEOs or board members, or observing how nonprofits routinize the institutionalization of their communication functions (e.g., having an independent department to oversee these activities), would strengthen the validity of results.

However, these limitations are not meant to undermine the importance of the study and its contribution to the theory and practice of both the nonprofit and the communication literature. Theoretically speaking, this study extends institutional theory to nonprofit sector communication, and attempts to bridge a gap in the literature by examining how nonprofits institutionalize their communication strategies. In terms of practice, the results of the study encourage practitioners to increase their organizational ability to "communicate with, strategically engage, and respond to their constituents" (Hackler & Saxton, 2007, p. 484) if their ultimate aim is to promote their organizations and to impact the way through which they carry out their mission-related goals. This can be achieved by strategically using and investing in social media communication platforms.

Conclusion

This study uses an institutional theory perspective to examine how nonprofit organizations institutionalize their communication strategies including social media. Examining nonprofit museums' expenditures, this study reached the conclusion that nonprofit museums institutionalize their social media communication by treating these channels as a specialized function–namely public relations function–rather than as part of a general management function.

This study provides empirical evidence that promoting nonprofit communication strategies that reach out to the public and stakeholders is not a passive phenomenon but, rather, depends to a large extent on a market-oriented strategy that requires real investment in these communication channels. The importance of this study lies in the fact that nonprofits today are operating in an environment characterized by fewer resources, greater demands, and increased competition for donors, volunteers, and clients (Hackler & Saxton, 2007; Levine & Zahradnik, 2012). To obtain sustained competitive advantages (Barney, 1991) and to remain sustainable in our vexing times, nonprofits are called upon to pay more attention to their social media communication strategies and to better mobilize their communication resources.

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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Research Article

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Conceptualizing and Measuring the Promotion of Nonprofit Organizations' Evidence Use by U.S. Social Service Funding Programs

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Previous research on U.S. federal promotion of evidence-based programming has focused on evidence-based program registries and concludes their usefulness is undermined by prioritizing internal validity over external validity. This research explores how federal funding programs are *actually* promoting funded nonprofit organizations' evidence use instead of what we might infer from registries alone. An inductively developed conceptual framework is applied to describe all 53 fiscal year (FY) 2019 social service funding programs that include nonprofit organizations among the eligible applicants, finding they promote multiple types of evidence use, with generally low coerciveness, and with applicants frequently co-determining what counts as evidence. These findings point to promotion of evidence use that balances evidence-driven prescriptiveness and enabling nonprofits' innovation.

Keywords: Evidence-Based, Research Use, Grants, Evaluation, Nonprofit

The U.S. federal government has invested heavily in the promotion of evidence-based strategies across many policy arenas that rely heavily on nonprofit organizations for service delivery, including child and family services, health, education, crime prevention, victim assistance, and workforce development. In 2016, the U.S. Office of Management and Budget issued a report cataloging the federal government's extensive evidence-building efforts, including the work of over two dozen administrative units that collect, warehouse, and analyze data, conduct applied research, synthesize existing research, evaluate programs, manage performance measurement systems, train others on the application of evidence, and monitor the use of evidence. All of these have in common the goal of promoting the use of evidence—knowledge based on systematically collected and analyzed data—to improve programs and policies.

Some of the more visible tools used by federal agencies to promote the use of evidence in the programs they fund are online program registries that assign 'evidence-based' status to programs and strategies. Prominent examples include the Department of Education's What Works Clearinghouse and the Department of Justice's CrimeSolutions.gov. Similar registries

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have also been developed by independent nonprofit organizations. These evidence-based program registries (EBPRs) provide program administrators lists of formal programs and general strategies that have been rigorously evaluated and found to meet standards for demonstrating effectiveness—that is, programs and strategies that have received an evidence-based 'stamp of approval.'

Previous research on federal promotion of the use of evidence in programming has focused largely on these EBPRs. The tenor of research on the registries might be characterized as 'cautiously optimistic with major reservations.' Three primary areas of concern are: (1) an overreliance on evidence from experimental research and evaluation, (2) the exclusion of program decision-makers from the process of generating evidence, and (3) evidence use requirements that inhibit adaptation and innovation.

Carol Weiss and colleagues (2008) and Sexton and Kelley (2010) agreed that the registries are a worthwhile step toward strengthening program decision making, but that they fail to promote good fit between programs and local context, largely due to their near-exclusive focus on experimental-design evaluations that prioritize internal validity over external validity. External validity, though, is precisely what is needed to answer the registries' intended audiences' primary questions, "Will the program be effective here in my community, implemented by my organization, offered to my clients, run by my staff?" (Horne, 2017, p. 7), and registries' reports generally provide insufficient detail about program context to answer such questions (Buckley et al., 2020; Horne, 2017; see also, Cartwright & Hardy, 2012; Chen, 2010; Cronbach, 1982; Urban et al., 2014). Without such details, EBPRs can rarely provide context-specific program adaptation guidance for evidence-based programs, which is perceived to be a key barrier to their implementation by community-based nonprofit leaders and practitioners themselves (Kushner, 2015; Nelson et al., 2006; Ramanadhan et al., 2012).

The broader research and evaluation utilization literature suggests a second potential pitfall of EBPRs: the separation of the intended decision-makers from the process of generating the evidence. In the EBPR approach to promoting evidence use, program administrators are solely on the receiving end of evidence—evidence that has been generated by others, whether through earlier evaluations of other organizations' programs or research about the efficacy of general program strategies. Scholars of evaluation use, though, agree on the importance of involving decision makers in evaluation planning to pave the way for their eventual use of evaluation findings and ongoing communication between the producers and users of evidence (Chelimsky, 2015; Greene, 2015; Johnson et al., 2009; Leviton & Hughes, 1981; Patton, 1997). Strategies to promote evidence use that separate evidence producers and users may be self-limiting by design.

Third, restricting funding to applicants who propose to deliver a predefined portfolio of evidence-based programs and strategies could impede innovation, a purported benefit of service delivery via grants and contracts, especially when awarded to nonprofit organizations (Perri, 1993; Smith & Lipsky, 1993). Applying evolutionary concepts to program planning and evaluation, Urban et al. (2014) warned against the risk of evidence-based requirements leading to the development of program "monocultures," in which the portfolio of funded programs with the same goal converges on nearly identical program models: "With limited variability, there would be fewer programs from which to select, which impedes further evolution or adaptation, especially when circumstances or contexts change" (p. 131), and fewer innovative programs and program modifications would ever be developed and tested.

As criticisms of how the federal government promotes the use of evidence in its funding programs, these concerns all rest on a series of 'what ifs.' What if federal funding programs require applicants to choose programs from pre-approved lists? What if the only type of evidence recognized by federal funders is that from experimental research and evaluation? What if federal funders, alone, decide what does and does not count as evidence? To move beyond speculation, this research examines what federal funding programs are *actually* promoting in terms of evidence use instead of what we might be left to infer from EBPRs alone. The research presented here explores these related questions: What kinds of evidence use are promoted by federal social service funding programs? How often is evidence use promoted in these funding programs? Who decides what counts as evidence? To what extent is nonprofits' evidence use a required condition for funding?

Data and Methods

These research questions were explored through a two-stage research process spanning fiscal years (FYs) 2015 to 2020. During both stages, the authors systematically analyzed the text of federal Notices of Funding Availability (NOFAs) for grant and purchase-of-service contracting programs. In brief, the goal of the first phase was to conceptualize and operationalize dimensions of the promotion of evidence use in federal funding programs. This conceptual framework and operationalization were applied in the second stage to quantify the promotion of evidence use across all federal social service funding programs.

Stage 1 Methods: Conceptualization and Operationalization Based on All FY 2015 and FY 2016 Youth Development NOFAs

The conceptualization and operationalization stage of the project is based on systematic analysis of all federal funding announcements in the area of youth development from fiscal years 2015 and 2016: 35 funding programs from 6 agencies awarding funding to nonprofits for the direct provision of youth development programming (see Table A1 in the Appendix). The funding programs were identified by searching the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (www.cfda.gov, now part of the General Service Administration's System for Award Management, beta.sam.gov), cross-checking those search results with funding opportunities listed at www.grants.gov, and then by searching the websites of individual funding agencies to be certain no relevant funding programs were overlooked. When funding programs were duplicated from FY 2015 to FY 2016, only the FY 2016 NOFAs were included.

Youth development programming has goals related to improving adolescents' socioemotional health and future-orientedness and to strengthening their resistance to negative peer pressure and risky behaviors like drug and alcohol abuse, sex, and violence. Youth development funding announcements were selected because this program area has extensive resources to support evidence-based programming, including EBPRs sponsored by the Department of Education, Department of Justice, Department of Health and Human Services, and several nonprofit organizations (Horne, 2017). Federal funding programs for youth development also rely very heavily on grants to nonprofit organizations for implementation. Youth development funding, then, is a 'critical case' for studying the incorporation of evidence use provisions—if such provisions were to be widely implemented and robustly developed in any field, it should be youth development. A conceptual framework for describing evidence use based on this critical case should be correspondingly robust.

Analysis of the funding announcements followed a general inductive approach (Thomas, 2006), informed by the grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; Locke, 2001; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), to inductively develop a conceptual framework for describing the funding programs' promotion of evidence use. First, ten announcements were open coded by two authors independently. This open coding was conducted primarily inductively but guided by a set of sensitizing concepts and research goals: (1) Our research questions provided a "domain of relevance for conducting the analysis," but "not a set of expectations about specific findings" (Thomas, 2006, p. 239). (2) Nonetheless, the authors sought to identify *all* segments of text deemed helpful for describing how evidence use is promoted. (3) The authors adopted a shared, broad definition of *evidence*: any knowledge based on systematic collection and analysis of data, whether primary to the applicant (such as findings from their original analysis of data describing their intended beneficiaries' needs) or secondary to the applicant (such as published evaluation and research reports). (4) The authors also adopted a shared, broad definition of *use*: the intended application of evidence to inform decision-making about programming. The authors were primarily interested in instrumental use (applying evidence directly to specific decisions about program operations) but remained alert to coding instances of conceptual use (adding evidence to the general stock of knowledge that helps make sense of programming) and even persuasive or symbolic use (using evidence to justify preexisting decisions), using the conventional types of use from the evaluation use literature (Leviton & Hughes, 1981).

Following open coding, the authors discussed the themes that emerged and developed an agreed-upon set of hierarchical codes that captured those themes (see Table 1 in the findings section below). This final set of codes was then used to code all 35 funding announcements to determine the reliability of the coding scheme. Each NOFA was coded independently by two authors; codes were applied identically in 147 (84%) of the 175 cells (when the youth development NOFA findings were organized as the social service NOFAs in Table A3).

Stage 2 Methods: Quantification Based on Analysis of All FY 2019 Social Service NOFAs

Having established the reliability of the hierarchical coding scheme, this set of codes served as the conceptual framework for describing the promotion of evidence use in the population of FY 2019 social service NOFAs. This second set of NOFAs was identified following the same process as in the first stage, but with the goal of identifying every social service funding program that included nonprofit organizations among eligible applicants. Salamon's (1992) definition of social services guided the determination of which NOFAs were in-scope:

> *Forms of assistance, other than outright cash aid, that help individuals and families to function in the face of social, economic, or physical problems, or that provide assistance that families or neighbors once provided informally. Included is daycare services, adoption assistance, family counseling, residential care for individuals who cannot function on their own (e.g., the elderly or the physically mentally handicapped), vocational rehabilitation, disaster assistance, refugee assistance, emergency food assistance, substance abuse treatment, neighborhood improvement and more. (pp. 81–82)*

Funding programs primarily for medical care, classroom education, research, and professional development were excluded. 53 NOFAs administered by 13 federal agencies were identified as in-scope and included in the analysis (Table A2).

After reviewing the coding scheme, discussing examples, and practicing coding ten NOFAs together, each NOFA was coded independently by one author, but the authors discussed and reached consensus on coding decisions whenever less than completely certain. The lead author reviewed the coding of all 53 NOFAs and made minor changes after consultation with at least one co-author to ensure coding consistency. The authors also remained alert to the need to expand or amend the original coding scheme and had 'other' codes at the ready, but none of these were applied. The coding scheme developed in the first stage, then, does not appear to be overfitted to the youth development NOFAs, but suitable for describing evidence use in the primary field of interest, social services, as well.

Table 1. Descriptive Framework for Promotion of Evidence Use in Federal Funding Announcements

1. Types of evidence use promoted
1.1 Use of needs assessment to inform program design
1.2 Adopt one of a range of formal program design alternatives that have been deemed evidence-based
1.3 Incorporate evidence about general strategies in the proposed program design
1.4 Use implementation data for ongoing program improvement
1.5 Generate evidence to contribute to the larger body of knowledge to inform future programming
2. Extent to which use is required
2.1 Required as a condition of funding
2.2 Preferred
2.3 Recommended
3. Arbiter of evidence—who decides 'what counts' as evidence?
3.1 Funding agency
3.2 Applicant
3.3 Funding agency and applicant, jointly

Finally, the frequencies of the NOFAs' codes were calculated to further describe their promotion of evidence use and to explore the expectations of those holding the 'what if' concerns: funders requiring applicants to select from lists of pre-approved programs, solely acknowledging evidence from experimental research and evaluation, and excluding applicants from decisions about what evidence to use.

Findings

Stage 1 Findings: Dimensions of NOFAs' Promotion of Evidence Use

All of the first stage's open coding coalesced around three dimensions that served as the conceptual framework for describing the funding programs' evidence use provisions: (1) the intended uses of different types of evidence, (2) the degree to which use is required, and (3) who—funder or fundee—determines 'what counts' as evidence. These dimensions are summarized in Table 1.

Types of Intended Use

The types of intended evidence use map onto different decision points in the program planning process: (1) use of a needs assessment to inform program design, (2) adoption of one of a range of formal programs that have already been deemed evidence-based, (3) use of existing evidence about general strategies to inform a proposed program design, (4) generating evidence in the course of program implementation and using it for ongoing program improvement, and (5) generating evidence about program effectiveness to contribute to the larger body of knowledge in the program area for future use by other service providers. No NOFA language was coded as intentionally promoting conceptual, persuasive, or symbolic use.

