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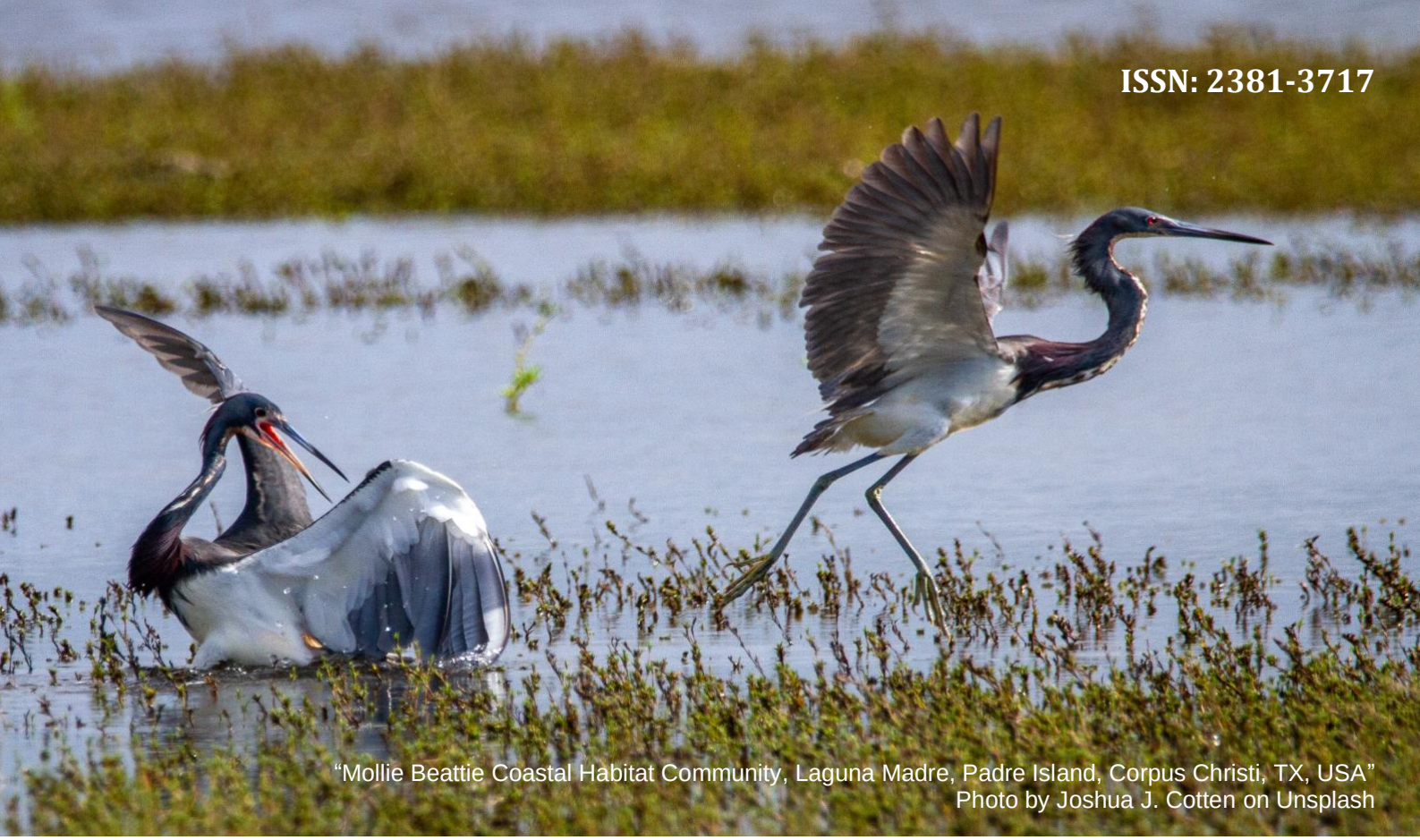

"Mollie Beattie Coastal Habitat Community, Laguna Madre, Padre Island, Corpus Christi, TX, USA"
Photo by Joshua J. Cotten on Unsplash

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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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General Management, Public Relations, or Fundraising Tool?"

Jiwon Suh, The University of Texas at Arlington
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Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs
Vol. 8, No. 3

Editor's Introduction: Shedding Light on Overlooked and Understudied Populations

Deborah A. Carroll – University of Illinois Chicago

In this new issue of *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs*, we offer a collection of R*esearch Articles* focused on the impact of federal employment policies, efforts to enhance diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI), and the continued impacts felt by the COVID-19 pandemic on populations that are often overlooked and understudied. Our *Social Equity* article examines social media responses by the professional sports industry calling for political action on gun control after the massacre at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas. In addition, we offer a *Book Review* of an important contribution to understanding federal policymaking and how the economic-based values and priorities of efficiency have permeated and shaped such policy discussions over time.

First, at a time when public sector employment is seen by many as a less desirable career option, Hur (2022) offers an important assessment of the impact of various workplace characteristics on the turnover intention of females in the U.S. federal workforce. Through a more comprehensive examination compared to prior studies, the author finds that the turnover intention of female employees is motivated by factors that are different from their male counterparts. Specifically, female turnover intention is most influenced by opportunities for growth and upward mobility and much less so by feelings of being valued or coworker camaraderie. As such, the author provides useful advice for human resource policies that might be implemented to avoid unwanted voluntary turnover among female employees in federal public service.

Also, in their examination of federal employment, Clark et al. (2022) explain how policy changes and public opinion regarding LGBTQ+ are placing greater obligation on employers to be more inclusive of sexual and gender minorities within the organizational culture to improve the workplace experiences of such individuals. The authors use multilevel analysis to examine the influence of federal employees' perceptions of inclusivity at the agency, supervisory, and work unit levels on their overall job satisfaction. Based on their findings, the authors offer important solutions for developing a more inclusive organizational culture to improve job satisfaction among LGBTQ+ employees.

In recognition of the increasing prevalence of calls for philanthropic foundations to enhance diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice through their funding practices and network associations, Paarlberg et al. (2022) examine several philanthropic critiques and structural limitations of foundations in producing lasting changes. The authors reveal the primary obstacle to advancing equity and justice in institutional philanthropy is a lack of consensus among academics and practitioners on the meanings of core concepts and their implications for practice. To help overcome this challenge, the authors propose a framework that

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Carroll, D. A. (2022). Editor's introduction: Shedding light on overlooked and understudied populations. *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs, 8*(3), 299–301. https://doi.org/10.20899/jpna.8.1.299–301

transcends disciplines and has the potential to unite the currently fragmented literature across several subfields.

Continuing with the theme of pursuing desirable social goals through economic activity, Ma et al. (2022) provide an assessment of social enterprises in Hong Kong to determine whether cross-sector collaboration can help build legitimacy that is necessary for sustainable development. Specifically, the authors examine the institutional pressures threatening social enterprises in their legitimacy building efforts, how such enterprises respond to these pressures, and the role of cross-sector support in achieving these goals. Using surveys and in-depth interviews that examine venture capital, operational, and promotional types of cross-sector collaboration, the authors suggest a metagovernance approach might help to better achieve both goals of social legitimacy and financial sustainability.

The differential impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on non-White and lower income communities are well documented; however, much less attention has been paid to border communities and the impact of the pandemic on organizations with missions to assist individuals within these communities. To fill this gap in the literature, Shi (2022) examines nonprofit organizations serving populations at the U.S.–Mexico border. Based on resource dependency theory and the nonprofit capacity building framework, the author uses survey findings to reveal that the most affected nonprofits are those with relatively little reliance on government support, low leadership, and less operational capacity. In addition, such organizations are more closely tied to these communities but are faced with great challenges to meet increasing demand from these vulnerable populations with the limited resources at their disposal.

Also focusing on organizations primarily serving immigrant populations, Chand et al. (2022) examines the role of such organizations in shaping the policy decisions of local sheriff offices. Through a national survey of sheriff offices across the U.S., the authors empirically investigate the extent to which the presence of immigrant-serving organizations providing pro bono legal aid in immigration court help to predict sheriff office cooperation with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), particularly related to sanctuary policies. Their findings suggest fewer background checks submitted to ICE from county jails because of the important work of these legal-aid nonprofits.

In this issue's *Social Equity* section, Thomas and Levine Daniel (2022) evaluate several factors contributing to the coalescence of social media responses by the professional sports industry calling for political action on gun control after a gunman killed 19 students and two teachers at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas. Within the context of public administration scholarship that highlights the roles of athletes as social constructors who influence the administrative state, the authors describe the usefulness of prominent athletes and sports teams in using their voices to promote action on policy issues with relatively widespread consensus like having at least some measure of gun control in the U.S. In doing so, the authors support the efforts of such actors to speak on social equity causes as they seek changes to the administrative and policy landscapes.

Finally, in her review of the book, *Thinking Like an Economist: How Efficiency Replaced Equality in U.S. Public Policy*, by Berman (2022), Golembeski (2022) evaluates an important contribution to understanding federal policymaking and how the economic-based values and priorities of efficiency have permeated and shaped such policy discussions. Golembeski (2022) describes the comprehensive data collection undertaken by the book's author and how the author builds upon prior research in explaining the progression of policy design and implementation over several decades. Through promotion of an interdisciplinary perspective, Golembeski (2022) asserts the book is invaluable to expand our understanding of the role of economists in shaping policy discourse, as well as the limitations such a perspective poses for governance.

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Research Article

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Exploring Effective Ways to Reduce Turnover Intention Among Female Employees: The Case of U.S. Federal Employees

Yongbeom Hur – Appalachian State University

This study explores what aspects of workplace characteristics have more effects on turnover intention among female employees. Unlike extant turnover studies that focused on the effects of a few selected contextual factors, this study takes a comprehensive review of workplace contextual factors and analyzes the effect of each contextual factor on female employees' turnover intention. According to the findings, female employees' turnover intention was differently affected by most workplace contextual factors, compared to male employees' turnover intention. OLS regression analyses showed that female employees' turnover intention was most affected by the 'opportunities for growth and development' factor and least affected by the 'feeling valued and trusted' factor and the 'coworker support and the spirit of camaraderie' factor. The results can help to develop proper human resource management policies and practices for female employees and avoid unwanted voluntary turnover.

Keywords: Turnover Intention, Female Employees, Workplace Contextual Factors

Introduction

Women have increased their participation in the labor force. For example, in the U.S., women's labor force participation was at a rate of 33.9% in 1950 and reached a peak of 60% in 1999. In other words, six in ten women aged 16 and older worked outside the home. Now women comprise nearly half of the U.S. labor force at 46.8% (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Scholars and practitioners have paid special attention to why employees leave since the early 20th century because of huge costs associated with employee turnover (Hom, Lee, Shaw, & Hausknecht, 2017). According to the recent meta-analysis of voluntary turnover studies (Holtom, Mitchell, Lee, & Eberly, 2008), at least 50 broad antecedents have been identified to have scientific value in predicting voluntary turnover. However, our knowledge about why female employees leave their organizations is very limited. This is remarkable, given that female employees comprise a substantial portion of the workforce.

This study explores what aspects of workplace characteristics have more effects on turnover intention among female employees. Unlike extant turnover studies that focused on the effects of a few selected contextual factors such as organizational justice (Nadiri & Tanova, 2010; Parker & Kohlmeyer III, 2005), trust (Seona Kim & Park, 2014; Zeffane & Melhem, 2017), and organizational culture (Egan, Yang, & Bartlett, 2004; J. Kim, 2015), this study takes a

Hur, Y. (2022). Exploring effective ways to reduce turnover intention among female employees: The case of U.S. federal employees. *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs*, *8*(3), 302–322. https://doi.org/10.20899/jpna.8.3.302–322

comprehensive review of workplace contextual factors and analyzes the effect of each contextual factor on female employees' turnover intention. The results can help to develop proper human resource management policies and practices for female employees and avoid unwanted voluntary turnover.

Theoretical Background

Turnover can be defined as a degree of individual movement across the membership boundary of a social system (Price, 1977, P. 3). When an employee decides to move across the membership boundary of an organization, it is called voluntary turnover, whereas involuntary turnover is when an employer makes this decision (i.e., firing, layoffs). This study focuses on voluntary turnover, and turnover intention is adopted as a proxy for voluntary turnover. Turnover intention is an individual's thoughts about leaving the current organization. Turnover intention may not lead to actual turnover, but turnover intention is significantly related to actual turnover (Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000), and turnover intention is suggested as an alternative in measuring actual turnover (Price, 2001). In fact, turnover intention has been commonly used as a proxy for actual voluntary turnover among turnover researchers in both public and private sector settings (Bertelli, 2007; Bright, 2008; Cho & Song, 2017; Griffeth et al., 2000; J. Kim, 2015; Seona Kim & Park, 2014; G. Lee & Jimenez, 2011; Rubenstein, Eberly, Lee, & Mitchell, 2018). In the sections that follow, gender diversity & turnover, major determinants of voluntary turnover, and contextual factor studies are reviewed. Later, hypotheses are proposed for this study, based on the research findings about the effects of extracted factors.

Gender Diversity & Turnover

Although a large body of literature describes how underrepresented women are in workplaces and suggest ideas that lead to increased female representativeness in the workplace (Bowling, Kelleher, Jones, & Wright, 2006; Hsieh & Winslow, 2006; McCabe & Stream, 2000; Pynes, 2000), growing conflicts among diversity groups can be an issue when workforces become more diversified (e.g., Chatman & Flynn, 2001; Polzer, Milton, & William B. Swann, 2002; Schippers, Hartog, Koopman, & Wienk, 2003). Employees in different diversity groups may not be willing to cooperate with each other due to conflicts. Employees in conflicting situations could be easily demotivated, and even decide to leave their organizations in the end. Consequently, organizational productivity would decline.