The first three types of evidence use bring evidence to bear on decisions about the proposed program design. The first type of intended use is the use of a needs assessment to inform program design. Applicants are asked to demonstrate their commitment to understanding the needs of their intended program beneficiaries and to using data about their needs to inform program design and implementation decisions, such as where to locate program services or what types of services to provide. In some funding programs, this needs assessment is expected to have been conducted prior to applying for the funding; in other programs, applicants are asked to describe how they would conduct a needs assessment during an initial planning period of the grant. The second type of intended evidence use is the selection of a program design from a list of existing formal programs that have already been evaluated and found to be effective, such as those listed in an EBPR. ('Formal programs' are those that are named and manualized, such as Life On Point and LifeSkills.) The third type of evidence use is the application of existing published research about general strategies, such as mentoring or on-the-job training, to program design.

The fourth type of intended evidence use is the collection and analysis of program performance data and use of those findings to guide ongoing program improvement. Funding programs often ask applicants to describe their human resource and technical capacity for collecting and analyzing data. Some of the Administration for Children and Families NOFAs summarize this type of evidence use well: 'Program performance evaluation that will contribute to continuous quality improvement'...'explain how the inputs, processes, and outcomes will be measured, and how the resulting information will be used to inform improvement of funded activities.'

The final type of intended use of evidence enlists grant recipients in generating evidence to contribute to the larger body of knowledge about social service programming for others to use in future programming. The means of knowledge dissemination take on several forms. Knowledge is sometimes expected to be shared across funded sites through formal peer-to-peer technical assistance programs and presentations at grant recipient meetings. In other funding programs, applicants submit detailed plans for disseminating evaluation reports, including their goals and objectives for dissemination, identification of target audiences, strategies, allocation of staff time and budget, and plans for evaluating whether the target audiences received the information as intended. Seeking publication of program-based research in peer-reviewed journals is expected of some grant recipients as well.

Degree to Which Use is Required

The funding programs vary in the extent to which recipients are required to pursue these different types of evidence use from being strictly required for funding, to being expressly preferred, to being only recommended to applicants. The strictest language in the funding announcements uses the terms 'must,' 'shall,' 'required' 'a condition of acceptance', and 'We only consider applications that meet this priority' to describe the evidence use required of grant recipients as a condition of funding.

Other funding programs stop short of requiring evidence use but formally express a preference for some type of evidence use. In some announcements, such preferences are found in statements of funding priorities that apply generally across all of the funding agencies' grant programs, such as general priority given to funding evidence-based program designs. Similar language is also used to describe funding priorities specific to a particular funding program. Preferences for evidence use is most formalized in funding programs that award points for different types of evidence use when scoring proposals and include these details in proposal scoring guides published with the funding announcement.

Plans for evidence use can also be merely recommended in funding announcements, connoting a deliberately light-handed approach to promoting the use of evidence. Such minimally restrictive language found in the announcements includes: 'applicants are encouraged to,' 'have the option to propose,' 'may propose,' 'are not required to,' 'Examples of possible deliverables include...Implementation of evidence- and practice-based approaches,' and, in describing available resources for evidence-based program design, 'We encourage you to review these resources.'

Arbiters of Evidence

The funding announcements' evidence use provisions also vary in whether 'what counts' as evidence is determined solely by the federal funding agency, by the applicant, or by either. The funding agency serves as the arbiter of evidence by providing lists of formal program designs and more general program strategies they have already assigned evidence-based status, such as those included in EBPRs and, for example, the Department of Health and Human Service's list of 35 program models designated as evidence-based for reducing teen pregnancy rates, sexually transmitted infections, and sexual risk behaviors. Funding agencies may also specify what data funded programs should collect for needs analyses, for program monitoring and improvement, and for generating evidence to share with others. In some funding programs, grant recipients automatically become participants in larger, federally designed and conducted multisite studies.

Applicants, too, can act as arbiters of evidence. While funding agencies do eventually assess proposals' evidence and plans for evidence use, some NOFAs defer to applicants in deciding what evidence to use. Some funding programs invite applicants to propose evaluation and research questions they will pursue alongside service delivery. Applicants sometimes are asked to develop their own evidence base independently by locating peer-reviewed research and applying its findings to their program designs. Some applicants are expected to develop their own program monitoring tools and plans for using such evidence for ongoing program improvement. Applicants are also sometimes given latitude in designing local evaluations, choosing whether they will conduct descriptive, process-oriented evaluations or causal, outcomes-oriented evaluations and proposing their own evaluation methodologies.

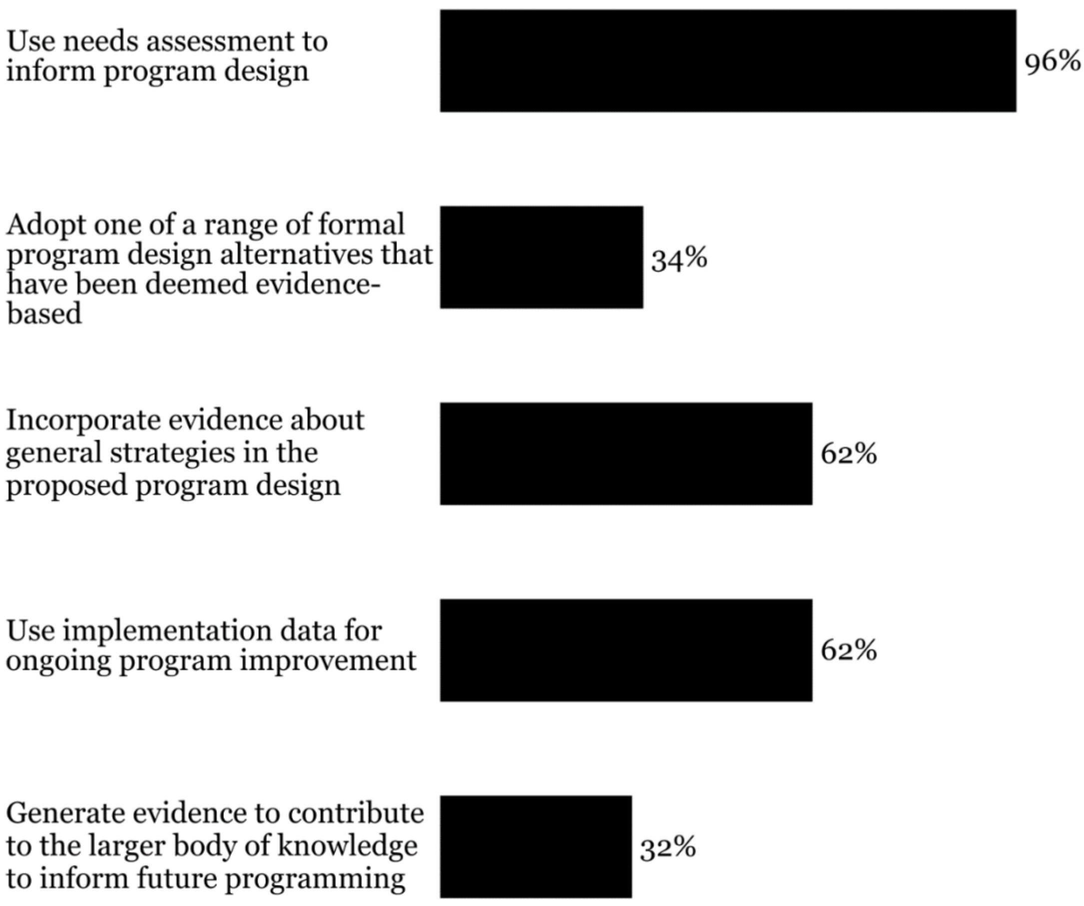
The determination of what counts as evidence may also be shared by the funding agency and grant recipient. Some funding programs identify goals for evaluation that apply across all funded program sites while also giving opportunities for individual program sites to develop their own evaluation goals and strategies. Likewise, some needs assessment data are prescribed while also expected to be supplemented by data identified by grant recipients. In designing programs, some funding announcements both offer resources for evidence-based program design and also invite applicants to identify and draw from resources they select themselves.

Stage 2 Findings: Quantifying the Promotion of Evidence Use in Social Service NOFAs

Promotion of evidence use is a very common feature of federal NOFAs that fund nonprofit social service delivery. All but one (98%) of the 53 NOFAs promote at least one type of evidence use, and 33 (62%) promote at least three of the five types of evidence use. (See Table A3 for case-level summaries of evidence use promotion.) The use of needs assessments is, by far, the most common type of evidence use promoted, with 96% of the NOFAs promoting the use of formal, data-based needs assessment to inform program design (Figure 1). A large majority—62%—promote incorporating evidence about general program strategies to inform program design and using performance monitoring data to inform ongoing program improvement. Fewer promote the use of evidence by having applicants select from existing formal evidence-based program designs (34%) or contribute to the larger body of knowledge about social service programming for future use by other service providers (32%).

The types of evidence use promoted in the funding announcements are best understood in light of the extent to which they are optional or required (Figure 2). The highest degree of coerciveness, requiring the applicant to use evidence as a condition of funding, is most consistently applied to the use of needs assessment (68% of all NOFAs) and program implementation monitoring data (47%). The funding programs are the least coercive in their promotion of evidence use by selecting an existing formal evidence-based program design (such as from an EBPR), which is only included as a recommendation in 2% of the NOFAs, as

Figure 1. Percentage of FY 2019 U.S. Federal Social Service NOFAs That Promote Different Types of Evidence Use by Nonprofit Applicants



Notes:
N = 53; 1 case is 1.9% of the population of NOFAs

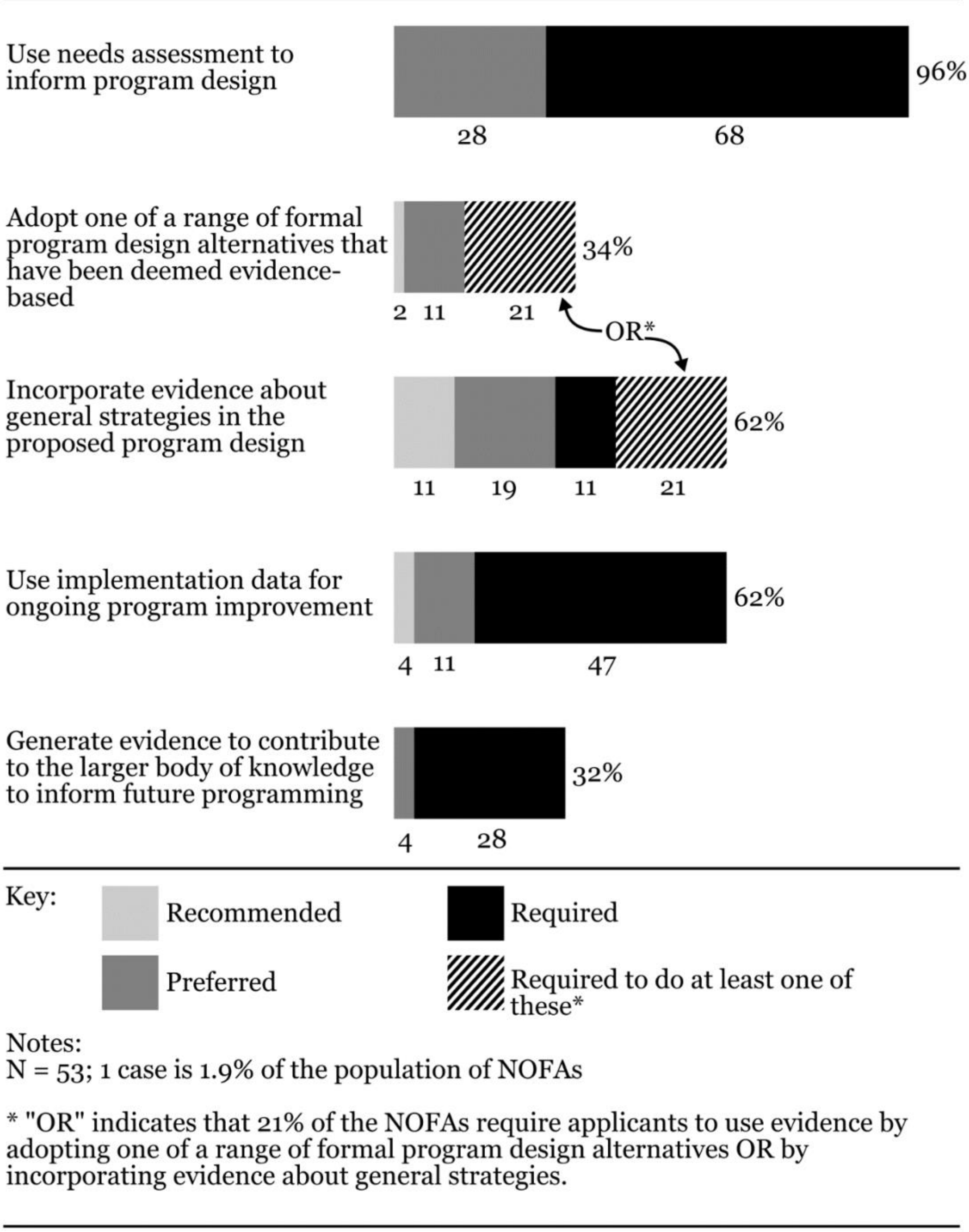
a preferred component of grant proposals for 11% of the funding programs, and only required by an additional 21% of NOFAs along with the option to use existing evidence to inform an original program design instead.

A large majority—89%—of the funding programs grant both the funding agency and the applicant some degree of authority to determine what counts as evidence. Across the different types of use, both the agency and the applicant most commonly have a role in identifying evidence, as opposed to that role being assigned to one or the other exclusively (Figure 3). Even when promoting the use of existing formal evidence-based programs, applicants are typically given the option to use a government-identified resource, such as an EBPR, or to locate evidence-based programs on their own. The only exception to this is in the promotion of evidence use by generating evidence to contribute to a larger body of knowledge; fundees are often required to participate in multisite evaluations planned by the funding agency.

Discussion

The conceptual framework that emerged from the NOFAs reflects the broad range of types of

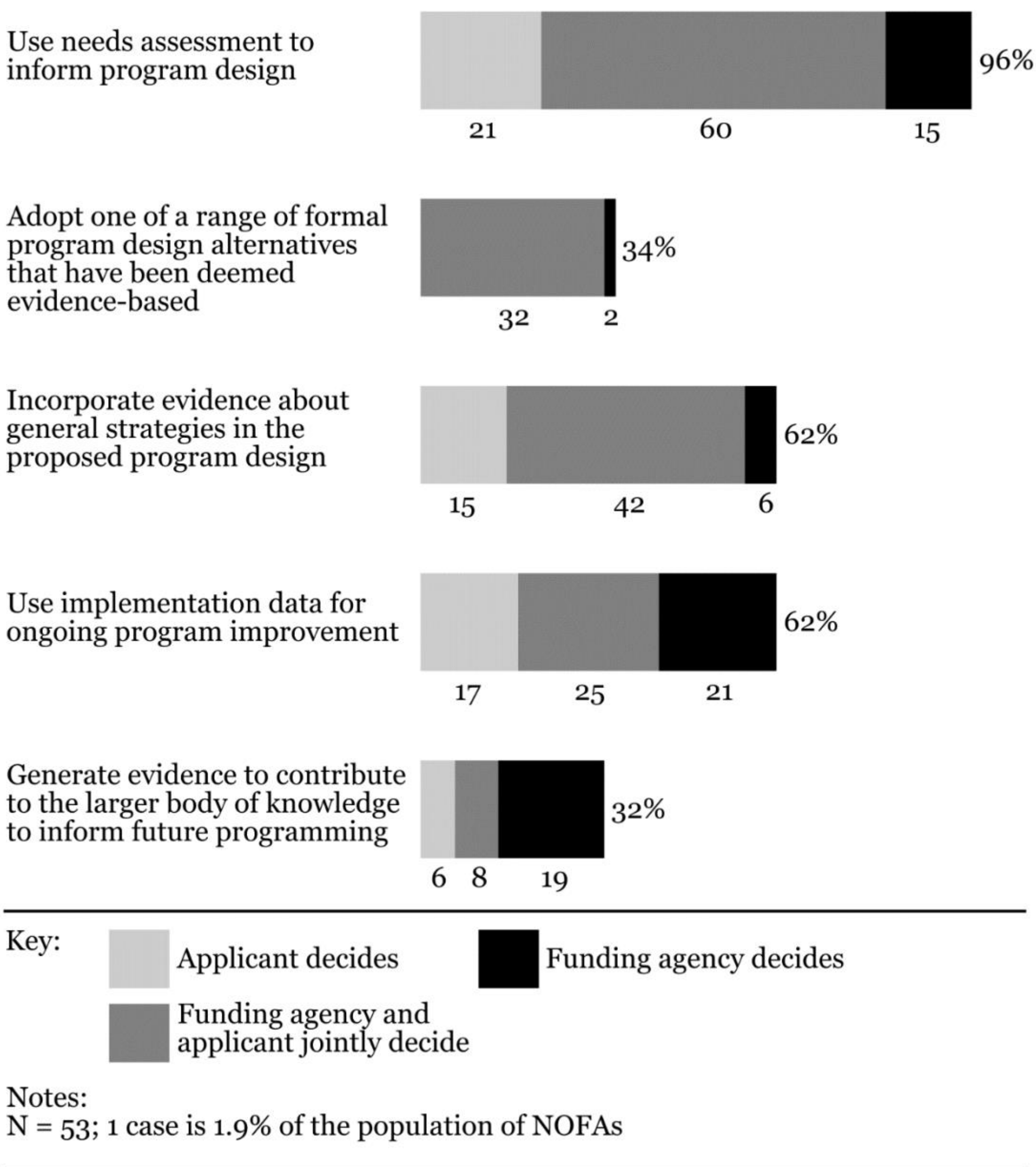
Figure 2. Frequency of Evidence Use Recommendations, Preferences, and Requirements in FY 2019 U.S. Federal Social Service Funding Programs That Include Nonprofits Among Eligible Applicants



evidence use they promote. Funding agencies promote evidence use to improve programming across the full range of the program life cycle, from needs assessment, to program design, to program implementation, to program evaluation and knowledge dissemination. This wide range of uses of evidence maps nicely onto advice given by proponents of evidence-based program planning (such as, Kettner et al., 2013; and, Sylvia & Sylvia, 2012) and suggests a maturation of the role of evidence in social service funding programs.

All of the 'what if' concerns deduced from previous research and commentary are allayed by the findings of this research: Fundees are never required to select from a list of pre-approved

Figure 3. 'Who Decides What Counts as Evidence?' by Type of Evidence Use Promoted in FY 2019 U.S. Federal Social Service Funding Programs That Include Nonprofits Among Eligible Applicants



programs, and they are usually involved in co-determining, with the funding agencies, what evidence to consider in the development of their programming, including evidence from non-experimental research. This is particularly surprising in light of the reservations many observers have about the evidence standards applied in the EBPRs. While these criticisms may be warranted—EBPRs do, indeed, rely nearly exclusively on evidence derived from experimental-design evaluations (Horne, 2017; Means et al., 2015); requirements to use EBPRs as the only route for nonprofits to receive federal social service funding do not exist.

Instead, applicants generally have the latitude to develop a portfolio of evidence generated by experimental methods, with their strength in establishing internal validity, as well as a complementary range of methods that better establish external validity as called for by methodologically pluralist EBPR critics (Horne, 2017; Sexton & Kelley, 2010; Urban et al., 2014; Weiss et al., 2008) and those who emphasize the importance of involving intended evidence users in identifying and generating evidence (Chelimsky, 2015; Greene, 2015; Johnson et al., 2009; Leviton & Hughes, 1981; Patton, 1997).

Given the ample opportunities for future public service professionals to be involved in identifying, generating, and using evidence, the conceptual framework may also be valuable to their educators as well. The types of use promoted by federal funding agencies could be used to deliberately design curriculum to prepare students to meet expectations for evidence-based practice. In this vein, EBPRs have already demonstrated value as a tool for teaching nonprofit management students to critically consume and apply evidence (Horne, 2020). More generally, students of public administration, nonprofit management, public policy, evaluation, and substantive service-oriented fields, such as social work, criminal justice, and workforce development, should be prepared to both generate and consume evidence that can inform each stage of a program's life cycle. Teaching these skills warrants educators' deliberate attention; previous research has well documented nonprofit managers' limited capacity for identifying and understanding evidence as a common obstacle to evidence use (Bach-Mortensen & Montgomery, 2018; Bryan et al., 2020; Carman & Fredericks, 2010; Carnochan et al., 2014; Despard, 2016).

The conceptual framework may also provide funding agencies a tool for being more deliberate in their choices about how to promote the use of evidence. Some agencies frequently use their own boilerplate language in their funding announcements. Examples of this are reflected in the similar patterns of codes assigned within the group of Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration funding programs and—with relative scarcity—within the group of Office on Violence Against Women programs (Table A3). At times, the boilerplate language does not connect to the funding program-specific language; agencies may have stated a priority for funding programs that are evidence-based in one way or another but not carry that priority through to the provisions of the specific funding opportunity. Funding agencies may also use the framework to consider whether they have missed opportunities to incorporate the use of evidence in programming. The framework reveals, for instance, that Department of Agriculture, Administration for Children and Families, Housing and Urban Development, Office on Violence Against Women, and Department of Labor funding programs typically do not use funding announcements to set expectations for applicants' use of program implementation monitoring data to guide ongoing program improvement.

Directions for Future Research

This study advances the discussion about federal funders' expectations for evidence use beyond speculation to describe what they actually ask for in NOFAs, but it is limited to social service NOFAs that include nonprofit organizations among eligible applicants. Additional research is needed to know whether these findings describe the promotion of evidence in other domains, such as health care, classroom education, and social services delivered solely by government entities.

Future research should also go beyond describing what federal funders actually ask for in NOFAs to describe what the funded nonprofit organizations actually *do* in response. Do the nonprofit organizations follow through on their proposed evidence use? Do they use what they learn from needs analyses, previous research and evaluations, and program monitoring to strengthen their social service programs? This is far from a foregone conclusion; nonprofits face numerous obstacles to generating and using evidence, including, mostly commonly, insufficient funding, time, technical expertise, and access to pertinent evidence (Bach-Mortensen & Montgomery, 2018; Carman & Fredericks, 2010; Despard, 2016; Mitchell & Berlan, 2016).

These obstacles may even be exacerbated in the context of government-funded services, raising additional questions for future research to explore. Funded nonprofits may scale their efforts to meet funders' bare minimum requirements (Bryan et al., 2020; Carman, 2011; Mitchell & Berlan, 2016; Thomson, 2010); do the funding programs promote evidence use of sufficient rigor or merely box-checking? Nonprofits do commonly engage in symbolic use of evaluation (Carman & Fredericks, 2008; Lee, 2020); to what extent do funding programs inadvertently promote symbolic use of the broader range of types of evidence, with nonprofits cherry-picking evidence to support their favored, predetermined program design choices? How do government funding expectations affect organizations' cultural dispositions toward learning, an essential prerequisite to evidence use (Bach-Mortensen & Montgomery, 2018; Bryan et al., 2020; Despard, 2016; Lee, 2020; Mitchell & Berlan, 2016, 2018)? Given the common problem of low levels of evaluation and performance measurement expertise in nonprofits, are applicants able to accurately budget for the evidence use requirements in their proposals, or do funded nonprofits incur cost overruns, and do evidence use expectations favor larger, more established, and more professionalized nonprofit organizations?

Finally, the funding programs' generally low levels of coerciveness, minimal prescriptiveness in how previous research may inform program design, and lack of requirements to adopt EBPR-approved programs would seem to leave room for nonprofits to exercise creativity. Future research should explore whether these evidence use provisions actually stimulate or inhibit program adaptation and innovation.

Conclusion

Federal funding agencies (as well as other funders) face competing goals. On the one hand, funders can play a positive role in promoting more and better use of evidence toward more effective and efficient programming. On the other hand, grantmaking is an opportunity to foster innovation and community-specific adaptation in the provision of services. Pursuing either goal exclusively could undermine the other. Program funding could be subject to tightly prescriptive requirements for evidence use, with programs converging on an ever-narrowing range of evidence-based designs (Urban et al., 2014). Or, funding programs could over-prioritize innovation in program design, leading to innovation for innovation's sake and the underutilization of what has been learned from experience. In its current form, federal funding of nonprofit-delivered social services, in general, appears to be on a path toward balancing these goals. The breadth of types of evidence use promoted, the generally low degree of coerciveness, and the common role of grant applicants as co-arbiters of evidence indicate—whether intentionally or not—a balance between evidence-driven prescriptiveness in program design and encouraging innovation. This balance is a worthwhile goal, as is further institutionalizing it through thoughtful, intentional design of evidence use provisions in funding programs and in commensurate training of government and nonprofit administrators.

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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Appendix

Table A1. FY 2016 and Unduplicated FY 2015 Youth Development Funding Programs

Department of Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education	
	Promoting Student Resilience
Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families	
	Affordable Care Act Tribal Personal Responsibility Education Program for Teen Pregnancy
	Basic Center Program
	Family Violence Prevention & Services
	Abstinence Education Grant Program
	Personal Responsibility Education Program Innovative Strategies
	Sexual Risk Avoidance Education Program
	State Personal Responsibility Education Program
	Street Outreach Program
	Transitional Living Program Special Population Demonstration Project
Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration	
	Cooperative Agreements for Tribal Behavioral Health
	Cooperative Agreements to Benefit Homeless Individuals
	Drug-Free Communities Support Program
	Drug-Free Communities Mentoring Program
	ReCAST Program
	Sober Truth on Preventing Underage Drinking Act
	Strategic Prevention Framework
	System of Care Expansion and Sustainability of Cooperative Agreements
	Cooperative Agreements for Adolescent and Transitional Aged Youth Treatment Implementation
Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance	
	Second Chance Act Technology-Based Career Training Program
Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention	
	Comprehensive Anti-gang Strategies and Programs
	Defending Childhood State Policy Initiative
	Reducing Reliance on Confinement and Improving Community-Based Responses for Girls At Risk of Entering the Juvenile Justice System
	Mentoring for Child Victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Domestic Sex Trafficking Initiative
	Mentoring Opportunities for Youth Initiative
	National Girls Initiative
	Reducing Out-of-Home Placement Program
	Safe & Thriving Communities
	Second Chance Act Smart on Juvenile Justice: Community Supervision Implementation
	Second Chance Act: Strengthening Relationships Between Young Fathers, Young Mothers, and their Children
	Second Chance Act: Implementing Statewide Plans To Improve Outcomes for Youth in the Juvenile Justice System
	Youth with Sexual Behavior Problems Program
Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration	
	Career Pathways for Youth
	Pathways to Justice Careers for Youth
	Youthbuild

Table A2. FY 2019 U.S. Federal Social Service Funding Programs That Include Nonprofits Among Eligible Applicants

NOFA by Funding Agency	Total Funding	Max. Number of Awards	Avg. Award Amount*
Department of Agriculture, National Institute of Food and Agriculture			
Community Food Projects	$4,800,000	33	$145,455
Enhancing Agricultural Opportunities for Military Veterans	$4,797,500	6	$799,583
Department of Agriculture, Office of Partnerships and Public Engagement			
Outreach for Socially Disadvantaged Farmers	$16,000,000	33	$484,848
Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families			
Basic Center Program	$16,242,724	89	$182,503
Community Economic Development Focus on Social Enterprises	$2,400,000	6	$400,000
Ethnic Community Self Help	$2,000,000	13	$153,846
Maternity Group Home Program	$4,500,000	18	$250,000
Refugee Agricultural Partnership	$1,500,000	15	$100,000
Sexual Risk Avoidance Education	$19,000,000	20	$950,000
Street Outreach	$7,736,225	52	$148,774
Title V Sexual Risk Avoidance Education	$10,000,000	30	$333,333
Transitional Living Program	$4,500,000	18	$250,000
Department of Health and Human Services, Health Resources and Services Administration			
Rural Communities Opioid Response	$75,000,000	75	$1,000,000
Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration			
Building Communities of Recovery	$521,000	3	$173,667
Crisis Center Follow-Up Expansion	$672,383	2	$336,192
Drug Free Communities	$18,750,000	150	$125,000
GLS State/Tribal Youth Suicide	$736,000	26	$28,308
Project LAUNCH	$12,347,121	15	$823,141
Strategic Prevention Framework - PFS	$38,000,000	127	$299,213
Supported Employment Program	$5,792,761	7	$827,537
Targeted Capacity Expansion	$8,300,000	22	$377,273
Department of Housing and Urban Development			
Comprehensive Housing Counseling	$5,000,000	4	$1,250,000
Resident Opportunity and Self-Sufficiency Program	$10,000,000	4	$2,500,000
Rural Capacity Building	$10,270,000	10	$1,027,000