Traditionally it has been hypothesized that female employees are more likely to quit their jobs because of familial commitments and demands of balancing work and family (Schwartz, 1989; Stier, Lewin-Epstein, & Braun, 2001), in addition to conflicts with male counterparts. However, recent empirical studies found no difference in turnover rates between male and female employees (I.-C. Huang, Chuang, & Lin, 2003; Kellough & Osuna, 1995; Soonhee Kim, 2005; Moynihan & Landuyt, 2008). It seems that female employees do not have to leave their organizations to meet their familial responsibilities because many organizations have introduced supportive policies for working mothers (e.g., Stier et al., 2001) and effective diversity management practices (e.g., Ely & Thomas, 2001). Still, it is critical for managers to figure out better ways to retain employees, regardless of their gender due to huge costs related to employee replacement.

Determinants of Voluntary Turnover

To replace leaving employees, it may take about twice as much as their annual salaries (Allen, Bryant, & Vardaman, 2010). Because of this huge cost, over the last 100 years, researchers have made efforts to understand why employees leave (Hom et al., 2017). As a result, more than 1,500 academic studies have addressed this topic, and 50 broad antecedents of voluntary

turnover are identified (Holtom et al., 2008). Major determinants of voluntary turnover can be categorized into external environmental factors, work-related organizational factors, and individual characteristic factors (Mobley, Griffeth, Hand, & Meglino, 1979; Pettman, 1973; Rubenstein et al., 2018). External environmental factors include perceived alternatives (i.e., job availability) and unemployment rate (e.g., Carsten & Spector, 1987; Fields, 1976). Researchers found that employees' turnover and turnover intention are positively correlated with job availability and negatively correlated with unemployment rate (Arnold & Feldman, 1982). With respect to work-related organizational factors, researchers pay attention to a wide range of aspects such as job satisfaction (e.g., Lambert, Hogan, & Barton, 2001; Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulian, 1974), development & growth opportunities (e.g., Rahman & Nas, 2013; Weng & McElroy, 2012), promotion (e.g., Ali, 2008; Johnston, Griffeth, Burton, & Carson, 1993), pay (e.g., Lum, Kervin, Clark, Reid, & Sirola, 1998; Zenger, 1992), perceived autonomy (e.g., Dysvik & Kuvaas, 2013; Liu, Zhang, Wang, & Lee, 2011), goal clarity (e.g., Caillier, 2016; Jung, 2014), and job stress (e.g., Arshadi & Damiri, 2013; Mosadeghrad, 2013). Researchers generally found that turnover or turnover intention decreases as employees experience high job satisfaction, more development & growth opportunities, more promotion opportunities, better pay, high autonomy, clear goals, or low job stress (Griffeth et al., 2000). Individual characteristic factors include demographic variables such as gender (e.g., Hyosu Kim & Kao, 2014; Moynihan & Landuyt, 2008), education level (e.g., Hyosu Kim & Kao, 2014; Medina, 2012), tenure (e.g., Hansung Kim & Stoner, 2008; Trimble, 2006), race (e.g., Jones & Harter, 2005; Medina, 2012), age (e.g., Emiroğlu, Akova, & Tanrıverdi, 2015; Pitts, Marvel, & Fernandez, 2011), and marital status (e.g., Lu, Lin, Wu, Hsieh, & Chang, 2002; Tsai & Wu, 2010). Researchers generally found that turnover or turnover intention decreases as employees are female, less educated, long-tenured, White, older, or married (Griffeth et al., 2000).

Surprisingly, employee turnover in public sector settings was not seriously examined until the beginning of the new millennium (G. Lee & Jimenez, 2011). It is known that public employees' turnover is mainly affected by job characteristics (Soonhee Kim, 2005; Y. J. Lee, Kim, & Lee, 2015), human resource management practices (Cesário & Magalhães, 2017; Soonhee Kim, 2012), person-organizational fit (Jin, McDonald, & Park, 2018; Moynihan & Pandey, 2008), and public service motivation (Bao & Zhong, 2021; Bright, 2008).

Contextual Factor Studies

The organizational context did not get turnover researchers' attention until recently (Rubenstein et al., 2018, p. 38) although context affects the occurrence and meaning of organizational behavior (Johns, 2006). Turnover researchers usually examined the effects of a few selected contextual factors on voluntary turnover, and these studies have focused on organizational context level or person-context interface (Holtom et al., 2008; Rubenstein et al., 2018). Organizational context level factors that hold turnover researchers' attention include organizational support (Chordiya, 2019; Galletta, Portoghese, Penna, Battistelli, & Saiani, 2011), engagement aggregated (Harter, Schmidt, & Hayes, 2002), organizational citizenship behavior (Coyne & Ong, 2007), organizational size (Guan, Zhou, Ye, Jiang, & Zhou, 2015), diversity level (Choi, 2009), and work-life balance (Yu, 2019). Researchers generally found that turnover or turnover intention decreases when employees experience high organizational support, employees' engagement is high, organizational citizenship behaviors exist, organizational size increases, diversity level is low, or work-life balance is satisfied.

Researchers also found that employees' turnover or turnover intention decreases when employees are satisfied with rewards (Nazir, Shafi, Qun, Nazir, & Tran, 2016); justice (Nadiri & Tanova, 2010; Parker & Kohlmeyer III, 2005) and trust (Seona Kim & Park, 2014; Zeffane & Melhem, 2017) exist in their organization; or positive organizational culture such as high performing or learning culture exists (Egan et al., 2004; J. Kim, 2015).

Workplace Contextual Factors and Their Effects

This study used the Merit Principles Survey 2016 Data that provided diverse aspects of the workplace. Using exploratory factor analysis, 20 workplace variables were categorized into four factors as explained below. More details about factor analysis are explained later in the methods section.

Happy and innovative working climate (Factor 1): when employees had a feeling of being appreciated, their turnover intention decreased (Odland & Ruzicka, 2009; Peterson, 2004). For example, expatriate teachers tended to stay at current schools when they worked in a happy working climate that includes a feeling of being appreciated by colleagues and administration (Odland & Ruzicka, 2009). Employees are encouraged to experiment with new ideas in an innovative working climate (Wang & Ma, 2013), which leads to a high level of psychological empowerment and job satisfaction (Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). As a result, innovate working climate decreases turnover intention (Yeun & Han, 2016).

Feeling valued & trusted (Factor 2): if employees perceived low support, they tend not to feel valued, which is associated with high turnover among retail sector employees (Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski, & Rhoades, 2002). 'Not feeling valued' is also one of main reasons for voluntary turnover among U.S. child welfare employees (Nittoli, 2003). When employees feel trusted, they feel high levels of autonomy and desire to stay in their current organizations (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Spector & Jex, 1998).

Coworker support and the spirit of camaraderie (Factor 3): a relationship with coworkers and their support are important in deciding to leave organizations (Feeley, Moon, Kozey, & Slowe, 2010; Griffeth et al., 2000). Employees who had good relationships with coworkers and received support from coworkers showed low turnover intention (Ducharme, Knudsen, & Roman, 2007). The spirit of camaraderie also reduces turnover intention (Bertelli, 2007; Lopes Morrison, 2005).

Opportunities for growth and development (Factor 4): employees tend to leave organizations to pursue better opportunities for growth and development (Nouri & Parker, 2013; Weng & McElroy, 2012). For example, career growth opportunities in current organizations leads to organizational commitment, which can result in a low level of turnover intention among employees of public accounting firms (Nouri & Parker, 2013).

Overall, employees' turnover intention would be affected by workplace contextual factors. As the first exploratory endeavor with a focus on the effect of workplace contextual factors on female employees' turnover intention, this study proposed four hypotheses as below.

> H1: Happy and innovative working climate (Factor 1) has a different effect on female employees' turnover intention, compared to its effect on male counterparts' turnover intention.
>
> H2: Feeling valued and trusted (Factor 2) has a different effect on female employees' turnover intention, compared to its effect on male counterparts' turnover intention.
>
> H3: Coworker support and the spirit of camaraderie (Factor 3) has a different effect on female employees' turnover intention, compared to its effect on male counterparts' turnover intention.
>
> H4: Opportunities for growth and development (Factor 4) has a different effect on female employees' turnover intention, compared to its effect on male counterparts' turnover intention.

Methods

This study tested which aspects of workplace characteristics have more effects on turnover intention, using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses. Before conducting OLS regression, exploratory factor analysis was run with 20 workplace variables to figure out underlying factors among them.

Of three distinct 2016 Merit Principles Surveys (MPS) (i.e., Path 1, Path 2, and Path L), 'Path 2' was used in this study. Path 1 and Path 2 were directed to both line employees and supervisors and collected data about different topics, respectively. Path L was directed to supervisors only. The Merit System Protection Board has statutory responsibility to assess the health of federal merit systems and the 2016 MPS data is the most recent data available to the public when this study was conducted. The sample was drawn from 24 federal agencies, and 14,473 full-time civilian federal employees participated in the survey for the data set 'Path 2' with 38.7% response rate (Merit System Protection Board, 2016).

Dependent Variable

Turnover intention was used as a dependent variable in this study. Although turnover intention is not equal to actual turnover, there exists a high correlation between turnover and turnover intention (Dalton, Daily, Johnson, & Ellstrand, 1999), and turnover intention has been a mainstay of the turnover research (Cohen, Blake, & Goodman, 2016). In fact, turnover intention is a frequently used surrogate measure for actual turnover in public administration literature (Bertelli, 2007; Bright, 2008; Cho & Song, 2017; Moynihan & Landuyt, 2008), as well as in general turnover studies (Griffeth et al., 2000; Hyosu Kim & Kao, 2014; Soojin Kim, Tam, Kim, & Rhee, 2017). In the 2016 MPS data set, survey participants were asked to indicate the level of agreement about a plan to move to a different occupation or line of work (1: strongly disagree, …, 5: strongly agree).

Independent Variables

Diverse contextual factors of workplaces were used as independent variables. U.S. federal employees were asked to indicate the level of agreement about workplace variables (1: strongly disagree, …, 5: strongly agree). Exploratory factor analysis was conducted to identify underlying dimensions among 20 workplace variables.

Before deciding how many extracted factors would be attained in this study, both eigenvalues and a eigenvalue scree plot were considered as methodologists suggested (Ferguson & Cox, 1993; Hayton, Allen, & Scarpello, 2004). One factor showed greater than one in eigenvalue (See Appendix 1, Table A), but the eigenvalue scree plot illustrated that the slope of the graph did not change much after the fourth factor (See Appendix 1, Figure A). According to the guideline of the scree test (DeCoster, 1998; Yong & Pearce, 2013), it is recommended to attain all factors until the slope did not change much. In this study, four factors were finally attained. More details in the factor analysis can be found in Appendix 1. After factor analysis, reasonable names were given to extracted factors although the given names may not fully contain the meaning of all component variables in each factor. Below are the attained four factors of the factor analysis. The component variables of each factor can be found in Appendix 1, Table B.

Factor 1 (happy and innovative working climate)
Factor 2 (feeling valued and trusted)
Factor 3 (coworker support and the spirit of camaraderie)
Factor 4 (opportunities for growth and development)

Internal consistency or reliability of these four factors was also checked by computing Cronbach's alpha value. The Cronbach's alpha values for all four factors were between 0.85

and 0.95 (see Appendix 1, Table B). According to the criteria for internal consistency (Cronbach, 1951; Nunnally, 1978), a set of variables is considered to have sufficient internal consistency or reliability when Cronbach's alpha value is greater than 0.7.

Demographic Variables

In this study, several demographic factors were used in regression analyses. If an employee has a longer tenure (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986; Ju & Li, 2019), a managerial status (Dreher, 1982; Stumpf & Dawley, 1981), higher salary (Gattiker, 1989; Trevor, Gerhart, & Boudreau, 1997), an older age (Carless & Arnup, 2011; Kellough & Osuna, 1995), union membership, or a teleworker status (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007; Hunton & Norman, 2010), they tend to show a low level of turnover intention. However, turnover intention tends to increase if an employee is female (M.-H. Huang & Cheng, 2012; Moynihan & Landuyt, 2008), racial minority (Doede, 2017; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly III, 1992), or more educated (Emiroğlu et al., 2015; Hyosu Kim & Kao, 2014). In this study, it is assumed that female employees' turnover intention is differently affected by demographic factors, compared to male counterparts' turnover intention. In each demographic factor of this study, numbers were assigned as seen in Appendix 2, Table A.

Findings

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Mean values and standard deviations (SD) for workplace variables and demographic variables are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. All correlations between workplace variables were significant and positive ($p<0.01$), and all correlations between workplace variables and turnover intention were significant and negative ($p<0.01$)—correlations were not displayed in Table 1. That is, turnover intention seems to decrease if employees agree or strongly agree with any workplace variables.

On average, federal employees did not have a high level of turnover intention (i.e., mean was 2.33 out of 5) and there was no significant difference in turnover intention between male and female employees (mean of males=2.31, mean of females=2.35, $t=1.63$, not shown in the table). Although working conditions and rewards for female employees are usually inferior (e.g., lower pay, less opportunities for promotion, less authority) to those for male counterparts, researchers found that female employees showed a higher level of job satisfaction than their male counterparts (Clark, 1997; Oshagbemi, 2000; Phelan, 1994; Sloane & Williams, 2000; Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza, 2003)—it is called a "grateful slave phenomenon" (Hakim, 1991, p. 103). Therefore, it is not surprising that female employees did not report a significantly higher level of turnover intention than male counterparts.

Of 20 workplace variables, the top five variables that employees reported a high level of agreement about were, "I understand how I contribute to my agency's mission" (w18, mean=4.17 out of 5), "My judgment is trusted and relied on at work" (w6, mean=3.93), "I feel needed and depended on at work" (w4, mean=3.88), "I like the quality of relationships I have with my coworkers" (w13, mean=3.82), and "I feel comfortable being myself at work" (w17, mean=3.78). Of these top five variables, three variables (w18, w6, and w4) were from Factor 2 (Feeling valued and trusted), whereas no variables were from Factor 4 (Opportunities for growth and development). Bottom five variables that employees reported a low level of agreement about were, "I am able to share my true thoughts and feelings at work" (w11, mean=3.38), "I feel encouraged to try new things in my work" (w10, mean=3.43), "I feel fully appreciated at work" (w9, mean=3.44), "There is a culture of openness and support for new or different perspectives in my work unit" (w3, mean=3.45), and "I feel cared about personally at work" (w12, mean=3.46). Of these bottom five variables, four variables (w11, w10, w9, and w12) were from Factor 1 (Happy and innovative working climate).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Turnover and Workplace Variables

Factor	Variable	Mean	SD		Variable	Mean	SD
Turnover		2.33	1.22		w5	3.75	1.11
	w9	3.44	1.19	F2	w6	3.93	1.03
F1	w10	3.43	1.16		w7	3.68	1.17
	w11	3.38	1.20		w18	4.17	0.86
	w12	3.46	1.16		w1	3.75	1.08
	w14	3.68	1.23	F3	w3	3.45	1.17
	w16	3.52	1.18		w8	3.73	1.12
	w17	3.78	1.05		w13	3.82	0.97
	w2	3.67	1.11		w15	3.51	1.19
F2	w4	3.88	1.03		w19	3.57	1.04
				F4	w20	3.49	1.08

Notes: Variables are displayed in the order of factor numbers (F1–F4): factor 1 (w9, w10, w11, w12, w14, w16, w17), factor 2 (w2, w4, w5, w6, w7, w18), factor 3 (w1, w3, w8, w13, w15), and factor 4 (w19, w20). Meanings of workplace variables (w1–w20) can be found in Appendix 1, Table B. Correlation coefficients are available upon request.

As seen in Table 2, survey participants stayed in their current agencies for more than 4 years on average and held a team leader or higher managerial status (mean=2.25). Of survey participants, 15% were union members, 33% were racial minorities, 42% were female, and 56% were able to telework. In addition, salary levels were between $75,000 and $150,000 on average; their ages were older than 40 on average; and education level was Associate of Arts (AA) or Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree on average.

Workplace Variables, Demographic Variables, and Turnover Intention

OLS regression analyses were conducted with males and females, respectively (see Table 3). Variance inflation factor (VIF) was checked when regressions were run because there might be a multicollinearity issue due to high correlations among workplace variables. If there exists a severe multicollinearity issue in the regression analysis, the statistical significance of each independent variable will be undermined, and results become unreliable (Mansfield & Helms, 1982). It turned out that the average VIF was under 3. According to the suggested guideline (Mansfield & Helms, 1982; Miles, 2005), the multicollinearity cannot be an issue in the regression analysis if average VIF value is less than 10.

The effects of demographic factors on turnover intention were very similar among male and female employees except an education level. For both male and female employees, turnover intention increased when they were promoted to higher managerial positions or when they were racial/ethnic minorities. For both male and female employees, turnover intention decreased when salary went up or when they became older. However, only female employees showed decreased turnover intention when they were more educated.

Factor 1 (happy and innovative working climate) generally showed a significant difference in its effect on turnover intention between female and male employees. Only female employees showed decreased turnover intention when they felt fully appreciated at work (w9) or when they felt encouraged to try new things in their work (w10). Only male employees showed

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Demographic Variables

Variable	Mean	SD
Years with current agency (1: 3 years or less, 2: 4 years or more)	1.91	0.28
Managerial status (1: non-supervisor, 2: team leader, …, 5: executive)	2.25	1.29
Union membership (0: non-member, 1: member)	0.15	0.36
Salary (1: $74,999 or less, 2: $75,000–$99,999, 3: $100,000–$149,999, 4: $150,000 or more)	2.52	1.03
Racial minority (0: non-minority, 1: minority)	0.33	0.47
Gender (0: male, 1: female)	0.42	0.49
Age group (1: 39 and under, 2: 40 and over)	1.86	0.35
Education level (1: less than AA degree, 2: AA or BA degree 3: graduate degree)	2.21	0.73
Telework status (0: non-teleworker, 1: teleworker)	0.56	0.50

decreased turnover intention when they felt comfortable being themselves at work (w17). When they felt comfortable talking to their supervisor about the things that matter to them at work (w14), both male and female employees showed decreased turnover intention. Overall, H1 was partially supported.

Factor 2 (feeling valued and trusted) showed some different effects on female employees' turnover intention. Only female employees showed decreased turnover intention when they understood how they contribute to their agency's mission (w18), whereas only male employees showed decreased turnover intention when they felt valued at work (w7). Surprisingly, male employees' turnover intention increased when their judgment was trusted and relied on at work (w6). Overall, H2 was partially supported.

Factor 3 (coworker support and the spirit of camaraderie) showed similar effects on turnover intention among female and male employees. Only female employees showed decreased turnover intention when they liked the quality of relationships they had with their coworkers (w13). Overall, H3 was not supported.

Factor 4 (Opportunities for growth and development) showed some different effects on female employees' turnover intention. Only female employees showed decreased turnover intention when they had an opportunity to develop their character in their organizations (w20), whereas both male and female employees showed decreased turnover intention when they thrived at work (w19). Overall, H4 was partially supported.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study attempted to identify what workplace contextual factors would reduce female employees' turnover intention. As seen in the hypothesis testing, female employees' turnover intention was differently affected by many workplace contextual factors, compared to male

Table 3. Regression Analysis Results (DV: Turnover Intention)

		Females Only		Males Only	
	Variable	Coefficients	SE	Coefficients	SE
Demographic Factors	Tenure with current agency	-0.084	0.07	-0.111	0.06
	Managerial status	0.064***	0.02	0.044**	0.02
	Union membership	0.080	0.05	0.054	0.05
	Salary	-0.148***	0.02	-0.154***	0.02
	Racial minority	0.442***	0.04	0.240***	0.04
	Age group	-0.140*	0.06	-0.095*	0.05
	Education level	-0.057*	0.03	0.000	0.02
	Telework status	-0.027	0.04	-0.027	0.03
Factor 1	I feel fully appreciated at work (w9)	-0.065*	0.03	-0.024	0.03
	I feel encouraged to try new things in my work (w10)	-0.053+	0.03	0.005	0.03
	I am able to share my true thoughts and feelings at work (w11)	0.010	0.03	0.047+	0.03
	I feel cared about personally at work (w12)	-0.001	0.03	-0.034	0.03
	I feel comfortable talking to my supervisor about the things that matter to me at work (w14)	-0.054*	0.03	-0.046*	0.02
	I am able to openly express my concerns at work (w16)	0.038	0.03	-0.005	0.03
	I feel comfortable being myself at work (w17)	-0.045	0.03	-0.071**	0.03
Factor 2	I am empowered to do my work the way I see best (w2)	0.033	0.03	-0.017	0.02
	I feel needed and depended on at work (w4)	0.005	0.03	-0.015	0.03
	My perspective is sought on important work matters (w5)	-0.010	0.03	0.029	0.03
	My judgment is trusted and relied on at work (w6)	-0.001	0.03	0.083**	0.03
	I feel valued at work (w7)	-0.055	0.04	-0.142***	0.03
	I understand how I contribute to my agency's mission (w18)	-0.058*	0.03	-0.021	0.02
Factor 3	There is a spirit of friendship and camaraderie in my work unit (w1)	-0.008	0.03	-0.008	0.03
	There is a culture of openness and support for new or different perspectives in my work unit (w3)	0.024	0.03	-0.017	0.03
	There is a culture of helping and supporting one another in my work unit (w8)	0.048	0.03	0.008	0.03
	I like the quality of relationships I have with my coworkers (w13)	-0.058*	0.03	-0.033	0.03
	There is a spirit of trust in my work unit (w15)	0.023	0.03	-0.002	0.03
Factor 4	I thrive at work (w19)	-0.113***	0.03	-0.184***	0.03
	I have an opportunity to develop my character in my organization (w20)	-0.106***	0.03	-0.009	0.03
Number of Observations		3,665		5,166	
R-squared		0.181		0.153	
F-value		28.68		33.15	

Notes. Unstandardized coefficients are displayed. + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

employees' turnover intention. OLS regression analyses also showed that female employees' turnover intention was most affected by Factor 4 (opportunities for growth and development) and least affected by Factor 2 (feeling valued and trusted) and Factor 3 (coworker support and the spirit of camaraderie). For male employees, Factor 1 (happy and innovative working climate) had the biggest effect on turnover intention, whereas Factor 3 (coworker support and the spirit of camaraderie) had the least effect on turnover intention.

This study also examined the effects of major demographic variables on turnover intention. For both male and female employees, employees with high salary or older age showed a lower level of turnover intention, and employees with racial minority status showed a higher level of turnover intention as predicted in the literature. However, turnover intention increased when employees were promoted to higher managerial positions, contrary to the prediction of the literature. Researchers explain that managers tend to stay in the current organizations because they have higher investment in the current organizations than non-managers (Dreher, 1982; Stumpf & Dawley, 1981). When employees are promoted to higher managerial positions, their stress level tends to increase (Cavanaugh, Boswell, Roehling, & Boudreau, 2000). If the stress level exceeds their perceived value of the investment in the current organizations, they might decide to resign. Unlike male employees, female employees' turnover intention was also affected by the education level. As female employees were more educated, turnover intention decreased, which is contrary to the general prediction about educational effect (Emiroğlu et al., 2015; Hyosu Kim & Kao, 2014). In fact, compared to the private sector, prospective public employees with more educational backgrounds can be more likely to be hired in governments (Blank, 1985), and the pay gap between male and female employees is smaller in governments (Asher & Popkin, 1984; Perloff & Wachter, 1984). Furthermore, governments have bans on discrimination against women and minorities (Lewis & Frank, 2002). Therefore, it is not surprising that more educated female employees showed less turnover intention.

As one of the first attempts to comprehensively investigate the effects of workplace contextual factors on female employees' turnover intention, this study made some noteworthy contributions to the current literature. First, the findings in this study can be used as practical guidelines for human resource management (HRM) practices that can reduce turnover and turnover intention among female and male employees. According to the findings in this study, some workplace contextual factors had more significant effects on female employees' turnover intention than others. Secondly, this study filled the gap in the turnover literature by focusing on the effects of diverse organizational contextual factors that did not get turnover researchers' attention until recently. With a large-N sample, this study could investigate the effects of contextual factors on female employees' turnover intention in a more comprehensive manner. Unlike extant studies that only focused on a few selected contextual factors such as organizational justice (Nadiri & Tanova, 2010; Parker & Kohlmeyer III, 2005) and organizational culture (Egan et al., 2004; J. Kim, 2015), this study took into consideration all contextual factors at the same time. Therefore, this study could identify some contextual factors that were more effective in reducing female employees' turnover intention.

However, some caution needs to be exercised when interpreting the findings in this study. First, although it is helpful to focus on the effects of a few workplace contextual factors on employees' turnover intention, there are no commonly agreed definitions of workplace contextual factors. They may be differently defined, depending on what questions are asked in the survey. Studies in diverse settings should be conducted to develop more common workplace contextual factors. Secondly, what this study found may not be similarly applicable to all female public employees with diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds because this study did not control for racial/ethnic backgrounds of survey participants. Thirdly, we are not sure whether the findings in this study can be applicable to public employees at other levels of governments such as state and local governments or in different countries because only federal employees in the U.S. were surveyed in the MPS data. More research should be conducted in

the future and these limitations need to be taken care of before generalizing the findings of this study.