Self-Help Homeownership Opportunity Program	$43,000,000	250	$172,000
Veterans Housing Rehabilitation and Modification	$35,000,000	120	$291,667
Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance			
Second Chance Act Adult Reentry	$11,500,000	14	$821,429
Department of Justice, Office for Victims of Crime			
Direct Services to Support Victims of Human Trafficking	$46,500,000	70	$664,286
Integrated Services for Minor Victims of Human Trafficking	$20,000,000	40	$500,000
Opioid Crisis Response Youngest Crime Victims	$9,000,000	12	$750,000
Transforming America's Response to Elder Abuse	$8,250,000	22	$375,000
Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention			
Mentoring Opportunities for Youth	$61,000,000	35	$1,742,857
Victims of Gang Violence	$1,800,800	4	$450,200
Specialized Mentoring for Youth	$3,200,000	10	$320,000
Youth Gang Suppression	$1,380,000	6	$230,000
Department of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women			
Campus Program	$20,000,000	50	$400,000
Children and Youth/Engage Men and Boys as Allies	$8,000,000	17	$470,588
Culturally Specific Services	$7,000,000	21	$333,333
Improving Criminal Justice Response	$30,000,000	45	$666,667
Justice for Families	$11,000,000	22	$500,000
Outreach to Underserved Populations	$4,400,000	10	$440,000
Rural Program	$35,000,000	50	$700,000
Sexual Assault Services - Culturally Specific	$3,500,000	12	$291,667
Transitional Housing Assistance	$35,000,000	70	$500,000
Tribal Sexual Assault Services	$3,000,000	10	$300,000
Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration			
Closing the Skills Gaps	$100,000,000	30	$3,333,333
Re-Employment Support and Training for the Opioid-Related Epidemic	$2,300,000	8	$287,500
Reentry Project	$82,500,000	41	$2,012,195
Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations	$1,500,000	6	$250,000

Workforce Opportunity for Rural Communities	$29,175,000	18	$1,620,833
YouthBuild	$85,000,000	70	$1,214,286
Department of Labor, Veterans' Employment and Training Service			
Homeless Veterans Reintegration	$13,500,000	30	$450,000
Small Business Administration			
Service-Disabled Veteran Entrepreneurship Training	$300,000	6	$50,000

Note: * The average award amounts are rough estimates as they are based on the maximum number of awards rather than the actual number of awards. Further, some funding programs have multiple funding tiers, with a small number of relatively large awards and a larger number of relatively small awards.

Table A3. Dimensions of Evidence Use Promoted in FY 2019 Social Service Funding Programs That Include Nonprofits Among Eligible Applicants

NOFA by Funding Agency	1.1 Use Needs Assessment to Inform Program Design	1.2 Adopt One of a Range of Formal Program Design Alternatives That Have Been Deemed Evidence-Based	1.3 Incorporate Evidence About General Strategies in the Proposed Program Design	1.4 Use Implementation Data for Ongoing Program Improvement	1.5 Generate Evidence to Contribute to the Larger Body of Knowledge to Inform Future Programming
Department of Agriculture, National Institute of Food and Agriculture					
Community Food Projects	G/A				G/A
Enhancing Agricultural Opportunities for Military Veterans	G/A		A	G	
Department of Agriculture, Office of Partnerships and Public Engagement					
Outreach for Socially Disadvantaged Farmers	A			A	
Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families					
Basic Center Program	G/A		A	A	
Community Economic Development Focus on Social Enterprises	G/A		G/A	G/A	
Ethnic Community Self Help	G/A			G/A	
Maternity Group Home Program	G/A		A	G/A	
Refugee Agricultural Partnership	G/A		A	G/A	A
Sexual Risk Avoidance Education	G/A	G/A	G/A	G/A	

Street Outreach	G/A		A	A	
Title V Sexual Risk Avoidance Education	G/A	G/A	G/A	G/A	G/A
Transitional Living Program	G/A		A	A	
Department of Health and Human Services, Health Resources and Services Administration					
Rural Communities Opioid Response	G	G	G	G	A
Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration					
Building Communities of Recovery	A			G	
Crisis Center Follow-Up Expansion	A			G	
Drug Free Communities	G/A			G/A	G/A
GLS State/Tribal Youth Suicide	G/A	G/A	G/A	G	
Project LAUNCH	G/A	G/A	G/A	G	
Strategic Prevention Framework - PFS	G/A	G/A	G/A	G	G
Supported Employment Program	A	G/A	G/A	G	
Targeted Capacity Expansion	A	G/A	G/A	G	
Department of Housing and Urban Development					
Comprehensive Housing Counseling	G/A				
Resident Opportunity and Self-Sufficiency Program	G/A			G/A	
Rural Capacity Building	G/A		A	A	

Self-Help Homeownership Opportunity Program	G/A			A	
Veterans Housing Rehabilitation and Modification	A			G/A	
Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance					
Second Chance Act Adult Reentry	A	G/A	G/A	G/A	G
Department of Justice, Office for Victims of Crime					
Direct Services to Support Victims of Human Trafficking	G/A	G/A	G/A	G/A	G
Integrated Services for Minor Victims of Human Trafficking	G/A	G/A	G/A		
Opioid Crisis Response Youngest Crime Victims	G/A	G/A	G/A		
Transforming America's Response to Elder Abuse	A	G/A	G/A		A
Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention					
Mentoring Opportunities for Youth	A	G/A	G/A		G
Victims of Gang Violence	G/A	G/A	G/A	G/A	
Specialized Mentoring for Youth	A	G/A	G/A		
Youth Gang Suppression	A	G/A	G/A		
Department of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women					
Campus Program	G				
Children and Youth/Engage Men and Boys as Allies	G				
Culturally Specific Services	G				

Improving Criminal Justice Response	G/A				
Justice for Families	G		A		
Outreach to Underserved Populations	G				
Rural Program	G				
Sexual Assault Services - Culturally Specific	G/A				
Transitional Housing Assistance	G				
Tribal Sexual Assault Services	G/A				
Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration					
Closing the Skills Gaps	G/A		G	A	G
Re-Employment Support and Training for the Opioid-Related Epidemic	G/A		G/A	A	G/A
Reentry Project		G/A	G/A	G	G
Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations	G/A		G/A	A	G
Workforce Opportunity for Rural Communities	G/A		G	G/A	G
YouthBuild	G/A		G/A	G	G
Department of Labor, Veterans' Employment and Training Service					
Homeless Veterans Reintegration	G/A		G/A		G
Small Business Administration					
Service-Disabled Veteran Entrepreneurship Training					

Key:

	2.1.a Required	G	3.1 Government determines what counts as evidence
	2.1.b Required to do at least one of these	A	3.2 Applicant determines what counts as evidence
	2.2 Preferred	G/A	3.3 Government and applicant determine what counts as evidence
	2.3 Recommended		

Research Article

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Does Gender Congruence Make a Difference in Female Members' Volunteering Behaviors?

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This article examines the association between gender congruence—the extent to which members and senior managers or leaders are of the same gender—and volunteering behaviors of members in membership associations. Recognizing several limitations, we find that greater gender congruence has a positive effect on the breadth of volunteering (number of activities) as well as the level of satisfaction associated with these activities among female members. However, gender congruence is neither significantly related to the likelihood of volunteering nor to the depth of volunteering. In other words, having female figures in leadership positions do not necessarily mean that female members will be more likely to volunteer or assume more intense volunteer responsibilities.

Keywords: Volunteering, Membership Associations, Gender Congruence

Introduction

Membership associations play a significant role in the United States and represent a large percentage of the nonprofit sector globally (Tschirhart & Gazley, 2014). Associations serve their members, promote a field or a profession, and provide public benefits (Tschirhart, 2006). Some associations also enforce rules and standards, control aspects of professional services, or serve as catalysts of knowledge diffusion and professional practices (Hager, 2014).

Existing research on membership associations focuses on member recruitment, retention, and motivations to join, give, and volunteer (Gazley & Dignam, 2008; Hager, 2014; Rich & Hines, 2006; Wang & Ashcraft, 2014). Research indicates that members' involvement in membership associations matters both for the organization and for society at large. Such involvement can increase the efficacy of the membership organization and motivate members to actively support the organization's mission and programs (Gazley, 2013; Tschirhart, 2006). Results of this engagement, research suggests, are improvements in organizational accountability, legitimacy, and effectiveness (Simmons & Birchall, 2005; Smith, 2010), and also members' civic and political engagement in the larger community (Quintelier, 2013; Schachter, 2011).

The impact of diversity in associations' governance structure on engagement and its subsequent outcomes have been less studied. In this article, we ask: How is gender congruence between female leaders and members associated with volunteering behaviors in membership associations? By gender congruence, we mean the extent to which members and senior

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managers or leaders are of the same gender. We examine that association based on social role theory and theory on gender and leadership.

This research is important and timely. Women remain underrepresented in leadership roles and overrepresented in various other (lower level) roles (Pynes, 2000). 73% of nonprofit sector employees are women (Brew, 2017), while 42% of board chairs and 48% of board members are women (McCambridge & Suarez, 2017). While 75% of all CEOs are women (McCambridge & Suarez, 2017), substantial inequities still exist; female executive directors make 23% less than their male counterparts in a large percentage of nonprofits (Brew, 2017).

McCambridge and Suarez (2017) observe the relatively low priority nonprofit boards assign to diversity in their governance structures. On one hand, a diversity gap challenges organizational legitimacy and ability to fulfill the mission (Moore, 2000). On the other hand, scholars (Abzug & Galaskiewicz, 2001; Bradshaw & Fredette, 2013; Fredette et al., 2016) have argued that diversity can have positive implications on organizational and board performance, especially when it comes to fiduciary responsibility, organizational responsiveness, and stakeholder engagement, particularly those who are not typically engaged (Brown, 2005; Fredette & Sessler Bernstein, 2019; Jaskyte, 2012). We turn our attention to engagement.

Understanding Engagement

Various reasons drive members' engagement in and with professional associations. Hager (2014) and Ki and Wang (2016) highlight private or personal incentives or benefits members directly receive through their membership in these associations such as job searches, professional networking, or information sharing. These incentives have positive relationships with members' satisfaction and involvement in these organizations and consequently will positively implicate further and future engagements. In addition, public or professional benefits, such as greater appreciation of the profession or visibility of their employers, could also be positively related to members' engagement in or with their associations (Hager, 2014). And finally, Markova et al. (2013) refer to symbolic motivations. Membership associations allow members to define their professional identity; membership becomes "a sense of belongingness… along with feelings of personal connectedness" (Ki & Wang, 2016, p. 199). Such a connectedness can then drive voluntary financial contributions to membership associations (Wang & Ashcraft, 2014).

While members join associations with expectations of a range of benefits, the way they value these benefits might differ. This would then be reflected in their commitment to these associations; here, we can talk about passive and active engagement. Passive engagement occurs when members pay membership dues only (Holmes & Slater, 2012). Active engagement occurs when members also take part in at least one or more key organizational activities such as donating and raising money, organizing meetings, testifying before legislators, recruiting and mentoring members, drafting standards and benchmarks, or serving on boards or governing committee (Gazley, 2013). Active engagement is a coproduction of organizational outcomes that Gazley (2013) defines as volunteerism.

While voluntary acts may be similar, individuals are motivated to volunteer for a number of different reasons (Clary et al., 1998). For example, volunteering maybe be driven by an individual's value system—constructed, developed, and nourished at home and by society—or by their need to make a difference or serve others (Christensen & Wright, 2011; Houston, 2005). In addition, individuals with certain characteristics or greater personal resources—including individual capacities, skillsets, and experiences—tend to volunteer and direct some of that 'wealth' towards the benefit of an organization (Wilson, 2000).

Two other reasons why individuals tend to volunteer are particularly important in the case of membership associations. First, exchange and expectancy theories indicate that individuals will contribute goods and services to others in exchange for a certain benefit or in expectation of an outcome they value. In some cases, individuals volunteer due to expected or actual personal benefit that comes along with volunteering (Chen & Bozeman, 2013; Son & Wilson, 2012; Wilson, 2012); signaling on a resumé can be an example here. Second, volunteerism is a way through which people can build their social capital. Volunteerism provides the opportunity to establish connections with others (Townsend et al., 2012), creates opportunities for relationships (Gee & Payne-Sturges, 2004), and helps to create healthy lifestyles (Son & Wilson, 2012). It seems possible, then, that the benefits of volunteerism may extend beyond the private sphere to having positive effects in the public sphere.

Yet, not everyone volunteers and some people volunteer more than others. As such, the focus can shift from individual to the organizational characteristics that might encourage people to volunteer. Organizational size is one of the organizational characteristics. Due to their size, smaller nonprofits often suffer from a lack of human and financial capital and thus tend to rely more on volunteers (Hager & Brudney, 2011; Handy et al., 2008). In addition, organizations with small budgets might allow more volunteering opportunities, although managerial discretion may limit such opportunities (Verschuere & De Corte, 2014). These types of organizations might encourage passive involvement through soliciting monetary contributions and donations. While organizations with larger budgets tend to operate more programs which, in turn, potentially provide more space for volunteers, these organizations can instead afford to hire professional staff to carry out the work. We should also not ignore the potential impact of revenue volatility on the performance of nonprofits and, consequently, their need and ability to attract volunteers (Wicker et al., 2015). Focusing on membership associations in particular, Hager (2014) argues there are field differences that shape engagement motivations. Engineering associations, in their nature, are more bureaucratic than healthcare associations, which reflects on how members value the benefits they receive and, consequently, how they engage in these organizations.

In this article, we tie the individual and organizational characteristics to study volunteering behaviors. On one hand, we focus on the gender of members in membership associations as an individual characteristic; and, on the other hand, we treat leadership of these organizations as an organizational determinant. We specifically ask how is gender congruence between female leaders and members associated with volunteering behaviors?

Volunteering and Gender

Women are slightly more likely than men to volunteer, regardless of the status of employment (part-time or full-time, employed or unemployed) (Freeman, 1997; Taniguchi, 2006); in addition, women tend to volunteer more hours (Mesch et al., 2006). Relatedly, according to the social role theory, women and men are predictably different and similar due to the way they sort into various social roles in society (Eagly & Wood, 2016). For example, women are more likely to donate more money than men, being more empathic and enjoying higher prosocial values (Leslie et al., 2013; Mesch et al., 2011). As such, women may be more likely to volunteer because gendered stereotypes render them prosocial and sacrificing; we hypothesize that:

H1: Female members are more likely to volunteer compared to male members.

Gender Congruence

Scholars (Bradshaw & Fredette, 2013; LeRoux, 2009a, 2009c) illustrate the importance of nonprofit leadership diversity and inclusive governance. Lee (2019) and Prouteau and

Tabariés (2010) find that nonprofits tend to hire female CEOs or senior managers when women lead the organizations or make up a 'substantial minority' of the board. In the Brazilian context, the percentage of elected officials that are women is associated with greater numbers of female bureaucrats in local government (Meier & Funk, 2017).

Scholars (AbouAssi et al., 2019; Foster & Meinhard, 2002; Gazley, 2010) associate between the gender of leadership and the likelihood of engaging organizational stakeholders. Across different contexts, organizations led by women are more likely to collaborate in comparison to those run by men. Within organizations, LeRoux (2009b) uncovers that female executive directors are more likely to allow agency clientele to engage in agency workshops, which may signal volunteering behaviors to members of their own organizations. AbouAssi and An (2017) find that Lebanese associations led by women are more likely to allow greater participation by members in decision-making.

One plausible explanation is the leadership or management style. Women tend to lead more democratically and less authoritatively than men (Eagly & Johnson, 1990); women are more likely to be communal and consensus-building, and to use collective and participatory approaches for problem solving (Eagly, 2007; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). Female leaders empathize, have greater public spirit, and are less selfish (Themudo, 2009). Bradshaw and coauthors (1996) and Nielsen and Huse (2010) associate a higher percentage of women on boards with more power-sharing and ethical and social-responsibility practices. As a result, different leadership styles may have varying effects on prosocial behaviors beyond monetary contributions (paying dues) among members of membership organizations.

In this research, we hone in on the association between gender congruence and female members with volunteering behaviors. Gender congruence reinforces shared values between members and management and have positive implications on employees' performance, commitment, and perceptions of leaders and their effectiveness (Grissom et al., 2012; Zhang, 2019). Marvel (2015) reaches similar but particular conclusions, studying teachers' work efforts; gender congruence only matters among female teachers. In this research, we also only focus on female members.

In application, if there are more females in leadership positions (board or executive director), female members may be able empathize with organizational issues or goals and develop better connections. We expect this to impact their willingness to engage in volunteering. Thus, we hypothesize that,

> *H2: An increase in female members' volunteering behaviors is associated with greater gender congruence between leadership and membership.*

In this article, we go beyond looking at the likelihood to volunteer. In addition to engagement with volunteering, we look at the breadth and depth of volunteering behaviors, as well as volunteers' satisfaction with their experience. We want to examine female members of associations' tendency to volunteer in more activities (breadth) or in activities that are more intense and demanding (depth) and to be satisfied with their volunteering experience when the executive director of the organization is female, or if there is more female representation on the board of directors. Van Vianen et al. (2008) provide evidence that a fit between a person and an organization predicts satisfaction. We already know that individuals may volunteer in order to meet certain psychological and social needs, including values, belonging, and happiness (Gazley, 2013). Increasing the level of satisfaction with volunteering may also lead to greater lengths of service (Omoto & Snyder, 1995), which may help retain and recruit new members and volunteers. As members develop internal psychological feelings towards an association, they become more committed to that organization (Wang & Ashcraft, 2014). That commitment manifests itself in more engagement. As such, hypothesis 2 can be translated into the follow sub-hypotheses:

H2a: The tendency of female members volunteering in more activities (breadth) is associated with greater gender congruence between leadership and membership.

H2b: The tendency of female members volunteering in more intense and demanding activities (depth) is associated with greater gender congruence between leadership and membership.

H2c: Satisfaction of female members in volunteering experience is associated with greater gender congruence between leadership and membership.

Data and Method

We utilize survey data from the American Society of Association Executives (ASAE) Foundation, supplemented by archival data from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Form 990. ASAE Foundation administered the *Decision to Volunteer* survey in 2007 in order to gauge members' behaviors in membership associations. Respondents were active members randomly selected from 23 organizations, including American Association of Orthodontists, National Association of Secondary School Principals, and American Society of Mechanical Engineers. A total of 26,305 members responded to the survey, yielding an overall response rate of 14%. From the IRS Form 990, we gathered various organizational characteristics, mainly the budget, size, and year of establishment of the organization. We also complied the names of senior management including executive directors and governing board members.

We employ linear regression models to analyze the data. Since the data include both individual and organizational level information, ignoring the multilevel structure could bias the standard errors downward (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2012). We therefore used cluster-robust standard errors by membership associations. To overcome the issue of oversampling known volunteers in the survey, we used ASAE-provided survey weights that weighted responses for each organization participating in the survey based on the ratio of known volunteers to all members. The sample weights placed greater emphasis on organizations with lower levels of volunteering behavior.

To test our hypotheses, we employed Linear Probability models (LPM) (Aldrich et al., 1984). LPM may be inefficient, producing nonsensical values when using a categorical variable as a dependent variable. However, since our observations are not infinite, the maximum likelihood approach can also be inefficient and the estimates can potentially be inconsistent. Acknowledging these limitations, we first estimated our models with LPMs and standardize the coefficients with standardized beta coefficients since we use survey data.

Variables

Dependent Variables

We used a battery of survey questions from ASAE's 2007 Decision to Volunteer survey. From the survey questions, we extrapolated volunteering likelihood, breadth (diversity of volunteering activities), depth (level of intensity of volunteering), and satisfaction. To measure whether or not members volunteered in their membership association, respondents were asked, "Have you ever volunteered for [their membership association] the past?" (yes=1; no=0).

For breadth of volunteering, we used a survey question that asked respondents: "In the past 12 months, have you done any of the following as a volunteer (in person, online or in any other way) on behalf of [their membership association]?" Respondents could check all that applied among twenty volunteering activities (see Appendix A1). We coded breadth of volunteering as the sum of all types of volunteering activities in which a respondent participated in their membership association for the last year.

To measure depth of volunteering, we created a dummy variable indicating whether or not an individual's volunteering activity (or activities) required more efforts or time compared to other types of volunteering activities.[1] As a measure of overall volunteering satisfaction, the survey provided 13 examples for guidance, such as receiving feedback or incentives, learning new skills, feeling respected, and working towards a common goal. In order to create a satisfaction measure, we ran an explanatory factor analysis. All thirteen satisfaction questions loaded onto one factor with Cronbach alpha and factor loadings.[2]

Key Independent Variables

The key independent variables are the gender of a member, female gender congruence between an executive director and a member, and female gender congruence between governing board members and a member. We obtained the gender of each member from the 2007 Decision to Volunteer survey (female=1; otherwise=0). The results herein pertain to female respondents.

The gender congruence measure is an interaction term for each combination. For the gender of governing board members and executive directors, we first obtained names of all key employees and governing board members from IRS 990 forms for the years 2005–2007 using the National Center for Charitable Statistics database. To verify the information, we referred to organizational websites and annual reports. We should acknowledge here that the terms of executive directors and boards could extend over multiple years and vary across organizations.

Next, we identified the executive directors and governing board members in our sample. We coded gender based on the names of these individuals.[3] To increase inter-reliability, three coders worked separately and then compared their coding. We also utilized LinkedIn and Google Images and organizational websites for further verification.

Controls

A set of personal and organizational characteristics that are commonly used in existing studies were included in the analysis as control variables. At the individual level, we accounted for the number of children, household income, marital status, age, education level, and religious activities. At the organizational level, we controlled for organizational budget, age, and fundraising expenditures—using data from IRS 990 forms. Summary statistics are provided in Table 1.

We acquiescently accept several limitations here; these limitations were also encountered by Hager (2014) and Wang and Ashcraft (2014) using a similar but smaller dataset. The first limitation concerns the representativeness of the 23 organizations whose members responded to the survey. These organizations do not represent the 92,331 membership associations in the United states (in 2010) (Wang & Ashcraft, 2014). Two related issues are the low response rate of 14% and the nonresponse bias, which limits an accurate population estimate, despite applying a weight to balance the influence between cases. In the absence of an adequately representative sample that allows us to examine gender congruence, the results we report below should then be interpreted as suggestive and not conclusive or necessarily generalizable. The cross-sectional data are another limitation. Ideally, longitudinal data would be conducive to more causal analysis. We therefore do not claim any causality but hope this research sets the stage for future work that could address some of these limitations.

Table 1. Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent Variables					
Volunteer in general	12,547	0.854	0.354	0	1
Depth of volunteering	12,134	0.750	0.433	0	1
Breadth of volunteering	12,134	4.342	3.414	1	20
Satisfaction with volunteering	11,120	0.008	0.997	-3.638	1.801
Independent Variables					
Gender of members	24,681	0.424	0.494	0	1
Gender of executive director	24,681	0.299	0.458	0	1
% female board members	24,681	37.794	31.030	0	91.667
Controls					
Members' education		2.484	0.846	1	4
Parental status	24,681	0.421	0.494	0	1
Marital status	24,681	0.843	0.363	0	1
Employment	24,681	0.953	0.211	0	1
Age of respondent	24,681	48.455	10.698	19	100
Organizational size	24,681	17.514	1.112	16.001	20.915
Age of organization	24,681	40.920	17.348	6	72

Results

Table 2 shows the effects of percentage female board members and female executive director on engagement with volunteering for women. The main and interaction effects reveal no statistical associations between gender of members and volunteering. The presence of female board members or gender of the executive director does not appear to encourage members' volunteering behaviors or to have a moderating effect on the relationship between gender of members and volunteering. As such, H1 is not supported.

In Table 3, we look at the breadth of volunteering or the diverse activities members are involved in. We find that female members are 27 percentage points less likely to be engaged in more or diverse volunteering activities. This result is significant at the $p<0.01$ level. This negative relationship, however, is moderated when the percent of female board members increases.[4] Female respondents are one percentage point more likely to engage in more or diverse volunteering activities when there is a one-unit increase in the percentage of female board members. This result is significant at the $p<0.10$ level. The moderating effect of the executive director's gender is positive and much larger. Female respondents are 43 percentage points more likely to diversify their volunteering activities when there is a female executive director. This result is also statistically significant at the $p<0.10$ level.

Table 4 shows the main and interaction effects for the depth of volunteering. Members' gender as well as percent of female board members do not have an impact when it comes to the level of intensity of volunteering; the interaction term is not statistically significant either. When we interact the executive director's gender instead of percent of female board members, the results show that female respondents tend to volunteer in less intense activities, though, this result is not statistically significant. Gender congruence between members and the executive director does not have an impact on the depth of volunteering (level of intensity of behaviors/activities).[5] As such, H2b is not supported.

Table 2. Engagement in Volunteering

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender of respondents (female=1)	0.019	0.018	0.020
	(0.017)	(0.026)	(0.013)
% Female board members	0.001	0.000	
	(0.000)	(0.001)	
Gender of executive director (female=1)	−0.030		−0.030
	(0.032)		(0.033)
Gender of respondents X % Female board members		−0.000	
		(0.001)	
Gender of respondents X Gender of executive director			0.037
			(0.030)
Education (Some college or less=1; MD/PhD=4)	−0.043***	−0.041***	−0.043***
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Parental status (having at least one kid=1)	0.021**	0.022**	0.022**
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Marital status (married=1)	−0.005	−0.005	−0.005
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Employment status (employed=1)	0.070***	0.072***	0.072***
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Age	−0.005***	−0.005***	−0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Size of organization, logged	0.003	0.005	0.003
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Age of organization	0.002**	0.002*	0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.987***	0.961***	1.009***
	(0.314)	(0.313)	(0.312)
R-Squared overall	0.057	0.057	0.057
N	12,547	12,547	12,547

Note: *p < 0.10; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0. 01; two-tailed test; standard errors are clustered by organizations

We look at the effect of gender on satisfaction in Table 5. After volunteering, female members were 20 percentage points (p<0.01) more satisfied from their experience. Gender congruence between members and the executive director has a positive moderating effect. Female members were 28 percentage points more likely to be satisfied when the executive director was female. This result is significant at the p<0.01 level. When we control for percent of female board members instead of gender of the executive director, female members were still nearly 12 percentage points (p<0.10) more likely to be satisfied. Percentage of female board members does not moderate the relationship between gender of respondents and satisfaction.

Gender Congruence and Volunteering Behaviors

This article examines the association between gender congruence and volunteering behaviors with a focus on membership associations. The results partially support the proposition that greater gender congruence leads to greater volunteering behaviors among female members. The presence of a female executive director and greater numbers of women on boards lead to greater breadth of volunteering (e.g., diversity of volunteering activities) for women (H2a). We also notice a positive moderating effect of a female executive director on satisfaction with volunteering for female members (H2c).

Table 3. Breadth of Volunteering

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender of respondents (female=1)	−0.273***	−0.641	−0.376***
	(0.082)	(0.200)	(0.104)
% Female board members	0.000	−0.006	
	(0.007)	(0.005)	
Gender of executive director (female=1)	0.116		−0.169
	(0.489)		(0.229)
Gender of respondents X Female board members		0.011*	
		(0.006)	
Gender of respondents X Gender of executive director			0.430*
			(0.215)
Education (Some college or less=1; MD/PhD=4)	0.159	0.177*	0.158
	(0.112)	(0.100)	(0.105)
Parental status (having at least one kid=1)	−0.015	−0.021	−0.020
	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.062)
Marital status (married=1)	0.145	0.138	0.140
	(0.085)	(0.083)	(0.085)
Employment status (employed=1)	0.639**	0.637**	0.640**
	(0.244)	(0.249)	(0.248)
Age	0.029***	0.029***	0.029***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Size of organization, logged	0.143	0.160	0.147
	(0.128)	(0.125))	(0.128)
Age of organization	0.005	0.004	0.005
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Constant	−1.709	−1.834	−1.727
	(2.512)	(2.443)	(2.510)
R-Squared overall	0.024	0.025	0.024
N	12,134	12,134	12,134

Note: *$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$; two-tailed test; standard errors are clustered by organizations

The lack of a significant association between leadership's gender and gender congruence on one side and likelihood of volunteering on the other side is not surprising. Einolf (2011) already notes that although women may express greater intentions to volunteer, this oftentimes translates only into a slight difference in volunteering between women and men. Furthermore, Cable and Judge (1996) argue that a person's demographic similarity with organizational representatives is not always a good predictor of behavior; the focus should be on the congruence between one's own values and her perception of the organization's values, as Wright and Pandey (2008) also highlight. Furthermore, volunteering remains a personal action or choice motivated by a wide variety of reasons and contingent on individual capacity and resources (Gee & Payne-Sturges, 2004; Houston, 2005; Son & Wilson, 2012; Townsend et al., 2012).