Disclosure Statement

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

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Appendix 1. Factor Analysis of Workplace Contextual Variables

Table 1A. Eigenvalues and Explained Proportion of Variance

Factor	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor 1	12.61	11.89	0.92	0.92
Factor 2	0.73	0.27	0.05	0.97
Factor 3	0.46	0.16	0.03	1.00
Factor 4	0.30	0.07	0.02	1.02

Figure A. Scree Plot of Eigenvalues after Factor Analysis

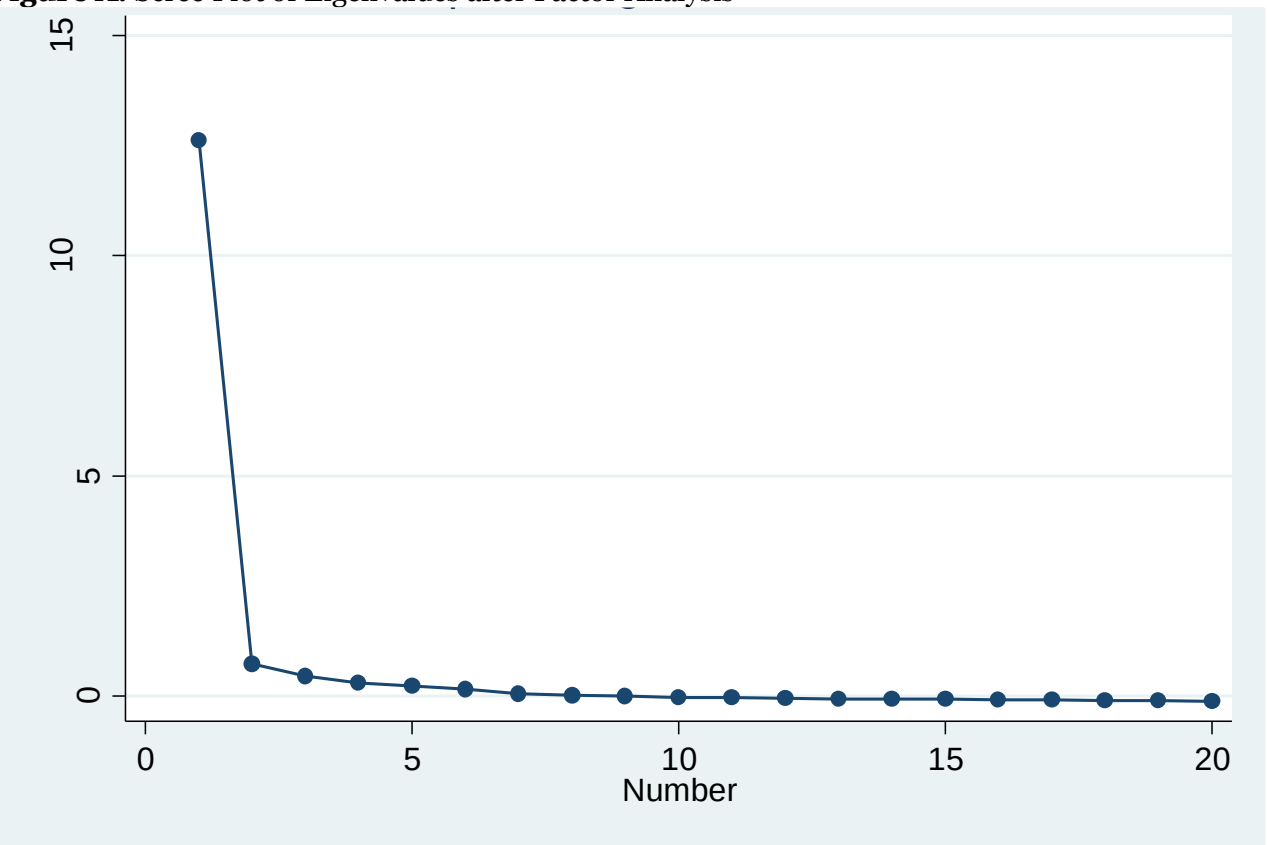

Table 1B. Factor Loadings and Alpha Values for Factors

Factor	Component variable	Factor Loading	Alpha
Factor 1	I feel fully appreciated at work (w9)	0.51	0.95
	I feel encouraged to try new things in my work (w10)	0.50	
	I am able to share my true thoughts and feelings at work (w11)	0.67	
	I feel cared about personally at work (w12)	0.55	
	I feel comfortable talking to my supervisor about the things that matter to me at work (w14)	0.65	
	I am able to openly express my concerns at work (w16)	0.74	
	I feel comfortable being myself at work (w17)	0.56	
Factor 2	I am empowered to do my work the way I see best (w2)	0.44	0.91
	I feel needed and depended on at work (w4)	0.66	
	My perspective is sought on important work matters (w5)	0.72	
	My judgment is trusted and relied on at work (w6)	0.72	
	I feel valued at work (w7)	0.64	
	I understand how I contribute to my agency's mission (w18)	0.42	
Factor 3	There is a spirit of friendship and camaraderie in my work unit (w1)	0.75	0.92
	There is a culture of openness and support for new or different perspectives in my work unit (w3)	0.49	
	There is a culture of helping and supporting one another in my work unit (w8)	0.71	
	I like the quality of relationships I have with my coworkers (w13)	0.65	
	There is a spirit of trust in my work unit (w15)	0.63	
Factor 4	I thrive at work (w19)	0.54	0.85
	I have an opportunity to develop my character in my organization (w20)	0.52	

Appendix 2

Table 2A. Demographic Variables

Demographic Variable	Assigned number
Years with current agency	1: 3 years or less 2: 4 years or more
Supervisory status	1: non-supervisor 2: team leader 3: supervisor 4: manager 5: executive
Union membership	0: non-union membership 1: dues-paying union membership
Salary level	1: $74,999 or less 2: $75,000–$99,999 3: $100,000–$149,999 4: $150,000 or more
Racial minority	0: non-minority 1: minority
Gender	0: male 1: female
Age group	1: 39 and under 2: 40 and over
Education level	1: less than AA degree 2: AA or BA degree 3: graduate degree
Teleworker status	0: non-teleworker 1: teleworker

Research Article

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Protected, but Not Included? The Role of Workplace Inclusion for Sexual and Gender Minorities in the Federal Service

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The public workplace has traditionally been conceived of in heteronormative and cisnormative terms, wherein heterosexuality, the gender binary, and opposite-sex relationships are presumed and institutionalized in both word and deed. Recent policy changes and public opinion shifts regarding lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals have placed an onus on employers to develop means to include sexual and gender minorities in the overall organizational culture and improve LGBT individuals' workplace experiences. Using multilevel data analysis, this study focuses on how LGBT federal workers' perceptions of inclusion at the agency, supervisory, and work unit levels affect their job satisfaction. The results indicate that LGBT employees' inclusion perceptions play a moderating role between their sexual or gender minority identities and individual job satisfaction. The findings suggest that interventions aimed at developing an inclusive culture that reduces or eliminates traditional heteronormativity and cisnormativity, both agency-wide and at separate organizational levels, may improve job satisfaction among LGBT workers.

Keywords: Job Satisfaction, LGBT, Inclusion

Introduction

With its emphasis on diversity-minded recruitment, merit-based promotion and retention, and color-blind performance evaluation, the United States federal personnel system might be optimistically viewed as a model for 21st century public human resource management. Indeed, in the myths perpetuated in public administration theories of the late 19th and 20th centuries, such a system represents a sexless, rational, formal organizational system wherein value is placed in the work performed and the roles played by personnel, not on the personal identities or characteristics of those doing the work. The reality of the modern federal agency is more nuanced, however, as the individuals who compose that system bring their own styles, biases, and social tendencies to work, contributing to the formation of in-groups and out-groups within the larger organizations.

The business case for diversity (Thomas, 1990) and the benefits of diversity management (Pitts, 2009) have long been accepted, as has Sabharwal's (2014) more recent argument that performance is best enhanced via an inclusive work environment in which employees feel valued, fairly treated, and able to influence organizational practices. The case of lesbian, gay,

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bisexual, and transgender people's (LGBT[1]) social and workplace inclusion is particularly striking, as there exist two terms for LGBT individuals' organizational reality—*heteronormativity* and *cisnormativity*—that describe sexual and gender minorities' relative marginalization within the professional environment. Both terms effectively translate as the *exclusion* of LGBT people from the 'normal' or majority group, whether in word or in deed, while *inclusion* reflects disruption of hetero- and cis-normative practices and a move toward welcoming sexual and gender minorities in the overall group culture. As the nation's locus of public policy, largest single employer,[2] and cultural thought leader, the federal government appears to have recognized its responsibility to model inclusion behaviors and has specifically geared some of those to its LGBT employee population.

Numerous studies have examined workplace inclusion and LGBT experiences, but few have examined the synergies that exist between workplace inclusivity and LGBT employees' reaction to institutional attempts to include them in the overall workplace culture (Hur, 2020). Therefore, this work considers the behaviors from which LGBT inclusion might result, whether LGBT employees' experiences of inclusion are consistent across several consecutive years, and what effect such inclusion might have on employee satisfaction on the job. While there have been a handful of studies that have assessed the effects of inclusion on employee satisfaction, few have previously examined whether and how inclusivity demonstrated at different organizational levels affects satisfaction. Thus, as of this writing, this is the first study to assess whether actions taken by the federal agency, its supervisors, and its work units moderate the relationship between LGBT identity and employee satisfaction.

Conceptual Framework: Heteronormativity and Cisnormativity as Exclusion

To better comprehend inclusion and its effects on LGBT individuals, we must first understand the nature of their exclusion. Like members of other minority groups, sexual and gender minorities experience the dominant culture through interactions with individuals, groups, and institutions. While homophobia, understood as "a negative attitude toward an individual based on her or his membership in a group defined by its members' sexual attractions, behaviors, or orientation" (Herek & McLemore, 2013, p. 312), is the more commonly presumed, negative experience for LGBT individuals, homophobia falls short of explaining the extent of LGBT exclusion from the social and cultural benefits afforded to the heterosexual and cisgender majority. Rather, to fully appreciate the magnitude of LGBT individuals' exclusion from equitable treatment, research must examine the systemically heteronormative culture within which sexual and gender minorities operate. This approach necessitates use of a queer theory lens and an explicit 'queering' of administrative activities; that is, it examines agency-employer behavior and assesses the extent to which heterosexuality and cisgender identities permeate personnel policy to the exclusion of LGBT-identified individuals.[3]

Heteronormativity, defined as the "belief system underlying institutionalized heterosexuality" (Ingraham, 2006, p. 307), implicates the systemic structuring of society and the institutions within it to legitimize and afford privilege to heterosexuality and heterosexual relationships (Gusmano, 2010; Willis, 2009), while cisnormativity similarly privileges individuals who identify as one of the two binary genders, male or female, assigned to the individual at birth (Suárez et al., 2020). Both concepts rest on the premise that only two sexes, two genders, and opposite-sex relationship are socially and culturally 'normal' (Giddings & Pringle, 2011), and prescribe conventional ways for one to live their life (Jackson, 2006). In environments where an individual is presupposed to be heterosexual and identified as either female or male, heterosexual relationships and the gender binary are deemed normal, while non-conforming relationships or gender identities are considered aberrant. In short, whether at work or in a social setting, heteronormativity and cisnormativity translate to the cultural, interpersonal, and/or institutional exclusion of LGBT people.

Heteronormativity and preference for binary gender identities permeate workplace structures and cultures (Angouri, 2015; Rumens, 2016). Much like legal structures that have historically institutionalized heterosexuality and shaped the social order (Jackson, 2006), organizations create their own heteronormative social orders, manifesting as organizational cultures that define acceptable employee attitudes, identities, and behavior. LGBT individuals must constantly negotiate the institutional norms, practices, and values implicit in hetero- and cis-normative culture (Angouri, 2015; Rumens, 2016; Rumens & Broomfield, 2014; Ward & Winstanley, 2003). Such negotiation often revolves around the disclosure of one's LGBT identity, either explicitly or implicitly, as well as the contexts in which such disclosure might be made. This means, for instance, minding one's pronoun usage when discussing their partner or relationship, as well as conforming to gender norms in regard to dress and physical presentation. Because of this ongoing identity management and regardless of their myriad work-related skills, sexual and gender minorities are constantly reminded that because they do not conform to such norms, they are not full members of their respective organizations.

Inclusion and LGBT Personnel in the U.S. Federal System

Before assessing the degree to which any population experiences inclusion in the workplace, we must first consider the evolving definition and construction of the term 'inclusion.' Workplace inclusion has recently received notice as the inheritor and logical extension of diversity and diversity management initiatives in the workplace (Hur, 2020; Pink-Harper et al., 2017; Pitts, 2009; Sabharwal, 2014). The concept of inclusion has been described as reflecting organizational engagement (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998), cooperative work behaviors with colleagues (Gasorek, 2000; Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998), and participation in decision making (Davidson & Ferdman, 2002; Pelled et al., 1999; Sabharwal, 2014). Within the general population, prior research evaluates individuals' emotive experiences in the workplace and suggests that employees perceive inclusion within their work environment when they feel that they belong in their work group, are accepted by their supervisors and peers, and receive equal treatment from superiors within the organization (Melton & Cunningham, 2014). To clarify the meaning of inclusion as a workable construct, Shore et al. (2011) articulate two primary themes under which these and other manifestations of workplace inclusion may be organized: appreciation for uniqueness and sense of organizational belonging. Building on Ely and Thomas' (2001) argument, Shore et al. (2011) argue that inclusion simultaneously signifies the fulfillment of a person's need to belong while also being appreciated for the uniqueness they bring to work.

Similar to prior conceptualizations of inclusion, the present study acknowledges that inclusion manifests as a latent construct comprising "separate though interrelated dimensions" (Andrews & Ashworth, 2015, p. 282) that may be difficult to parse out for analysis. Given the multidimensional character of workplace inclusion, it may be demonstrated in a variety of ways and at multiple organizational levels that collectively reflect the collaborative, organization-wide work to create a culture that recognizes all employees' individual contributions (Priola et al., 2014; Willis, 2009). Ultimately, inclusion of diverse populations into the agency culture requires holistic incorporation of inclusive practice at all organizational levels. Inclusion feasibly cannot manifest the same way at all organizational levels; rather, relationships between the employee and his or her agency, supervisors, and immediate work unit will relay an inclusive message through varying means and methods.