The relationship between giving and volunteering might need to be considered here, especially in the case of memberships associations. While Gazley and Dignam (2010) consider the two as "complementary ways in which members express support for their associations" (p. 5),

Table 4. Depth of Volunteering

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender of respondents (female=1)	0.020	-0.008	0.013
	(0.016)	(0.038)	(0.022)
% Female board members	-0.001	-0.002	
	(0.001)	(0.001)	
Gender of executive director (female=1)	-0.018		-0.042
	(0.090)		(0.065)
Gender of respondents X % Female board members		0.001	
		(0.001)	
Gender of respondents X Gender of executive director			-0.024
			(0.047)
Education (Some college or less=1; MD/PhD=4)	-0.006	-0.003	-0.007
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.019)
Parental status (having at least one kid=1)	-0.006	-0.006	-0.006
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Marital status (married=1)	-0.009	-0.010	-0.008
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Employment status (employed=1)	0.041	0.041	0.039
	(0.040)	(0.041)	(0.040)
Age	0.002**	0.002*	0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Size of organization, logged	-0.016	-0.014	-0.015
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Age of organization	0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.812	0.799	0.778
	(0.404)	(0.406)	(0.393)
R-Squared overall	0.004	0.004	0.004
N	12,134	12,134	12,134

Note: *$p < 0.10$; **$p < 0.05$; ***$p < 0.01$; two-tailed test; standard errors are clustered by organizations

Blake (1992) and Omoto and Snyder (1993) suggest a substitutive effect in that individuals volunteer less time when they make greater monetary donations. AbouAssi and coauthors (2017) reveal a positive correlation between paying a membership fee and a lack of volunteering among members of an organization. Paying that fee is perceived as a sufficient commitment; members feel as if they have fulfilled their obligation to reap the benefits from organizational affiliation. Our analysis does not account for potential substitution; it may be the case that gender congruence is associated with an increase in monetary donations by female members—beyond the required membership fee—instead of volunteering their time to the association.

It appears that greater gender congruence is associated with greater volunteering behaviors among women, especially when it comes to the breadth of and satisfaction with volunteering. In general, women tend to volunteer in fewer activities than men; however, gender congruence appears to reverse the situation. Female members tend to volunteer in more activities when women are in leadership positions such as board members or executive director. Regardless,

Table 5. Volunteering Experience–Satisfaction (Factor Variable)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender of respondents (female=1)	0.201***	0.116*	0.159***
	(0.040)	(0.060)	(0.044)
% Female board members	0.002	0.001	
	(0.001)	(0.001)	
Gender of executive director (female=1)	0.047		−0.077
	(0.127)		(0.055)
Gender of respondents X % Female board members		0.002	
		(0.002)	
Gender of respondents X Gender of executive director			0.284***
			(0.097)
Education (Some college or less=1; MD/PhD=4)	−0.015	−0.019	−0.021
	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.036)
Parental status (having at least one kid=1)	−0.027	−0.026	− 0.026
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Marital status (married=1)	0.032	0.027	0.025
	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Employment status (employed=1)	−0.045	−0.048	−0.045
	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.059)
Age	−0.004***	−0.005***	−0.005**
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Size of organization, logged	− 0.030	− 0.013	− 0.025
	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.026)
Age of organization	0.001	− 0.000	−0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.587	0.460	0.540
	(0.438)	(0.384)	(0.418)
R-Squared overall	0.033	0.029	0.030
N	11,120	11,120	11,120

Note: **p* < 0.10; ***p* < 0.05; ****p* < 0.01; two-tailed test; standard errors are clustered by organizations

women are in leadership positions such as board members or executive director. Regardless, female members appear to be satisfied with the volunteering experience, and that is especially the case when they see an executive director of the same gender.

Borrowing from the field of public relations, relationship management theory indicates that organizations can foster loyalty among people when organizations create trust, demonstrate a stake in the outcome, and communicate straightforwardly with the public (Ledingham, 2003). Female leaders use democratic and participatory approaches and are open to members' input (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Their empathic and prosocial values may translate to better communication, more trust, and demonstrated investment with female members, which is likely to impact volunteering behaviors (Leslie et al., 2013; Mesch et al., 2011). Female leaders, then, may promote a variety of volunteering opportunities among members, which would be reflected in an increase in the number of different volunteering activities (Meier & Funk, 2016; Tabariés & Tchernonog, 2005).

By the same token, female volunteers derive greater satisfaction from volunteering when there is greater gender congruence. According to social role theory, women supposedly report greater levels of satisfaction from volunteering compared to men (Eagly & Wood, 2016). The results suggest that this baseline level of satisfaction is enhanced when the executive director is female. Wang and Ashcraft (2014) succinctly state that "through social identification, an individual perceives himself or herself as psychologically intertwined with the fate of the group [.... and] behave in a way that is congruent with salient aspects of their identities" (p. 64S). As such, social identity could provide an explanation for why female members might behave in a certain way when the leadership of the organization is female. This identity reinforcement asserts Markova et al.'s (2013) argument that "people identify with a group to the extent that they vest more of their self-concept in the valued persona represented by the group" (p. 494).

We should note that the association between gender congruence and depth of volunteering (level of intensity of an activity) does require two factors to materialize. The first factor relates to the availability of volunteering opportunities and the intensity of said opportunities. In general, membership associations offer their members plenty of opportunities to volunteer on a regular basis. Some of these opportunities, such as reviewing proposals, are short-term, which allow for a quick turnover among volunteers. More intense volunteering opportunities such as serving on boards or committees are time or term-bound and less available. The second related factor is the lag effect. Even with the presence of opportunities or interest among female members to volunteer, such involvement might take more time to coalesce than accounted for in the statistical models.

The results call attention to the issue of leadership. On one hand, there is enough evidence to demonstrate the direct impact or the moderating effect leadership has on engagement in organizations (Jaeger et al., 2009; Kreutzer & Jäger, 2011). Babcock-Roberson and Strickland (2010) expose the relationship between charismatic leadership and work engagement, and Alfes and coauthors (2013) condition behavioral outcomes—the resultant of such engagement—on the relations with leaders. Dwyer and colleagues (2013) find a positive association between transformational leadership and volunteer satisfaction in nonprofit organizations. Yet, the identification of charismatic or transformational leadership is challenging. We draw attention to this in order to highlight the potential limitation of the gender congruence between members and leadership of organizations. It is possible that some of the volunteering behavior could be explained by the gender congruence among members and non-executive staff/lower level managers; we leave this subject for future research.

On another hand, membership involvement might be impeded by the negative perceptions of leaders' abilities. AbouAssi and coauthors (2019) and Suzuki and Avellaneda (2018) underscore traditional patriarchal structures that restrict the abilities of female leaders to lead their organizations or engage with organizational stakeholders. Such a setting might encourage a lack of active involvement if perceptions of constraints over the authorities or abilities of female leaders outweigh the expected benefits and impact. As such, the effect of gender may be mediated by other variables such as power and trust (Klenke, 2003). It is also plausible that male stakeholders become actively involved when an organization is run by a woman, as a sign of distrust in leadership or as a form of checks and balances (AbouAssi & An, 2017). Such an involvement cancels any statistically significant increase in engagement among female members.

We reprise here the limitations of the data including the sample and measurements of the variables and reemphasize that we are not making any claims of causality. It is also important to recognize the age of the data (2007) as another limitation. Societal attitudes and beliefs on gender, which affect individual behaviors, are not static and have probably changed. Furthermore, while we look at board composition, we draw attention to two important issues. First, the nature of positions (e.g., prestige and tenure) women assume on the boards of these organizations matter. Men usually assume the technical jobs that are more intense in nature (board president or treasurer) while women do jobs that tend to utilize soft skills (board secretary) (Elkinawy & Stater, 2011; Prouteau & Tabariés, 2010; Pynes, 2000). We did not account for the nature of board positions.

Second, the percentage of female board members reflects gender representation, which sends a positive signal to female members; however, the signal might be weak and lacks encouragement. Fredette and Sessler Bernstein (2019) succinctly state, "Diversity is neither constant nor linear in its impact [....] moving from homogeneity to low levels of ethno-racial diversity will likely not generate anticipated gains and may, in some cases, generate adverse impact" (p. 933). While the authors focus on ethno-racial diversity, the same argument can be made regarding diversity in general; there could be a 'tipping point or critical mass threshold' at which the full potential of diversity and its implications on stakeholders' engagement would be unlocked.

To conclude, Bradshaw & Fredette (2013) and Fredette et al. (2016) emphasize the importance of policy, culture, and processes in engaging members in meaningful ways in nonprofit organizations. We also suggest that, in the context of membership associations, the length of membership, the association being one's primary association, and the congruence of professional or epistemological identity (for example, urban affairs or feminist theory) could play a mediating or moderating role in the relation between gender congruence and volunteering behaviors. We leave these as questions to future research.

We hope this article lays the foundation for future research based on much-needed panel data; qualitative research could also help illuminate the role of gender congruence in the decision to engage in and be satisfied with a variety of volunteering activities. We encourage scholars to consider the effect of gender congruence on other forms of stakeholder involvement, such as donations, and the consequence on organizational performance. We also urge scholars to take a step further. Identity is not monolithic; gender is one of multiple identities that individuals and leaders have. Intersectionality affects personal attitudes and behavioral outcomes.

Notes

1. The forms of volunteering activities are listed in Appendix A1. Those we identify as more intense than others are bolded.
2. The results hold the same even if we only use a single-item question that asked about the overall volunteering satisfaction.
3. Our coding only accounts for binary representations and does not capture those who may identify as nonbinary genders.
4. To overcome the negative gender effect, it requires the percentage of female board members over 40. However, when we plot the relationship, we do not have much statistically significant findings that actually overcome the negative relationship; it becomes insignificant before the percent of female board members reaches 40 percent.
5. We also looked into the number of hours as a measurement of depth of volunteering as well as the likelihood of volunteering again, but the results were not statistically significant.

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Appendix

Table A1. Depth of Volunteer–Intensity of Activities

Provided mentoring, coaching or tutoring for members, students or others
Provided professional advice
Raised funds
Recruited a member or members
Reviewed applications as part of accreditation, certification or competitive program
Reviewed a paper or proposal for a publication
Reviewed proposals for conferences or projects
Reviewed research, conducted literature review or resource reviews or analyzed data
Spoke or presented a paper
Submitted a paper or manuscript for publication
Wrote proposals, grant applications or business plans
Served on a committee for a local chapter or section
Served on a committee for the parent organization
Served on a technical committee or reviewed standards and practices
Served on the Board for a local chapter or section
Served on the Board for the parent organization
Made a presentation or testified on behalf of the organization to any legislative body (local, state, national or global advocacy)
Moderated or facilitated discussion groups at meetings or elsewhere
Participated in a discussion group, expert panel or report
Prepared background for regulators, the press or others

Note: Intense volunteering activities are in bold font.

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Advancing Social Equity: Examining the Impact of Gender, Place, and Race on Criminal Justice Administration in Alabama

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This article explores how the intersections of gender, place, and race impact the socially equitable application of criminal justice administration in Alabama. Specifically, most re-entry programs fail to address the varied and unique post-carceral needs of Black women. As such, this work examines the obstacles and opportunities for non-profit re-entry program administrators who seek to uphold the civil and human rights of Black women and highlights best practices in providing meaningful re-entry and reintegration services to women from historically under-resourced communities. Using social equity's theoretical principles in criminal justice, this article spotlights Alabama's re-entry programs and explores what occurs at the juncture of social equity, community-based criminal justice administration, and recidivism; this article also illustrates the interconnectedness of these three concepts.

Keywords: Criminal Justice, Intersectionality, Recidivism, Re-Entry, Social Equity

> *"But in public administration I insist that we engage with the problem of inequality, that we dirty our hands with inequality, that we be outraged, passionate, and determined. In short, I insist that we actually apply social equity in public administration" (Frederickson, 2010, p. 80).*

When the carceral system releases ex-offenders from prison, they enter an environment that is difficult to navigate and deliberately discourages them from re-entering society as productive members. According to James (2014), within three years of release, 67.8% of ex-offenders recidivate and are rearrested, and within five years, 76.6% have recidivated. With more than 2 million individuals incarcerated in the United States, recidivism not only negatively impacts inmates and their families, but society is also adversely affected as taxpayers continue to fund a broken system that sets ex-offenders up for failure once they are released (Duwe, 2012). The consequential impacts of engagement with the carceral state, though, are disparately felt across society. The intersection of gender, place, and race determines whether an ex-offender will access the resources necessary for successful re-entry upon release. Over the past three decades, the increase in mass incarceration in the United States has disproportionately impacted historically marginalized communities in general but the Black community especially. Beginning with the first contact with law enforcement, to

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adjudication outcomes, to rehabilitation and re-entry, significant racial, gender, and spatial disparities are evident at every level in the criminal justice system (Alexander, 2012; Doerner & Demuth, 2010; Mauer, 2011; Rocque, 2011; Rodriguez, 2010).

There are 1.2 million women under the supervision of the criminal justice system. However, most of the extant literature has mainly focused on the impact of imprisonment on men. Research shows that incarcerated women are like men in terms of race and age, but they are different regarding the offenses for which they are doing time, and they tend to have more medical issues (Maruschak, 2008; Snell, 1994). The participation of women in the criminal justice system has changed dramatically during the last 30 years. This shift is due, in part, to increased law enforcement efforts, stricter drug sentencing legislation, and post-conviction reintegration hurdles that disproportionately impact women (Sentencing Project, 2020). Between 1980 and 2019, the overall number of women in prison grew by more than 700%, from 26,378 in 1980 to 222,455 in 2019 (Sentencing Project, 2020). Roughly 60% of women in state prisons have a child under the age of 18. Approximately 65% of women in state prisons have a minor child, and 64% of them lived with their children at the time of admission (Glaze & Maruschak, 2009). Unlike incarcerated men, most incarcerated women are single mothers who are female-headed householders with young children (Equal Justice Initiative, 2020). Thus, it is essential to analyze the direct impact of re-entry and reintegration on the socioeconomic status of women to the extent that recidivism increases marginalization.

Ex-offender re-entry has received considerable scholarly interest across several disciplines, including political science, criminology, and sociology. This research highlights the difficulties individuals encounter when trying to reintegrate into society. Less attention, though, has been given to the organizational aspects of re-entry. Considering the increasing number of nonprofit community-based re-entry organizations in the United States, more research examining the successes and challenges of ex-offender re-entry initiatives is needed. The purpose of this work is to discuss how nonprofit, community-based re-entry programs impact the employment outcomes, family reunification, and physical and mental health of Black female ex-offenders. This paper aims to highlight best practices in providing meaningful re-entry and reintegration services to women from historically under-resourced communities. The theoretical framework of social equity is used to highlight how community-based nonprofits can improve program delivery models to address the post-carceral needs of Black women adequately. In addition, this paper contributes to further understanding of the benefits of applying social equity tenets to criminal justice administration, particularly by acknowledging and centering the intersectional needs of Black women.

Re-Entry, Reintegration, and Recidivism

More people are leaving jails across the country to return to their families and local communities than at any other point in our history (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). Approximately 93% of prisoners will at some point return to their communities (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002). More than 650,000 ex-offenders are released from prison every year (Harrison & Beck, 2005), and statistics show that around two-thirds of them will recidivate and be rearrested within three years (Alper et al., 2018). The high recidivism rate reflects the massive increase in the United States' prison population over the last 30 years. The release of ex-offenders poses a range of issues for the communities to which they return. These communities are frequently marginalized and disenfranchised with limited access to social supports and networks.

Not only are more prisoners returning home than ever before, but they are also returning less prepared for life after incarceration. Many will have difficulty managing the most fundamental ingredients for successful reintegration—reconnecting with jobs, housing, and their families and accessing needed substance abuse and health care treatment. Most will be rearrested within three years (Alper et al., 2018). One of the most common reasons for recidivism is that ex-offenders have difficulty reintegrating into society because some employers are unwilling to hire former inmates (Holzer et al., 2003). Though there are varied definitions of recidivism, there are three common elements to these definitions: 1) a starting event, such as a release from prison or probation placement; 2) a measure of failure, such as a subsequent arrest or conviction; and 3) a recidivism window that begins with the start date of the starting event (Alper et al., 2018).

When ex-offenders cannot secure stable employment, the other necessities of life like food and housing become challenging to obtain, and the recidivism window opens. Prior research has indicated that when ex-offenders have access to re-entry options, their odds of reoffending are lowered significantly. For example, according to Nally et al. (2014), those who could find work after being released were less likely to recidivate. Research shows that the sooner ex-offenders find jobs, the less likely they are to recidivate. There is a 20% reduction in recidivism among non-violent offenders who can secure employment (Bellotti et al., 2018).

Re-entry is a broad term that refers to the processes involved in preparing a prisoner to exit a carceral facility and reintegrate into society. Re-entry programs can be correctional-based, community-based, or both (Duwe, 2012; Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Re-entry programs should focus on transitioning from prison to the community (Bouffard & Bergeron, 2007). The structure of these programs can vary in terms of complexity. While the programs tend to vary based on location and capacity, most target one of the following priorities: education, employment, family reunification, housing, or substance abuse. Some re-entry programs focus on one of these aspects, while other programs target multiple needs. Re-entry program coordinators design the interventions so that reintegration is a gradual process (Petersilia, 2003). As such, the re-entry process should occur in phases; firstly, within the prison walls, then into the community, and finally, reintegration where independence is encouraged (Day et al., 2011; Taxman et al., 2004). When re-entry programs are successful, the ex-offender and broader society reap the benefits with improved public safety and the long-term reintegration of the ex-offender (Carter et al., 2007). In addition, successful reintegration outcomes include increased participation in societal institutions such as the workforce, families, communities, schools, and religious institutions (Green, 2019).

Re-entry programs' impact on ex-offender reintegration has sparked a growing level of activity among national, state, and local policymakers, researchers, and practitioners. The cycle of incarceration and re-entry into society carries the potential for profound adverse consequences for prisoners, their families, and communities. However, just as the potential costs are significant, so too are the opportunities for interventions that could enhance the communities' public safety, health, and cohesion at the center of this cycle. Therefore, it is essential to understand how Black women readjust to life outside of the prison gates.

Intersectionality

The extant literature suggests that the legal community has overlooked the intersectionality of race and gender, and the criminal justice system literature reflects the same impasse. There is a dearth of literature that centers on Black women. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality to describe Black women's exclusion from white feminist discourse and antiracist discourse. Intersectionality is a theoretical framework that contends that various social identifiers intersect to reflect multiple interlocking systems of privilege and oppression (Crenshaw, 1989). An intersectional framework posits that since Black women navigate life within the intersecting hierarchies of race, gender, and class, they possess a unique perspective on the social world (Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality is crucial to any social equity work. Public administrators must consider how the differences in experience among people with different overlapping identities impact how they engage with public and social programs. For criminal justice administration and re-entry program design, social equity involves recognizing that disparities exist within every aspect of the criminal justice system. An intersectional social equity lens acknowledges that program implementation should not recreate the same barriers that placed ex-offenders on the path to incarceration.

Social Equity Theory in Public Administration

According to the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA), social equity encompasses the "fair, just and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract, and the fair and equitable distribution of public services and the implementation of public policy and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in the formation of public policy" (Johnson & Svara, 2015, p. 16). Social inequities can manifest through multiple intersectional identities, including but not limited to race, gender, class, and sexual orientation (Wooldridge & Gooden, 2009). The application of socially equitable principles to public administration is not a novel approach to service delivery. There is a deep, historical connection between the Minnowbrook meetings and the development of social equity in public administration (Frederickson, 1990; Gooden & Portillo, 2011). In 1968, after the passage of landmark civil rights legislation, namely the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965, a group of public administration scholars in the United States met to reflect on the implications that the social, political, and environmental shifts had on the discipline (Gooden & Portillo, 2011). As these policies were put in place, the question of how best to determine their success became important as both an academic and pragmatic concern. The convening to allay these concerns was the first Minnowbrook Conference. At this meeting, H. George Frederickson (1990) argued for the inclusion of social equity as a third pillar in the discipline of public administration. Frederickson (1990) was the strongest advocate of the need to practice a 'new public administration' and held that it was inadequate to consider the success of public policies without considering the impact they had on those for whom the policy was intended to benefit. Frederickson argued for the inclusion of values in a new public administration practice with social equity as a main component.

Since the more than 50 years since the first Minnowbrook meeting and the call for adding equity principles to the practice of public administration, social equity still struggles to rise to similar prominence as other tenets such as economy, efficiency, and effectiveness. As Wooldridge and Gooden (2009) contend, it is uncommon for public administrators to make social equity the primary goal of public policy and program implementation. Ex-offender re-entry program administration is one area where such an approach to social equity in public administration would be beneficial. The increase in community-based nonprofit re-entry organizations raises new questions about the challenges and successes of prisoner re-entry when program administration intentionally centers social equity as a guiding principle. Social inequity affects Black Americans' cultural, economic, political, cognitive, and organizational experiences. Given the varied nature of reasons for incarceration, addressing social equity in criminal justice can help policymakers and public officials create policy solutions that reverse inequities that disproportionately impact Black women.

Incarceration and Re-entry Trends in Alabama

Alabama has the most overcrowded prisons in the United States (Carson, 2020). Prisons in the state operate at 176% over the lowest potential capacity (Carson, 2020). Between 2017 and 2018, Alabama experienced the highest growth in the prison population of any state, with 1,500 new inmates (Carson, 2020). The rate of incarceration is disproportionate across racial lines. In Alabama, Black people make up 28% of the state's population but account for 43% of those in jail and 54% of the prison population (Vera Institute, 2019). There are also pronounced gender disparities in the rate of incarceration. According to the Vera Institute

(2019), between 1970 and 2015, the number of women jailed in Alabama increased from 138 to 1,799. During this same timeframe, the number of women held in Alabama prisons also increased, rising from 244 to 1,756. These data, though, do not accurately portray the spatial disparities in the state's incarceration rate. Rural counties have the highest incarceration rates, and pretrial detention continues to rise in smaller counties while declining in the larger metropolitan areas (Vera Institute, 2019). It is essential to look at imprisonment patterns across the state because, while the larger counties may have the most individuals in prisons, smaller communities and rural counties have the highest incarceration rates. The incarceration rate disproportionately impacts rural communities, but these communities also struggle to reintegrate their formerly incarcerated residents upon their release. These disparities significantly harm rural communities in the Alabama Black Belt region. The Alabama Black Belt region accounts for the South's lowest rankings on many socioeconomic indicators compared to the rest of the state and country. Seventeen counties—Barbour, Bullock, Butler, Choctaw, Crenshaw, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Montgomery, Perry, Pike, Russell, Sumter, and Wilcox—are included in the Alabama Black Belt region.

Content analysis on the re-entry program landscape in Alabama shows that community-based access to reintegration services is sparse. The Alabama Department of Correction's (ADOC) website provides a link to re-entry resources. In addition, the United Way of Alabama operates a comprehensive service database–211 Connects Alabama–that is designed to facilitate access to public services across the state. This database also provides links to re-entry initiatives in the state. Data from these two agencies provide the content used in this analysis.

While the ADOC website provides links to various state agencies such as the departments of public health and human resources, for the purposes of this paper, only the community-based programs are analyzed. Similarly, the United Way database includes state employment agencies and educational institutions; this analysis only examines community organizations.

Table 1 lists the community agencies providing re-entry services in Alabama. Of the 26 agencies, only six are set up to serve women only. Two of the six agencies are fee-based housing programs.

While Montgomery and Russell counties are part of the traditional definition of the Alabama Black Belt, these counties are geographically located in resource-rich areas. While the programs located in Montgomery include some of the under-resourced Black Belt counties like Lowndes in their service area, there are no re-entry programs for women or men in the high-poverty, predominantly Black counties. The circumstances surrounding the immediate days and weeks after release from prison are critical to the success of an ex-offender's re-entry and reintegration.

After enduring overcrowded and inhumane conditions while incarcerated, ex-offenders in Alabama confront a new set of challenges upon their release. While the mission of Alabama prisons includes the "rehabilitation and successful re-entry of offenders," formerly incarcerated people are rarely prepared to re-enter and reintegrate into society (Alabama Department of Corrections, 2021, para. 1). Ex-offenders are given "gate money" to help with transportation costs, usually about $10 in Alabama (Witherspoon, 2021, para. 4). Research shows that about two-thirds of ex-offenders will recidivate and be arrested again within three years of release (Doleac, 2018). The number is slightly lower in Alabama, but the reasons for recidivism are the same. More than 30% of individuals released from Alabama prisons return within three years due to a lack of transportation, housing, job, and healthy social support networks (Cortes & Rogers, 2010; Holzer et al., 2003; Witherspoon, 2021). The dearth of community-based re-entry and reintegration resources in rural and predominately Black communities likely contributes to the recidivism. The idea of equal access to resources is a cornerstone of social equity. Unfortunately, disparate levels of access have existed for many

Table 1. Overview of Re-Entry Programs in Alabama

Program	County	Gender Served
A Cut Above the Rest Training Facility	Montgomery	Both
A Day of New Beginnings	Etowah	Women
A Hand Up Transitional Housing	Montgomery	Men
Aid to Inmate Mothers	Montgomery	Women
Alabama Justice Ministries Network	Jefferson	Both
Alabama Non-Violent Offenders Organization	Madison	Both
Corrections and Offender Re-entry Program	Calhoun	Both
Corrections Services	Jefferson	Women
First Baptist Church Caring Center	Montgomery	Both
Foundry Ministries	Jefferson	Men
Kidz Table	Morgan	Men
LifeSource, Inc.	Morgan	Both
Pathways to Freedom	Montgomery	Both
Phoenix House	Madison	Both
Renascence Re-Entry Program	Montgomery	Men
Second Chance	Jefferson	Both
Shelter of the Most High	Morgan	Men
Shepard's Fold	Jefferson	Both
Southern Regional Housing Solutions	Montgomery	Both
Starting Point	Autauga	Women
The Ark Homeless Services	Houston	Both
The Esther House	Calhoun	Women
The Fountain House	Montgomery	Women
The Ordinary People Society	Houston	Both
U Can Community Organization	Autauga	Both
Urban League of Greater Columbus	Russell	Both

segments of society due to variables such as socioeconomic position, education, occupation, and the environment. A socially equitable approach to re-entry and reintegration program design and implementation could ameliorate these disparities. As noted by Frederickson, “the most productive governments, the most efficient governments, and the most economizing governments can still be perpetuating poverty, inequality of opportunity and injustice” (2010, p. 48). The lack of spatially accessible re-entry services across the state perpetuates the same conditions that likely led to incarceration.

Best Practices in Community-Based Re-Entry Programming

A part of the challenge with applying the tenets of social equity to public administration, particularly to criminal justice administration, is the normative nature of the term equity. However, research on re-entry suggests that best practices encompass notions of equity even when equity is not explicitly stated as the goal (Lyles-Chockley, 2009). According to existing best practices, re-entry programs that provide therapy should include cognitive-behavioral treatment approaches tailored to their clients’ learning characteristics (Allen et al., 2001; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Gendreau, 1996; Wilson et al., 2005). The use of risk-of-recidivism and case management techniques to assess which persons would benefit the most from assistance is another vital component of effective re-entry programs (Taxman et al., 2003). Furthermore, research has indicated that allowing clients to participate in developing their service plans enhances their collaboration and chance of successfully completing their case plans (Warwick et al., 2012). According to research, the ideal practice for re-entry programs is to initiate client contact while incarcerated to develop client rapport and provide continuity of care from institutional to community services (Warwick et al., 2012). Successful re-entry programming requires the development and maintenance of strategic relationships. Building relationships within correctional systems, on the other hand, is often difficult for community organizations for a variety of reasons, including a lack of clear communication lines, contradictory duties, difficulties maintaining continuity when staff changes, and administrative burdens placed on civilian access to clients in secure facilities (Sandwick et al., 2013). Successful interaction with correctional officials is more probable if community re-entry program managers can demonstrate the program's ability to deliver evidence-based and developmentally appropriate services to each client group. Future research should investigate how the behaviors and attitudes of program administrators impact ex-offender program completion. Future research should also consider how political culture impacts re-entry programs' creation, funding, and sustainability. The social equity scholarship would benefit from a more nuanced analysis of the decision-making process that influences how public administrators and policymakers define and perceive social equity in criminal justice administration.