Much like other facets of organizational culture, inclusion cannot be expected to develop overnight. Rather, culture is a learned phenomenon that develops as groups adapt to environmental changes, and is communicated by a variety of procedures, explicit rules, and implicit norms developed by the group as it negotiates various challenges (Schein, 2010). Inclusion-oriented culture implicates an integration-and-learning process wherein group members acknowledge and recognize the value of individual differences within their diverse

body, and then integrate those differences into the whole (Shore et al., 2011). Given the institutionalized nature of hetero- and cis-normativity, the disruption and eventual dismantling of such organizational norms requires significant investment of time and energy across all facets of agency life. Drivers of such change may come in a variety of shapes and sizes, but, if successful, a culture supporting the inclusion of diverse individuals may evolve.

Within the U.S. federal personnel system, sexual and gender minorities historically have found themselves on the receiving end of policies aimed at their delegitimization and elimination from the employment ranks. Anti-LGBT rhetoric and paranoia surrounding LGBT individuals' suitability for federal employment dominated LGBT-focused federal personnel policies into the 21st century.[4] Up to that point, limited federal-level legal protections existed for LGBT workers, as no significant piece of legislation explicitly protected those with LGBT identities from discriminatory actions in the workplace. Few federal-level actions were taken to address sexual and gender minorities in the federal service until the late 1990s, and in fact, the most visible activity targeting LGBT federal employees at the turn of the 21st century—the Defense of Marriage Act of 1993 (DOMA) and President Clinton's 1994 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' (DADT) directive—further entrenched heterosexual norms in the federal service. DOMA defined marriage as existing between one man and one woman, thereby affording the rights and privileges of legal marriage to only those engaged in heterosexual marriages. DOMA further empowered the federal government, as an employer, to define significant terms, e.g., marriage, dependent, and family, in exclusively hetero-oriented nomenclature, thereby denying extension of federal benefits to LGBT employees' families and households if they were formed as the result of same-sex relationships. Meanwhile, though DADT eliminated the ban on LGBT military service members, it made service members' openness about their LGBT identities punishable by expulsion from the military and loss of veteran benefits. In short, by explicitly legitimizing only heterosexual orientation, binary gender identities, and opposite-sex relationships and marriages, DOMA and DADT largely served to entrench the otherization of LGBT individuals within the modern federal service.

Shifting cultural winds and political wills ushered President Obama into office in 2009, and his administration quickly utilized executive actions to address and eliminate overt anti-LGBT discrimination in the federal ranks. The Obama administration expanded access to spousal benefits for federal employees' same-sex domestic partners (Federman & Elias, 2017) and reversed DADT during the president's first term, and DOMA was later overturned by the Supreme Court. In response to the Supreme Court's finding in *United States v. Windsor* (2013) which ended the prohibition on federal recognition of same-sex marriage, the administration directed federal agencies to bring their programs in line with the decision and demonstrated the federal government's commitment, both socially and institutionally, to combatting the heteronormativity previously built into public policy. Post-*Windsor*, federal agencies immediately worked to extend federal benefits to LGBT employees and their spouses that had not been previously offered. By way of Executive Order 13672 in 2014, the administration also explicitly prohibited discrimination on the basis of LGBT identity and extended employment protections for LGBT employees who worked in or applied for federal contracting jobs.

Obama-era federal personnel guidance demonstrated the administrative state's commitment to inclusive workplace practices. In concert with President Obama's Executive Order 13583 which articulated the administration's commitment to diversity and inclusion, the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM) expressed the federal government's commitment to inclusive employment practices in its 2011 Government-Wide Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan. OPM set out the federal government's understanding of inclusion as "a culture that connects each employee to the organization; encourages collaboration, flexibility, and fairness; and leverages diversity throughout the organization so that all individuals are able to participate and contribute to their full potential" (OPM, 2011, p. 5). OPM recommends an intentional approach to developing an inclusive culture and explains to federal workers that

"if [employees] do not intentionally, deliberately, and proactively include, [they] will unintentionally exclude" (OPM, 2014, 2:50).

During the Obama administration, OPM unambiguously identified as one of its goals the creation and maintenance of an inclusive organizational culture across federal agencies. Consistent with the integration-and-learning perspective on organizational inclusion (see Shore et al., 2011), OPM recognized the need to acknowledge and value differences among people and then integrate them into organizational function. While OPM's understanding of inclusion was notably similar to Shore et al.'s (2011), its understanding of inclusion represented a broader construction of the concept, drawing on the emotive experiences of employees who are included or accepted in the workplace culture. Inclusion within the federal personnel context emphasized affability, flexibility, and fairness to make employees feel welcome and important to the agency (OPM, 2014). Agencies' inclusive cultures were intended to encourage employees to believe their whole identity belonged at work, their unique contribution was valued by the employer, their perspective was considered, and they had a say in what happens at work (OPM, 2014).

The Obama-era OPM demonstrated its proactive perspective on inclusion by explicitly instructing agencies on inclusive personnel practices via memoranda, videos, and other materials, and then measuring inclusion with the New IQ survey items in its annual Employee Viewpoint Survey. Since 2012, OPM has used the New IQ, or inclusive intelligence quotient, to measure inclusive intelligence, which OPM defines as "the intentional, deliberate, and proactive acts that increase our group intelligence by making people feel they belong and are uniquely valued" (OPM, 2014, 2:40). OPM's recipe for inclusion includes five workplace habits that encourage inclusion: fairness, openness, supportiveness, cooperativeness, empowerment. OPM tracks the agency progress toward inclusion and encourages continued improvement, thereby indicating its commitment to developing a stronger culture of inclusion**.**

Job Satisfaction, Inclusion, and the LGBT Experience

The present work contends that perceptions of inclusion in the federal workplace will enhance the employee experience at work, and such a position is consistent with the dynamic reflected in social exchange theory. Blau (1964) defines social exchange as "voluntary actions of individuals that are motivated by the returns they are expected to bring and typically do in fact bring from others" (p.93). Social exchange theory posits that "people should help those who have helped them" and "people should not injure those who have helped them" (Gouldner, 1960, p. 171). After receiving benefit from their organization or being treated equitably with other employees, employees will reciprocate these favors with positive work attitudes (Aryee et al., 2002; Gould-Williams & Davies, 2005, p. 4). Thus, it may be argued that when LGBT employees perceive inclusive organizational practices such as support from supervisors, the equitable treatment received by coworkers, and development of inclusive personnel policies, they will reciprocate these good turns with positive work attitudes. Hur (2020) recently used social exchange theory to examine the synergies between workplace inclusivity and LGBT employees' reaction to institutional attempts to include them in the overall workplace culture, testing the effects of different inclusive work environment practices on LGBT employee job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Job Satisfaction

The study ascribes to the definitions of job satisfaction that point to individuals' affective responses to their jobs (Kim, 2005), such as how favorably an employee feels toward their job (Gruneberg, 1979), the degree to which a positive emotional state results from the work experience (Locke, 1976; Locke & Henne, 1986), and the congruence between what employees want or expect from their jobs and what they believe they receive from them (Wright & Davis,

2003). This work explores LGBT employees' job satisfaction in the years immediately following modifications to the federal personnel system to make it more inclusive of LGBT employees and their families. While many potential factors may moderate the relationship between job satisfaction and sexual or gender minority status (see, e.g., Aldén et al., 2020; Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Jin & Park, 2016), the majority of the research on the subject suggests that job satisfaction should be expected to vary with sexual orientation and gender identity (Aldén et al., 2020; Hur, 2020). With few exceptions, and across national contexts, the literature indicates that LGBT individuals report lower job satisfaction than heterosexual employees.

Reports of employee job satisfaction have long been considered indicative of employees' perceptions of their treatment at their employers' hands. Given recent shifts in public opinion, significant public policy changes, and federal court rulings recognizing LGBT rights, the experiences of LGBT individuals in the workplace warrant examination. While job satisfaction may be one of the most studied concepts in organizational research, the literature takes a largely piecemeal approach to the topic (Cantarelli et al., 2016) and leaves significant room to study the satisfaction of diverse subpopulations. Lewis and Pitts (2017) find that LGBT individuals are less satisfied on the job than their heterosexual and cisgender colleagues within the federal service. The authors attribute the LGBT-heterosexual difference in satisfaction to a number of possible causes, including age, experience, and racial differences between the LGBT and non-LGBT samples. However, in their study of federal security agency employees, Federman and Elias (2017) find little difference between the experiences of LGBT and non-LGBT persons. Several international studies have also examined the relationship between LGBT identity and job satisfaction. In studies of Greek workers (Drydakis, 2015) and Canadian workers (Leppel, 2014), job satisfaction has been found to vary with sexual orientation and gender identity, and LGBT employees tend to report lower satisfaction than their heterosexual and cisgender counterparts.

Inclusion

By its very definition, inclusion serves to encourage diffuse groups and individuals to be recognized as belonging to the whole. Mor Barak's (1999) conceptual model of organizational inclusion provides that an individual's sense of inclusion in the organizational system results from the interplay between personal characteristics, organizational policy, and organizational culture. Mor Barak also examines the role of inclusion as an independent variable on work attitudes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment, finding that differing perceptions of supervisor, group, and organizational inclusion have relationships with organizational satisfaction (Mor Barak, 1999). Findler et al. (2007) test a comprehensive theory by analyzing the relationship between organizational variables and work attitudes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment, finding that both demographic characteristics and organizational factors have relationships with job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

For LGBT individuals, inclusion involves an additional facet: disruption of the hetero- and cis-normativity that historically has relegated them to organizational out-groups. Inclusion's many dimensions, whether defined pursuant to OPM's five habits of inclusion, Mor Barak's (1999) conceptual model, or Shore et al.'s (2011) theoretical framework, undermine and ultimately delegitimize the hetero- and cis-normative structures, policies, and attitudes that had prevented sexual and gender minorities' full membership in the larger group. As those old barriers come tumbling down at the hand of inclusive organizational practices and the organization recognizes LGBT individuals' value and fit within the overall culture, their workplace attitudes will come to reflect such inclusion. The social exchange dynamic suggests that a workplace that promotes an inclusive culture in which diverse individuals are met with respect and a sense of belonging will foster job satisfaction levels among LGBT individuals that rival the job satisfaction of those in the sexual majority.

Given the "separate though interrelated dimensions" inherent in the inclusion construct (Andrews & Ashworth, 2015, p. 282), it can be useful to assess the relationships between job satisfaction and elements of inclusion identified in previous studies. Prior works largely indicate that the various constituent elements of inclusion have positive ramifications for LGBT job satisfaction. Pink-Harper et al. (2017) find that the presence of diversity culture within a federal agency, as measured on a scale developed from three New IQ Index items, predicts increased job satisfaction among LGBT employees. This diversity culture includes diversity-promoting workplace programs and policies, supervisor support for a representative workforce, and supervisors' successful work with diverse employees. The construct corresponds well to the inclusion framework defined by Shore and colleagues (2011), as it speaks to employees' uniqueness via policies and programs at the agency and supervisor level, while it also implicates the belonging demonstrated by supervisors' integration of employees' differences into a functioning work unit. Likewise, Lewis and Pitts (2017) find that LGBT federal employees concurrently experience lower job satisfaction than their heterosexual, cisgender counterparts and lower perceptions of fairness at work.

Supervisor Level Inclusion

Agency supervisors and work unit leaders take active roles in stimulating employees' sense of inclusion (Buengeler et al., 2018). Supervisors directly convey inclusivity by instilling a sense of belonging, respect, and value in their subordinates. For LGBT employees, in particular, supervisors possess the ability to proactively demonstrate inclusivity by engaging in supportive relationships (Willis, 2009) and providing LGBT people with a voice within the organization to, for example, articulate dissatisfaction or contribute to decision making (Bell et al., 2011; Dundon et al., 2005). Given that LGBT employees have traditionally been dissuaded by the hetero- and cis-normative organizational culture from expressing their individuality or fully participating in the decision-making processes available to those in the majority group, supervisors' invitations to completely engage in organizational life can convey to those employees that they truly belong. Such inclusive supervisory behaviors, e.g., the demonstration of respect for an employee regardless of their sexuality or gender identity, respect for the employee's work-life balance irrespective of their family composition, and listening to and investing in the employee's performance and personal opinion of the workplace, will contribute to increased job satisfaction among sexual and gender minorities in the federal workplace. Therefore, it is hypothesized:

H1: Supervisor-level inclusion practices will increase LGBT job satisfaction.

Work Unit Level Inclusion

Within the work unit, employees interact with their peers, colleagues, and supervisory staff in a close environment and at a personal level. They become familiar with one another, share details of their personal and family lives, and operate in concert with one another. In this context, inclusion frequently comprises the equitable treatment received by a worker in the unit, e.g., all workers, regardless of identity or personal characteristics, are evaluated on the same scale, against the same measures, and in a fair way. As efforts are made within work units to equitably include all members of the unit, regardless of identity or minority status, evidence suggests that all workers benefit from such activities, resulting in a more inclusive workplace climate in which LGBT workers may find themselves treated more favorably by their heterosexual peers (Ng & Rumens, 2017; Pichler et al., 2017).

Of OPM's five habits of inclusion, fairness is most frequently included and measured at the work level and speaks to an employee's perceptions of fairness in performance evaluation, equity and appropriateness in the allocation of awards, and correct/suitable punishment or sanction of poor performance. Evidence suggests that one's job satisfaction can be expected to increase as a sense of fairness, the significant element of work unit inclusion, develops within

the work unit (Choi & Rainey, 2014). Further, Lewis and Pitts (2017) find that significant, statistical differences in fairness perceptions between LGBT and heterosexual employees persist after controlling for a variety of demographic characteristics, and that lower levels of fairness translate to lower levels of job satisfaction among LGBT workers. It is therefore hypothesized:

H2: Work unit-level inclusion practices will increase LGBT job satisfaction.

Agency Level Inclusion

At the agency level, inclusion manifests as the disruption of agency procedures and policies that conform to historical, hetero- and cis-normative standards. Agency policies provide the standard for proper behavior in the workplace (Angouri, 2015) and enjoy positive relationships to the creation and preservation of an organizational climate supportive of some sexual minority groups, e.g., gay men (Tejeda, 2006). Development of inclusive personnel policies and procedures places employees on equal footing, regardless of one's identity, orientation, or presumed minority status. Within the context of workplace regulations or standards, in an inclusive agency there exists no disparate treatment of employee groups. With regard to LGBT-identified individuals, the legitimacy of employees' orientations, identities, partnerships, or marriages is not judged based on their presumed gender or sex, nor that of their spouse or partner; discrimination is not tolerated; diversity is promoted in hiring and promotion processes; and employees who belong to cultural out-groups are eligible to be full members of agency culture.

In the context of federal workers, President Obama's pre-*Windsor* executive order that directed federal benefits be provided to employees' same-sex partners and their children demonstrated the federal personnel system's move to include LGBT workers and legitimized their identities and partnerships. Such policies correspond to the 'LGBT-supportive policies' described by Pichler et al. (2017) and demonstrate the federal government's commitment to the equal treatment of LGBT personnel and their families. These moves further indicate the government employer's rejection of hetero- and cis-normative personnel policies and the exclusion that naturally accompanies them. Once included as full and equal members of the agency, LGBT employees should experience the benefits of that inclusion and are expected to report greater satisfaction on the job. Based on the disruption of the traditional hetero- and cis-normativity vis-à-vis inclusive workplace policies directed toward LGBT employees, it is hypothesized:

H3: Agency-level inclusion practices will increase LGBT job satisfaction.

Data and Method

Research on LGBT experiences in public employment, and particularly the federal service, has lagged, in part, due to a dearth of data on the subject (Lewis & Pitts, 2011). Large-scale collections of public employee data have not routinely queried respondents' sexual orientation or gender identity until very recently, which has limited previous scholarly inquiries into LGBT employees' experiences at work. In 2012, the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) began incorporating a survey item on sexual and gender minority status in the Federal Employee Viewpoint Survey (FEVS) which it administers annually to hundreds of thousands of federal employees. For individual-level data, we use three years of FEVS data from 2013 to 2015, conducted by OPM. Particularly, this study uses subsets of survey data including LGBT demographics to examine the impacts of the different levels of inclusion factors on employees' job satisfaction. OPM has published LGBT datasets for four years from 2012 to 2015 and we excluded the year 2012 data due to missing information on employee racial identity. Since

then, OPM has stopped publishing LGBT datasets, making these datasets the most recent FEVS data that report the LGBT variable.

After excluding the respondents who selected 'preferred not to identify' for the survey question of LGBT identification or those who did not respond to the question, the sample for each year is approximately 300,000. To avoid mischaracterization of the data, best practice recommends excluding respondents who answer Prefer Not to Say[5] (Badgett, 2009). This study also collected agency level of data. Agency-level data are derived from FedScope (Federal Human Resources Data), also collected and distributed by OPM. Consequently, 36, 27, and 27 federal agencies are represented in the sample in 2013 to 2015, respectively.

Dependent Variable

Following previous studies (Choi, 2013; Pitts, 2009), a proxy index of overall job satisfaction is measured using two items. For each question, all respondents were asked to answer the extent of satisfaction with their job and organization with the following statements: (1) 'Considering everything, how satisfied are you with your job?', and (2) 'Considering everything, how satisfied are you with your organization?' (Choi, 2013). The Cronbach's alpha for the job satisfaction index is .83 for the three years of data.

Independent Variables

For 2013–2015, the FEVS survey item read, 'Do you consider yourself to be one or more of the following? (mark as many as apply): Heterosexual/straight, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, I Prefer Not to Say.' To protect respondents' identities, FEVS data report the data in three categories: heterosexual/straight, a collapsed sexual and gender minority variable labeled LGBT, and Prefer Not to Say. Based upon best practice recommendations to exclude the respondents who select Prefer Not to Say (Badgett, 2009), our models utilize a binary sexual and gender minority status variable where LGBT=1 and heterosexual/straight=0.

The New IQ index consists of 20 items that are related to organizational inclusion. Given this study's core research question, the original 20 New IQ items were reviewed and those that explicitly identify agency, supervisor, and work unit behaviors were identified based upon their wording in the FEVS, lending face validity to their use as aggregate measures of each construct. For example, several questions merely ask the respondents' feeling about inclusion and the others do not reference the respondents' agency, work unit, or supervisors. Using principal factor analysis with varimax rotation methods, we confirm that, in fact, those isolated behaviors collectively measure what we believe they measure. Supervisor-level, work unit-level, and agency-level inclusion variables are derived from 12 observed variables that originate from the New IQ index constructed by OPM (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2015). Also, inspired by previous studies (Ng & Rumens, 2017; Pichler et al., 2017), two additional variables were included for the work unit-level inclusion, leading to a total of 14 variables.

Supervisor-level inclusion refers to the employee perception of inclusive behaviors exhibited by their superiors (Hoang et al., 2022). Six items were used to measure supervisor-level inclusion: (a) my supervisor supports my need to balance work and other life issues; (b) my supervisor is committed to a workforce representative of all segments of society; (c) my supervisor provides me with constructive suggestions to improve my job performance; (d) my supervisor listens to what I have to say; (e) my supervisor treats me with respect; and (f) in the last six months, my supervisor has talked with me about my performance. The Cronbach's alpha for this measurement is 0.88 for all three years of data.

Work unit-level inclusion, which emphasizes the perceived inclusion in the employee work unit (Choi & Rainey, 2014; Ng & Rumens, 2017; Pichler et al., 2017), was measured using five items: (a) the people I work with cooperate to get the job done; (b) in my work unit, steps are taken to deal with a poor performer who cannot or will not improve; (c) in my work unit, differences in performance are recognized in a meaningful way; (d) awards in my work unit depend on how well employees perform their jobs; and (e) employees in my work unit share job knowledge with each other. The Cronbach's alpha is 0.81 for all three years.

Finally, agency-level inclusion, which focuses on perceived inclusion at the organizational level (Angouri, 2015; Pichler et al., 2017), consists of three items: (a) policies and programs that promote diversity in the workplace; (b) arbitrary action, personal favoritism, and coercion for partisan political purposes are not tolerated; and (c) prohibited personnel practices are not tolerated. The Cronbach's alpha for this measurement is 0.76 for all three years (See Appendix A).

Table 1 reports the Cronbach's alpha values of the three levels that are consistent across the three years and between 0.76 and 0.88. Also, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) confirmed the validity of the indices. The comparative fit index (CFI) is 0.950 and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is 0.079 for all three years, showing that the measurement model fits the data (Hooper et al., 2008). These different levels of inclusion factors were tested to analyze each inclusion factor's effects on employee job satisfaction. For comparative purposes, a single, predicted factor was constructed and used to analyze the summed effect of all three levels of inclusion variables on job satisfaction. For this single, predicted factor, the Cronbach's alpha values are 0.90 for all three years.

Control Variables

The models include a number of controls for individual and organizational level characteristics. Regarding individual characteristics, manager position (manager=1), BIPOC (BIPOC=1; Black, Indigenous, and People of Color), gender (female=1), tenure (1=15 or more years) and age (1=50 or older) are included as dummy variables. In addition, two organizational-level characteristics are included to account for the relative diversity present in each agency, which has been previously demonstrated to have important ramifications on the inclusion-job satisfaction relationship in the literature (Cho & Sai, 2012; Hur, 2020). Agency-level control variables are collected from FedScope which is managed by OPM. First, the proportion of BIPOC employees in the agency was calculated by dividing the number of BIPOC employees by the total number of employees in the agency. Using the same method, the second variable, the proportion of female employees in the agency, was calculated that the number of females was divided by the total number of employees in the agency. These two organizational-level variables are critical for this study to control for the diversity management of agencies because the proportions of BIPOC and females indicate the organizational demographic diversity (Choi, 2009; Choi, 2013; Choi & Rainey, 2010; Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000).

Model Specification

Hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) was applied to the pooled three years (2013 through 2015) of data to test the study's hypotheses. Initially, we tested if HLM fits better than regression models for all three years and the results suggest that adoption of a multilevel model better explains the data. HLM provides more flexibility from which each agency has a unique intercept, leading the models to avoid inaccurate results (Choi, 2013). As a result, we adopt HLM with individual survey responses (Level 1) that are clustered within agencies (Level 2). The calculated intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) is 0.01; that is small but highly significant ($p<0.01$), indicating that there are significant differences among agencies. Second, diagnostic analysis (Collin test) uncovered no multicollinearity issues among the explanatory variables. In particular, we find no collinearity issues among the supervisor-level, work unit-

level, and agency-level inclusion practices. Lastly, following George and Pandey (2017) and Fuller et al. (2016), potential issues derived from common source bias (CSB) were tested. Harman's one-factor test shows that the percent of covariances of the single factor is 54.5. The result with the scale reliabilities (Cronbach's α) of 78.7 indicate that Common Method Variance (CMV) is low to generate CSB. Furthermore, the combined administrative data and included interaction variables significantly reduce the possibility of CSB (Fuller et al., 2016).

1. HLM with the Predicted Aggregated Inclusion Factor

Level 1: $Satisfaction_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}Predicted\ factor_{ij} + \beta_{2j}LGBT_{ij} + \beta_{3j}Tenure\ 15\ or\ more_{ij} + \beta_{4j}Age\ 50\ or\ older_{ij} + \beta_{5j}Supervisor_{ij} + \beta_{6j}BIPOC_{ij} + \beta_{7j}Female_{ij} + \beta_{8j}LGBT * Predicted\ factor_{ij} + \beta_{9j}Year_{ij} + e_{ij}$

Level 2: $\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}Proportion\ of\ BIPOC_j + \gamma_{02}Proportion\ of\ Female_j + \gamma_{03}Year_j + u_{0j}$

2. HLM with the Three Levels of Inclusion Factors

Level 1: $Satisfaction_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}Supervisor\ level\ inclusion_{ij} + \beta_{2j}Work\ unit\ level\ inclusion_{ij} + \beta_{3j}Agency\ level\ inclusion_{ij} + \beta_{4j}LGBT_{ij} + \beta_{5j}Tenure\ 15\ or\ more_{ij} + \beta_{6j}Age\ 50\ or\ older_{ij} + \beta_{7j}Supervisor_{ij} + \beta_{8j}BIPOC_{ij} + \beta_{9j}Female_{ij} + \beta_{10j}LGBT * Supervisor\ level\ inclusion_{ij} + \beta_{11j}LGBT * Work\ unit\ level\ inclusion_{ij} + \beta_{12j}LGBT * Agency\ level\ inclusion_{ij} + \beta_{13j}Year_{ij} + e_{ij}$

Level 2: $\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}Proportion\ of\ BIPOC_j + \gamma_{02}Proportion\ of\ Female_j + \gamma_{03}Year_j + u_{0j}$

Findings

Table 1 summarizes the variables across the three years and reports the differences between LGBT and non-LGBT employees. Overall, it shows that the average values of the responses to the job satisfaction questions and the average values of all inclusion factors are consistent across the three years. This overall pattern holds for both LGBT and non-LGBT subgroups. As Table 1 indicates, the mean scores for LGBT employees on all measures of job satisfaction and perceived inclusion are lower than those in non-LGBT employees, suggesting that different perceptions on all key variables likely exist between LGBT and non-LGBT employee groups. We also found that perceived inclusion at the agency level incrementally increases over time. The mean values of all three levels of inclusion are 2.48, 2.50, and 2.52 in 2013, 2014, and 2015, respectively.[6]

Three percent of the survey respondents identified themselves as LGBT individuals, 43–44% of the respondents have been working for the agency for 15 or more years, and 49–51% of their age is 50 or more. Additionally, 19–21% of them responded that they are in manager positions. Lastly, the percentages of BIPOC and female employees at the organizational level are similar with the survey responses, indicating that FEVS survey represents the federal workforce. For instance, 34% of the respondents are BIPOC and the average percent of BIPOC at the agency level is either 36% or 37%. Overall, we found consistent trends of all the variables along with consistent standard deviations across the three years.

HLM analysis (Table 2) illustrates the effect of the aggregated inclusion factor and the three levels of inclusion on employee job satisfaction. First, while the aggregated inclusion is significantly associated with job satisfaction in Model 1 and 2, the LGBT variable has a significantly negative relationship with job satisfaction ($p<0.001$). More importantly, Model 2 indicates that LGBT employees who experience inclusion are more likely to be satisfied in their jobs, as demonstrated by the significant relationship between the LGBT and inclusion interaction term and the job satisfaction variable. Additionally, we found that the effects of inclusion are significantly increased over time.