Conclusion

Applying the tenets of social equity to re-entry program design and implementation presents unique opportunities for public administrators who want to provide necessary resources to communities most in need. Re-entry programs are intended to assist ex-offenders to effectively 're-enter' society after being incarcerated while also lowering recidivism, increasing public safety, and saving money. Intersectionality as an analytical tool is the ideal complement to social equity as the two theoretical frameworks bring awareness to interlocking social oppressions that impact power dynamics in communities. Systemic oppression based on sexual orientation and sexuality, gender and gender identity, ethnicity, economic status, immigration status, national origin, and ability is among many identity facets (Crenshaw, 1989). A socially equitable and intersectional approach to criminal justice acknowledges that systemic discrimination affects access to opportunity. In Alabama, we see that the lack of investment in community-based re-entry infrastructures in the Black Belt is a public policy decision. In public policy, classic government-centric policymaking models contend that public policy is "whatever governments choose to do or not do" (Dye, 2012, p. 12). Inaction is just as much a policy response as action. Applying the tenets of social equity and intersectionality to re-entry efforts helps eliminate the very societal and systemic barriers associated with the carceral state.

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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The Public Affairs Faculty Manual: A Guide to the Effective Management of Public Affairs Programs Edited by Bruce McDonald, III and William Hatcher

Michael Overton – University of Idaho

McDonald, III, B. D., & Hatcher, W. S. (2020). The public affairs faculty manual: A guide to the effective management of public affairs programs. New York, NY: Routledge. $44.86 (Amazon), ISBN 9780367861964.

Keywords: NASPAA Accreditation, Program Development, Curriculum Planning

In *The Public Affairs Faculty Manual: A Guide to the Effective Management of Public Affairs Programs,* editors Bruce McDonald III and William Hatcher, provide a broad overview on designing, leading, and managing a public affairs (PA) program. The edited volume is explicitly written for PA faculty in new leadership roles in higher education, though it is a useful reference for administrators of all levels and even useful for regular faculty. Despite excellent journals focused on PA education, such as *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, and *Teaching Public Administration*, there is a clear need for a focused cultivation of fundamental knowledge, research, and experience-informed advice for academic administrators in PA programs.

The book covers an expansive range of topics over 15 chapters that are of practical concern for academic administrators planning and delivering a PA program. The chapters are written by 19 different scholars with a staggering amount of administrative experience as directors, chairs, and deans. Chapters 2 through 4 provide basic knowledge on the institutional context and structure of PA programs. These chapters form an essential conceptual foundation for the rest of the book. Chapters 5 through 10 introduce a series of practical administrative tools to manage and develop PA programs. Chapters 11 through 14 connect various internal and external stakeholder concerns to program development.

Essential Knowledge

Chapter 2 explains the different types of PA degrees. While Master of Public Administration, Public Affairs, and Public Policy degrees are the primary focus, other specialized degrees are outlined, such as the Master in Non-Profit Management and Master in Public Policy and Administration degrees. The chapter concludes with a practical discussion on differentiating a PA program through understanding and meeting the demands of a regional market, aligning

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the program with an institution's mission and resources, adapting curriculum to produce either generalist or specialist students, and determining the right mix of theory-driven and applied courses.

Chapter 3 covers the theory and structure of academic governance models and how they align with NASPAA accrediting standards for shared governance. The chapter centers around two broadly defined governance models: bureaucratic and collegial. Ultimately, the author argues that all of the decision-making models are flawed and there is no ideal shared governance model.

Chapter 4 outlines the roles and responsibilities of program directors, chairs, and deans while highlighting the motivations and practical concerns of pursuing and accepting an administrative position. The discussion is cleverly framed around matching administrative duties to a desired career path. This framing allows for an exhaustive discussion of the typical duties and responsibilities of program directors, department chairs, and college deans. The chapter culminates in a curated and practical list of concerns for those considering academic leadership.

Administrative Tools

Chapter 5 provides a primer on strategic planning for PA programs pursuing NASPAA accreditation. Those familiar with strategic planning will find the treatment of the subject brief, but the authors' focus on strategic planning to meet NASPAA accreditation standards expands the pertinent audience. The inclusion of data sources relevant to PA programs for those conducting programmatic analyses (e.g., SWOT) is especially useful for administrators considering a strategic planning initiative.

Chapter 6 is an overview of NASPAA accreditation and how the process is an important tool for program improvement. After a brief history of the inception of NASPAA accreditation and the current accreditation landscape, the chapter argues that the primary value of NASPAA accreditation is that it is a multi-faceted approach to program improvement and validation. The rest of the chapter discusses the accreditation process and how to connect it to program evaluation and revision.

Chapter 7 is a masterful introduction to public budgeting theory in a practical and accessible fashion for administrators that lack a budgeting background. The chapter starts by arguing that understanding a program's place in an academic unit is vital for gaining resources in a competitive academic environment. Then, the chapter outlines the technical issues of fund accounting, typical expenditure categories, and different budget formats. The chapter concludes by outlining three features (fiscal discretion, resource stability, and budgetary politics) of university budgeting.

Chapter 8 covers faculty development in the context of PA programs. Faculty development is increasingly more difficult due to diverse faculty development needs, structural racism in higher education, teaching evaluation shortcomings, lack of incentives for community-engaged scholarship, and fewer mentoring opportunities. A model of faculty development is developed based on clear communication of expectations, formative feedback, mentoring, tailored support, and the importance of building a community among faculty. Practical tips accompany each pillar of the faculty development model for administrators wishing to implement these practices.

Chapter 9 addresses the development of curriculum that meets the five universal competencies required for NASPAA accreditation, the process of curriculum development, how to connect a program's mission and course selection to its curriculum, and course design.

The chapter ties broad curriculum design and course selection to a program's strategic plan while providing valuable data and insight on possible courses and specializations.

Chapter 10 introduces program assessment in higher education and a framework for implementing it to meet NASPAA requirements. Developing student learning objectives (SLO) or clear statements on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes students should acquire, and attaching these statements to levels of learning (remembering, understanding, applying, analyzing, evaluating, and creating) allows a program to create a curriculum map linking SLOs, levels of learning, and NASPAA universal competencies to specific courses. The development of SLOs provides clear goals and a curriculum map outlining how those goals will be met.

Connecting Stakeholders and Programs

Chapter 11 examines how the structuring of programs and courses can improve student outcomes (defined in the chapter as SLOs). Programs can improve SLOs by (1) ensuring admission requirements confirm students have the necessary foundation of skills to succeed, (2) sequencing courses so they logically build prerequisite knowledge, and (3) scheduling courses to ensure predictable content delivery. Instructors can also improve SLOs through the logical ordering of content, limiting activities not associated with learning, and enhancing student motivation. In addition, the author provides an illuminating and extremely useful discussion of andragogy (e.g., how to teach adults) as it applies to designing effective courses.

Chapter 12 provides an overview of recruitment and retention strategies that can be implemented by program directors to build a diverse student body. In addition to outlining general strategies evidenced by higher education recruitment scholarship, the authors suggest a variety of ways to recruit for PA programs and how to develop a recruitment strategy that builds on program strengths and enhances program diversity. The chapter concludes with a case study on successful recruitment from the Augusta University MPA program.

Chapter 13 explains how cultural competency and social equity can be integrated into a PA curriculum. Cultural competency (e.g., understanding and respecting diverse communities) and social equity are critical components of a modern PA program as they enhance the fairness and delivery of public services. The authors present practical guidance on how to build cultural competency into four common PA courses.

Chapter 14 outlines how a PA program can link to community outreach and engagement in a University. The chapter covers the history behind community outreach and service in higher education, and what administrators should consider if they want an applied research center. In addition to applied research, these centers offer students direct engagement opportunities, and help faculty develop service-learning projects. Advisory boards can also provide programs with a variety of recruitment benefits in addition to enhancing the community outreach capacity of the program.

Discussion

The volume has many strengths and fills a critical gap in knowledge and training that makes it a valuable reference to PA program administrators. By focusing on PA specifically, the volume is able to take concepts of general importance to academic administrators and connects them to specific PA issues and NASPAA accreditation. The book does its best work setting a knowledge foundation and then giving an overview of the various tools needed to develop, implement, and improve PA programs. Another strength of the book is that the majority of chapters combine an academic treatment of the subjects with practical experience-based advice.

The book does have a few limitations. First, it is, by design, a broad presentation of material and not a deep treatment of the subjects. Faculty wishing to pursue accreditation or implement any of the administrative tools, like strategic planning, will want to find supplementary treatments of the material. Second, the book is missing chapters on fund raising in higher education and developing external stakeholder relationships through alumni relations and community partners. These are two areas of academic administration where inexperienced administrators will struggle without guidance.

Conclusion

Overall, this book is a useful resource for new and seasoned program administrators. Faculty new to administration will find information in the book useful for understanding and improving their programs. The volume covers a great breadth of material at the expense of depth at times, but the point of the book is not to be an exhaustive reference manual, but an overview of useful topics. In this area, this book has succeeded in providing much needed guidance for PA administrators.

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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Michael Overton is an assistant professor of public administration at the University of Idaho. His research explores the intersection of local government management and fiscal policy, specifically focusing on local government competition, economic development, and transportation financing issues.

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Achieving Social Equity: From Problems to Solutions by Mary E. Guy and Sean A. McCandless

Bruce D. McDonald, III – North Carolina State University

Guy, M. E., & McCandless, S. A. (2020). *Achieving social equity: From problems to solutions*. Irvine, CA: Melvin & Leigh, Publishers. $42.95 (Paperback), ISBN 978-1-73393446-6.

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The recent publication of *Achieving Social Equity: From Problems to Solutions*, edited by Mary E. Guy and Sean A. McCandless (2020), sparks a move forward in the literature about social equity. To date, much of the literature on social equity has focused on its overall importance (see, Frederickson, 2010), as well as the conditions of inequality within the discipline (see, Bodkin & Fleming, 2019; Thomas, 2019) and within practice (see, Blessett et al., 2019). Despite the attention that has been given to social equity, the National Academy of Public Administration recently included the need to foster social equity as one of the grand challenges for public administration (Gerton & Mitchell, 2019), suggesting it may be time to move the research on social equity into a new era. Guy and McCandless do just that. Rather than discussing the presence of social equity issues with public organizations, the text seeks to advance our understanding by connecting the literature on social equity with the practicality of the situations that administrators face. This is accomplished over a masterfully curated set of 13 chapters, each which focuses on a unique, but vital perspective on social equity.

Guy and McCandless open the book with an introductory chapter that lays out the imperativeness for including social equity in public administration actions. This includes a discussion of the different definitions of social equity that have emerged in the field and how they relate to each other. By winding in discussions of Plato, Locke, and the progressive movement, among others, they introduce a simple perspective of social equity that is both understandable and relatable. Social equity, they argue, is about fairness and equality for all. The challenge for public administration is how to incorporate this perspective into action, particularly given that the use of the politics-administration dichotomy within the field has created a perspective that administrators should take a value-free approach in their actions. No decision made by a public administrator is without some degree of an equity concern, and the key to successfully addressing these concerns is by providing resources and training to administrators that provide a real-world perspective of the issues that arise and how they can be addressed.

To meet the challenge they have set out for themselves, Guy and McCandless structure the remainder of the book into two broad sections: 'Social Equity and Demographics' and

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'Achieving Social Equity in Policy Domains and Administrative Structures.' The first section is comprised of four chapters, each skillfully crafted by its authors, that address the demographic components that frequently relate to social inequities. These are gender, sexual identity, race, and the intersection of identities. These four chapters provide a foundational understanding of the equity issues that may emerge in a public organization and how our understanding of these issues has progressed over time. For example, in chapter 2, 'Gender Equity in the Workforce,' Sebawit G. Bishu introduces readers to civil rights as they pertain to women. Civil rights are then connected to the integration of women into the workplace and the types of inequities that have since emerged. Where the utility of the chapter hits its stride is in the discussion of the structural drivers that cause gender inequality and its social and organizational costs. This approach is carried forward through the remaining chapters of the section so that the reader can understand what the problem is, what is causing it, and how it can be addressed.

The seven chapters of the second section, 'Achieving Social Equity in Policy Domains and Administrative Structures,' carry the problem/cause/solution approach to the next step by applying it to a set of issues currently facing society in the United States. These issues are homelessness, policing, transit, child welfare, immigration, the environment, and rulemaking. Each of the chapters approaches their respective topics by introducing the policy issue and then connecting its emergence with the equity concerns that have arisen as a result. Much like the chapters from the first section, the chapters here then connect the issue with strategies to foster a more equitable outcome. A great example of this is chapter 8, 'How Transit Matters for Social Equity.' Written by Samantha June Larson, readers are introduced to the emergence of public transportation in the United States. Readers are not only reminded of equity concerns about historical segregation on public transportation, but they are also introduced to problems of modern day segregation based on access to transit systems and the effect public transportation has played on gentrification. The challenge of managing a public transit system is nothing new; however, the connection between that system and concerns of social equity is something that few are likely to have considered. Thankfully, the chapter reiterates the value of the book by discussing how transit policy can be discussed and implemented along equitable grounds.

Achieving Social Equity provides everything you need to develop a fundamental understanding of social equity and the equity problems that we face in the United States. As has been hinted at above, the real value of the book to the field is in connecting that foundational knowledge with real, practical advice on how to address the challenges. For faculty and students of public administration, the text provides some much needed real world context and solutions. Training our students to become effective administrators requires more than providing a theoretical understanding of the issue, rather students need to be taught how to connect that theory to the practical. In the realm of social equity, this text does just that. To aid in its use in an MPA classroom, each chapter begins with a note from the editors that helps to connect the chapters across the book's central theme, and they end with a set of discussion questions that help students better engage the material.

By structuring the book in a way that is not only solution-oriented but is engaging and accessible, the book may also be of interest to practitioners. Although the challenge to public administration is to improve equity within public organizations, no organization is without at least some issue that can stand to be improved upon. As administrators make policy recommendations and begin implementation, *Achieving Social Equity* is an invaluable companion on what to consider and how to overcome the problems inherent in the system. In conclusion, Guy and McCandless have done what few others have done before. They have provided us with a book that is a 'must read' for anyone working with or doing research on 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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