Table 1. Descriptive Analysis

Variables	2013		2014		2015		Scale
	Mean (s.d.)	Cronbach's α	Mean (s.d.)	Cronbach's α	Mean (s.d.)	Cronbach's α	
LGBT	n=8,815		n=9,386		n=10,535		
Satisfaction	2.36 (0.76)		2.34 (0.77)		2.37 (0.76)		
Inclusion (all 3 levels)	2.42 (0.51)		2.42 (0.51)		2.43 (0.51)		
Supervisor-level Inclusion	2.61 (0.55)		2.62 (0.55)		2.63 (0.55)		
Work Unit-level Inclusion	2.17 (0.61)		2.18 (0.61)		2.20 (0.61)		
Agency-level Inclusion	2.39 (0.67)		2.37 (0.67)		2.38 (0.67)		
Non-LGBT	n=279,003		n=285,616		n=307,991		
Satisfaction	2.46 (0.71)		2.44 (0.72)		2.47 (0.71)		
Inclusion (all 3 levels)	2.48 (0.48)		2.48 (0.49)		2.50 (0.48)		
Supervisor-level Inclusion	2.66 (0.52)		2.67 (0.52)		2.68 (0.51)		
Work Unit-level Inclusion	2.24 (0.59)		2.25 (0.60)		2.27 (0.60)		
Agency-level Inclusion	2.46 (0.61)		2.46 (0.62)		2.47 (0.62)		
Total	n=287,818		n=295,002		n=318,526		
Satisfaction	2.46 (0.71)	0.83	2.44 (0.72)	0.83	2.46 (0.72)	0.83	2 items, Likert (1–3)
Inclusion (all 3 levels)	2.47 (0.49)	0.90	2.48 (0.49)	0.90	2.50 (0.48)	0.90	14 items, Likert (1–3)
Supervisor-level Inclusion	2.66 (0.52)	0.88	2.66 (0.52)	0.88	2.68 (0.51)	0.88	6 items, Likert (1–3)
Work Unit-level Inclusion	2.24 (0.59)	0.81	2.24 (0.60)	0.81	2.27 (0.60)	0.81	5 items, Likert (1–3)
Agency-level Inclusion	2.45 (0.62)	0.76	2.45 (0.62)	0.76	2.46 (0.62)	0.76	3 items, Likert (1–3)
Control Variables–Individual							
LGBT	0.03 (0.17)		0.03 (0.18)		0.03 (0.18)		Dummy (1=LGBT)
Tenure 15 years or more	0.44 (0.50)		0.43 (0.50)		0.44 (0.50)		Dummy (1=15 or more)
Age 50 or older	0.49 (0.50)		0.51 (0.50)		0.51 (0.50)		Dummy (1=50 or older)
Manager	0.19 (0.40)		0.20 (0.40)		0.21 (0.41)		Dummy (1=manager position)

BIPOC	0.34 (0.47)	0.34 (0.47)	0.34 (0.47)	Dummy (1=BIPOC)
Female	0.46 (0.50)	0.46 (0.50)	0.46 (0.50)	Dummy (1=female)
Control Variables–Org				
% of BIPOC	0.36 (0.08)	0.36 (0.07)	0.37 (0.08)	Proportion
% of females	0.46 (0.13)	0.46 (0.13)	0.46 (0.13)	Proportion

Note. BIPOC=Black, Indigenous, and People of Color.

Table 2. HLM Analysis of All Employees

	Model 1 (b/se)	Model 2 (b/se)	Model 3 (b/se)	Model 4 (b/se)
Inclusion				
All three levels inclusion	**0.664***** (0.006)	**0.663***** (0.006)		
Supervisor-level			**0.240***** (0.001)	**0.240***** (0.001)
Work unit-level			**0.273***** (0.001)	**0.272***** (0.001)
Agency-level			**0.266***** (0.001)	**0.265***** (0.001)
LGBT	**−0.049***** (0.005)	**−0.046***** (0.005)	**−0.042***** (0.005)	**−0.040***** (0.005)
Tenure 15 years or more	−0.036*** (0.002)	−0.036*** (0.002)	−0.037*** (0.002)	−0.037*** (0.002)
Age 50 or older	0.064*** (0.002)	0.064*** (0.002)	0.058*** (0.002)	0.058*** (0.002)
Manager	−0.024*** (0.002)	−0.024*** (0.002)	−0.054*** (0.002)	−0.054*** (0.002)
BIPOC	0.092*** (0.002)	0.092*** (0.002)	0.101*** (0.002)	0.101*** (0.002)
Female	0.082*** (0.002)	0.082*** (0.002)	0.086*** (0.002)	0.086*** (0.002)

Year (reference year: 2013)				
2014	**0.008****	**0.008****	**0.007****	**0.007****
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
2015	**0.011*****	**0.011*****	**0.009****	**0.009****
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Level 2				
% of BIPOC	−0.254*	−0.254*	−0.217+	−0.217+
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.114)	(0.114)
% of females	−0.014	−0.016	0.042	0.042
	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.116)	(0.116)
Interaction				
LGBT * Inclusion		**0.024*****		
		(0.005)		
LGBT * Supervisor-level				**−0.013***
				(0.006)
LGBT * Work unit-level				**0.024****
				(0.007)
LGBT * Agency-level				**0.020****
				(0.007)
Constant	0.066	0.067	0.023	0.023
	(0.066)	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Number of observations	626,137	626,137	626,137	626,137
Number of groups	36	36	36	36
Wald Chi-square	17961.89***	18033.33***	493075.10***	493151.61***

Note. + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 3. HLM Analysis of Non-Manager Position Employees

	Model 1 (b/se)	Model 2 (b/se)	Model 3 (b/se)	Model 4 (b/se)
Inclusion				
All three levels inclusion	0.661*** (0.006)	0.660*** (0.006)		
Supervisor-level			0.230*** (0.001)	0.231*** (0.001)
Work unit-level			0.273*** (0.001)	0.273*** (0.002)
Agency-level			0.270*** (0.001)	0.269*** (0.001)
LGBT	−0.057*** (0.006)	−0.052*** (0.006)	−0.049*** (0.006)	−0.041*** (0.006)
Tenure 15 years or more	−0.038*** (0.002)	−0.038*** (0.002)	−0.037*** (0.002)	−0.037*** (0.002)
Age 50 or older	0.074*** (0.002)	0.074*** (0.002)	0.067*** (0.002)	0.067*** (0.002)
BIPOC	0.087*** (0.002)	0.087*** (0.002)	0.095*** (0.002)	0.095*** (0.002)
Female	0.081*** (0.002)	0.081*** (0.002)	0.087*** (0.002)	0.087*** (0.002)
Year (reference year: 2013)				
2014	0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)
2015	0.004 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)
Level 2				
% of BIPOC	−0.187 (0.121)	−0.187 (0.121)	−0.143 (0.122)	−0.143 (0.122)
% of females	−0.083 (0.117)	−0.084 (0.117)	−0.034 (0.122)	−0.035 (0.122)

Interactions				
LGBT * Inclusion		0.025***		
		(0.006)		
LGBT * Supervisor-level				−0.012+
				(0.007)
LGBT * Work unit-level				0.025**
				(0.008)
LGBT * Agency-level				0.020**
				(0.008)
Constant	0.075	0.076	0.032	0.032
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Number of observations	476,248	476,248	476,248	476,248
Number of groups	36	36	36	36
Wald Chi-square	16434.55***	16494.79***	374065.35***	374122.80***

Note. + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Models 3 and 4 in Table 2 illustrate the different effects of each inclusion level. Although all three levels of inclusion practices are positively associated with employee job satisfaction, the results report that it is highly unlikely that LGBT employees' job satisfaction is the same as non-LGBT employees' job satisfaction in the population. We also found that there is a negative effect of supervisor-level inclusion practices on LGBT employees' job satisfaction, indicating that the data do not support hypothesis 1. On the other hand, work unit-level inclusion and agency-level inclusion have significantly positive relationships (p<0.01) with LGBT employees' job satisfaction. These results confirm our hypotheses 2 and 3.

When testing supervisor-level inclusion, we ran the same models without respondents who are in a manager position. Table 3 reports interesting findings that there is no significant increased effect of inclusion over time. Also, it shows that supervisor-level inclusion has a negative relationship with LGBT employees' job satisfaction, although the statistical significance became marginalized. These findings suggest that there might be different perceptions of inclusion between managers and lower-level employees.

The findings concerning demographic variables show that the individual-level age 50 or older, BIPOC and female control variables have significantly positive relationships with job satisfaction as shown in Tables 2 and 3. The results also show that managers and those whose tenure year is 15 or more are significantly less satisfied with their job. It is worth noting that while the percentage of female employees is not associated with job satisfaction, the percentage of BIPOC employees has a negative relationship with job satisfaction (Table 2).

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings uncover real and significant differences between LGBT and heterosexual federal employees relative to inclusion and job satisfaction. The findings reported in Table 1 indicate that LGBT employees' inclusion perceptions at the supervisor, work unit, and agency levels lag those of non-LGBT employees. Comparison of the three inclusion measures demonstrates that while the differences between the two employee groups marginally fluctuate across the three years of data, LGBT employees consistently report lower perceptions of inclusion than those in the majority group. These findings are consistent with prior works, e.g., Hur (2020), that demonstrate that sexual and gender minorities will perceive lower inclusion levels than their heterosexual counterparts. While not statistically confirmed, the substantial size of each subsample suggests that the difference in the mean values for each inclusion index across the three years is likely meaningful. Similarly, the findings indicate that sexual and gender minorities in the federal workforce report their job satisfaction to be lower than their heterosexual and cisgender counterparts. As demonstrated in Tables 2 and 3, identification as a sexual or gender minority has a significant, negative relationship to global job satisfaction, which comports with previous findings (e.g., Hur, 2020; Pink-Harper et al., 2017; Sabharwal et al., 2019).

The results reported in Model 2 demonstrate that LGBT employees who report greater levels of aggregated inclusion will enjoy greater job satisfaction, as the relationship between the LGBT and inclusion interaction term and job satisfaction is statistically significant and the impacts increase over time. Thus, consistent with prior work (e.g., Hur, 2020; Pink-Harper et al., 2017), increased inclusion perceptions among LGBT employees enjoys a significant, positive relationship with reported job satisfaction. Further, the relationship between the aggregated inclusion factor and LGBT job satisfaction changes across the three years of the study, gaining in both strength and statistical significance. Such changes in this relationship might be attributed to the cumulative effect of federal efforts to build an inclusive culture; however, based on the nature of the data, we interpret these findings with a degree of caution. At minimum, the large sample sizes permit a measure confidence in this assertion and demonstrate the need for continued research to ascertain the cumulative effects of organizational inclusion culture on LGBT job satisfaction.

The relationships between the various levels of inclusion and job satisfaction for LGBT individuals vary in strength and consistency. The results show that supervisor-level inclusion and job satisfaction among LGBT employees does not possess a positive relationship over the three years of data. In fact, it is opposite of the expected direction, suggesting that supervisor-level inclusion's effect on LGBT job satisfaction requires further study. On the other hand, we found that work unit-level inclusion and agency-level inclusion have a positive impact on LGBT employees' job satisfaction. The variation in the relationships between job satisfaction and the various levels of inclusion suggests that a sense of inclusivity develops in different places, at different times, and for different reasons across an organization, rather than as a result of a single training, policy shift, or other intervention. Lastly, as shown in Table 3, the effects of inclusion for non-manager employees do not increase over the three years, suggesting that these lower-level employees may perceive the organizational inclusion practices differently.

Multiple implications arise from the findings of this study. First, using the concept of heteronormativity and its counterpart, cisnormativity, as its theoretical framework, this work offers a glimpse into the inclusion perceptions of sexual and gender minorities, an "invisible population" frequently neglected in the literature (Priola et al., 2014, p. 488). Heteronormativity and cisnormativity create cultural categories into which individuals may be placed. Historically, a person has been sorted into the 'in' category as a heterosexual, cisgender person who engages in opposite-sex relationships, while a person who identifies as other than heterosexual or cisgender and/or engages in relationships that are not opposite-

sex in nature has been assigned to the 'outside' category. The results of this study suggest that LGBT individuals—those who have historically been placed in the 'outside' category—continue to perceive their federal agencies as less inclusive than do their majority-identity colleagues, and that their perceptions have a real and negative effect on their overall job satisfaction. For these and other marginalized groups, inclusion is not about blindness to difference or ignoring variation from majority norms. Rather, inclusion reflects the acknowledgement of difference, acceptance of those who are different, and the placement of equitable, real and tangible value, either personal or institutional, on those differences (Shore et al., 2011). This means that rather than attempt to fit LGBT individuals into normative categories, the inclusive federal employer will acknowledge the legitimacy of and accept as full members those who do not adhere to majority norms. As federal agency practice and policy disrupt and dismantle hetero- and cis-normative cultures through initiatives aimed at inclusivity, the results of this study suggest that LGBT employees will find greater satisfaction on the job.

Additional significance in this work is found in the cultural implications associated with the ebb and flow of the relationship between LGBT employees' sense of inclusion and their overall job satisfaction. For LGBT employees, the aggregated inclusion factor predicts increased job satisfaction across the three years studied, despite fluctuation in the relationship between job satisfaction and the three inclusion levels that compose the whole. Thus, notwithstanding weakness in inclusion perceptions at one or more organizational levels during the three-year period, the overall effect on job satisfaction brought about by a sense of inclusion among LGBT employees appears positive. We surmise that organizational progress comes in fits and starts as agencies adopt new inclusive practices and policies, but that inclusivity also accrues over time, and therefore must be closely monitored by agency leaders at the several agency levels to ensure continued improvement. As Schein (2010) reminds us, organizational culture reflects a set of attitudes, behaviors, and norms that evolve as organizational members face challenges as a group. As inclusivity and its concurrent disruption of heteronormativity permeate the culture, we may expect positive impacts on employees' work attitudes and satisfaction on the job.

Further, the punctuated, but generally positive, effect of inclusion on job satisfaction across three organizational levels may occur as a result of significant administrative changes, modifications in training protocols, or inclusion initiatives undertaken by the federal employer, which in turn affect LGBT job satisfaction. For instance, the effect of agency-level inclusion perceptions on job satisfaction may have resulted from high-profile policy changes, such as Obama-era executive orders or federal court decisions like *United States v. Windsor,* that demonstrate a shift in LGBT legitimacy and inclusion in society as a whole or in the federal personnel system. Also, given that the FEVS data were collected during the latter half of the Obama administration and the majority of employees had been employed in the federal service for a number of years prior, we might surmise that the administration's efforts to develop a more inclusive culture by way of highly publicized personnel policy changes and broad personnel training initiatives may have likely reached those respondents and affected their perceptions. The present work provides a clear argument in favor of continued inclusion efforts at the agency level, as well as a foundation for future research to better ascertain the extent to which particular policy shifts or personnel programs affect perceptions of agency inclusiveness.

Finally, the ability of supervisors and work units to create cultural change by way of implementing training protocols and leading by example (Schraeder et al., 2005) suggests that employers' efforts to create an inclusive culture will accrue over time and have a cumulative, positive effect on employees' work experiences. In this sense, the findings that supervisor-level inclusion has little to no impact on LGBT employees' job satisfaction, and perhaps a slightly negative effect, imply that work unit- or agency-level inclusion efforts may be more critical to these employees than the inclusion practices experienced in the employee-supervisor relationship. Future research ought to assess LGBT individuals' positions on particular policy

shifts and human capital initiatives, whether specific changes affect sexual and gender minorities' experience of inclusion more than others, and how such experiences impact individual job attitudes.

While this study's primary implications speak to the employee experience of employer inclusion efforts in the public service, it also serves as a modest stride forward in public administration research. Building on multiple important works (see, e.g., Federman & Elias, 2017; Lewis, 1997; Lewis & Pitts, 2011, 2017; Hur, 2020; Sabharwal et al., 2019), this work continues to raise the visibility of LGBT individuals and their legitimacy as full members of the public service and responds to Meyer and Millesen's (2022) recent call to 'queer up' public administration research. While queer theory has not yet been widely applied in public administration scholarship, work in this area has increased in recent years, both in volume and in rigor, and the move of Generation Z—widely known to be the most diverse generation in the nation's history—into the workforce suggests that this body of knowledge must continue to grow.

From a pragmatic standpoint, as Larson (2022) argues, public administrators must be equipped with the tools to manage a new generation of employees, and conversations like those surrounding inclusion of LGBT employees must continue. As such, public employers should continue their work to assess how 'invisible,' marginalized populations experience the workplace and, using that information, continue developing a more inclusive environment for all. In the case of LGBT individuals in the public workplace, the disruption of hetero- and cis-normative institutional cultures extends far beyond flying the Pride flag on public buildings every June. Rather, public managers must push their agencies to adopt sexual and gender minority-inclusive personnel policies that communicate agency inclusion priorities. As Elias and Colvin (2020) recommend for non-binary gender policies in federal workplaces, such inclusive public personnel policies "should aim to be simple, timely, low cost, transparent, and maintain the privacy" of sexual and gender minorities (p. 206). Further, such policies must be grounded in fundamental public values like transparency and equity (Elias et al., 2018). Additionally, public sector institutions, supervisors, and work units ought to actively foster LGBT ally-ship among heterosexual and cisgender employees for the purpose of creating an ever more inclusive institutional culture. These efforts might begin by raising awareness of institutionalized language usage and the removal of blinders to traditional—but exclusionary—workplace language, or perhaps encourage an appreciation for all employees' identity expression vis-à-vis their workplace attire, physical presentation, and chosen pronouns.

In addition to personnel policy modifications and encouragement of ally-ship, to be truly inclusive as defined by Shore et al. (2011) and others, institutions must meet sexual and gender minorities where they stand and not prescribe the traditional forms of identity, presentation, or relationships expected within the dominant culture. After all, not all members of the queer community identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. Thus, it is incumbent on the inclusive organization to acknowledge identities not covered by the 'LGBT' moniker, recognize the vastness of the queer community, and explore ways within the organization to culturally legitimize the broad spectrum of sexual and gender identities that exist within its ranks.

Final Remarks and Recommendations for Future Research

Like any study, this one possesses limitations. The FEVS data utilized to investigate the primary research question are limited, as they treat lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender identities as monolithic within the LGBT variable. While this treatment protects the identities of those who self-identify as LGBT within the federal ranks, combining sexual and gender minorities under a single heading obscures the differences between those minority individuals' experiences, neglects other sexual and gender minority identities (see, Meyer & Millesen, 2022, for discussion of these identities), and fails to address the varying heterosexual attitudes

and institutional treatment toward each of those minority identities (Herek & McLemore, 2013). Similarly, the FEVS data do not parse out different racial, ethnic, or other minority identities, so intersectional identity differences cannot be included in the analyses. Additionally, intersectional analysis between LGBT identity and gender, which is reported in the FEVS data as male or female, would further perpetuate the dominant gender binary to the exclusion of those who identify somewhere else on the gender spectrum, e.g., nonbinary. While this study mainly focuses on LGBT employees' inclusion experiences and job satisfaction, future research needs to delve into the differences among the various intersectional subgroups using more robust demographic data.

Additional limitations result from shortcomings in the data. For instance, the study would benefit from objective measures of agency inclusivity practices; however, such data do not exist for the population and years under study. Notwithstanding this limitation, we may still benefit from analyzing respondents' personal observations of the phenomenon. In the present study, respondents' reports of inclusive behaviors in their agencies, supervisors, and work units provide valuable insight into their organizational and cultural realities. As Meier and O'Toole (2013) remind us, survey items that query others' observable behaviors, rather than respondents' self-reported attitudes or behaviors, appear to be less influenced by undue bias associated with the survey items' common source and may be considered legitimate, while also being interpreted with a degree of caution. Also, we were able to use only three years of FEVS data. Considering the outcome of the 2016 presidential election, incorporation of several more years of data would have been beneficial as we might have been able to compare between Obama and Trump administrations, but 2015 was the last year that FEVS reported LGBT demographic information. Finally, multi-year, cross-sectional analyses fall short of tracing the within-individual evolution of the relationship between inclusion and job satisfaction. Future research ought to utilize panel data in order to better ascertain the longitudinal effects of inclusion and inclusion culture on sexual and gender minorities, as well as other marginalized populations.

Notes

1. While somewhat dated both in the literature and the American social context, the term LGBT is used in this study to identify those individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. This notation is consistent with the term's construction in the Federal Employee Viewpoint Survey data analyzed in this study, as well as the terminology utilized by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management and other federal agencies when referring to sexual and gender minorities.
2. According to the Department of Labor (2021), the U.S. federal government is the nation's largest employer across all sectors; Wal-Mart is the nation's largest private employer.
3. See Larson (2022) and Lee et al. (2008) for broader discussion of queer theory in public administration.
4. For thorough accounts of LGBT individuals' history in the federal personnel system, including the various tactics used to vilify, intimidate, and purge employees from the federal system, see Federman and Elias (2017), Lewis (1997), and Merit Systems Protection Board (2014).
5. Badgett (2009) recommends excluding respondents who respond as "Prefer Not to Say" to a demographic question about sexual orientation, as "Prefer Not to Say" respondents tend to identify as heterosexual or LGBT at the same rate as the general population.
6. These findings are not reported in Table 1, as they are not used for the analyses.

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 A. Survey Questions

Variables	FEVS Survey Questions	Sources for References
Job Satisfaction	• Considering everything, how satisfied are you with your job? • Considering everything, how satisfied are you with your organization?	Choi, 2013; Pitts, 2009
Supervisor Level of Inclusion	• My supervisor supports my need to balance work and other life issues. • My supervisor/team leader is committed to a workforce representative of all segments of society. • My supervisor/team leader provides me with constructive suggestions to improve my job performance. • My supervisor/team leader listens to what I have to say. • My supervisor/team leader treats me with respect. • In the last six months, my supervisor/team leader has talked with me about my performance.	Hoang et al., 2022; OPM's New Inclusion Quotient; Sabharwal et al., 2019; Shore et al., 2011.
Work Unit Level of Inclusion	• The people I work with cooperate to get the job done. • In my work unit, steps are taken to deal with a poor performer who cannot or will not improve. • In my work unit, differences in performance are recognized in a meaningful way. • Awards in my work unit depend on how well employees perform their jobs. • Employees in my work units share job knowledge with each other.	Choi & Rainey, 2014; Ng & Rumens, 2017; OPM's New Inclusion Quotient; Pichler et al., 2017
Agency Level of Inclusion	• Policies and programs promote diversity in the workplace (for example, recruiting minorities and women, training in awareness of diversity issues, mentoring). • Arbitrary action, personal favoritism and coercion for partisan political purposes are not tolerated. • Prohibited Personnel Practices (for example, illegally discriminating for or against any employee/applicant, obstructing a person's right to compete for employment, knowingly violating veterans' preference requirements) are not tolerated.	Angouri, 2015; OPM's New Inclusion Quotient; Pichler et al., 2017

Research Article

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Six Blind Men and One Elephant: Proposing an Integrative Framework to Advance Research and Practice in Justice Philanthropy

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There are growing calls that philanthropic foundations across the globe can and should advance diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice. Initial evidence indicates that foundations have indeed responded as evidenced by pledges to change practice, increased funding for racial justice, and the emergence of new networks to support equity and justice. However, there is also great skepticism about whether the field of foundations are, in fact, able to make lasting changes given numerous critiques of philanthropy and its structural limitations. In this article, we summarize these critiques that suggest factors that make institutional philanthropy resistant to calls for equity and justice. We posit that a core obstacle is a lack of conceptual coherence within and across academic and practitioner literature about the meanings of terms and their implications for practice. Therefore, we propose a transdisciplinary conceptual framework of justice philanthropy that integrates the fragmented literature on justice-related aspects of philanthropy emerging from different disciplinary traditions such as ethics, political theory and political science, social movement theory, geography, public administration, and community development.

Keywords: Justice Philanthropy, Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, Foundations

Introduction

Institutional philanthropy—the collection of nonprofit organizations that voluntarily distribute private wealth to other nonprofit and government organizations for the public good—has seen repeated calls to shift from charity to justice. These calls push philanthropic institutions, often referred to as foundations, to move "beyond merely assuring equal opportunity and diversity" (Dean-Coffey, 2018, p. 531) to address historical injustices that perpetuate injustice and inequity (Burton & Barnes, 2017; Villanueva, 2018; Walker, 2019). Burton and Barnes (2017) challenge foundations to stop being comfortable with "the mundane efforts of charity [and to start] righting the wrongs of history through justice-oriented giving" (n.p.).

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In response to the convergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, which highlighted systemic disparities, and the 2020 Racial Justice protests, foundations across the globe made new public commitments to address issues of equity and justice. Both events called out persistent differences in life outcomes by race, segregation and underrepresentation in government and professional social welfare and health care positions, and long standing inequalities in participation and engagement (Wright & Merritt, 2020). By July 2020, U.S. foundations had committed more than half a billion dollars to fund racial justice efforts and a year later more than 165 pledges (Daniels, 2020), valued at $10.8 billion, had been earmarked for racial equity (Candid, n.d.). In the UK, the Resources Racial Justice Fund was established to support organizations and grass roots groups working with people of color (POC) impacted by COVID-19 (Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisation, 2020). In addition to financial pledges, nine U.S. community foundations founded Nexus for Equity + Opportunity Nationwide (NEON) formed a network with a common set of goals and metrics to combat structural racism (Daniels, 2021). Philanthropic support organizations, such as the U.S. Council on Foundations (Council on Foundations, 2021) and the European Open Society Foundations have organized events and developed tools to bring a racial equity lens to foundation strategy and practice.

While there are growing calls that institutional philanthropy can and should advance diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) and justice and some evidence that the field has initially responded, there is great skepticism about whether institutional philanthropy is, in fact, able to make lasting changes (Beer et al., 2021). In this article, we summarize the numerous critiques of philanthropy and its inherent resistance to equity and justice (Reich, 2016). We also posit that a core obstacle is a lack of conceptual coherence within and across academic and practitioner literatures about the meanings of the numerous terms used to describe the various dimensions of equitable and just philanthropy. This confusion potentially delays implementation into practice and limits scholarship.

In many ways current calls for justice philanthropy resemble the parable from India where six blind men tried to address their curiosity of what an elephant was by touching the elephant. Each man touched the elephant in a different place. Of course, by touching only the tail or only the trunk or only the ear, each man came away with a very different picture of what the elephant was. Amidst the confusion, a wise man offered, "Perhaps if you put the parts together, you will see the truth" (Saxe, 1878, n.p.). While not pretending to be the 'wise man' or offering a single truth, by bringing together literature from multiple disciplines and professional practice, we offer a transdisciplinary conceptual framework of justice philanthropy that integrates the fragmented literature on justice-related aspects of philanthropy emerging from different disciplinary traditions such as ethics, political theory and political science, social movement theory, geography, public administration, and community development. We hope that an integrated conceptual framework that brings together the many parts of the elephant serves as a starting point for future theorizing and research and informs practice. A transdisciplinary framework also offers a path forward that addresses some of the critiques of institutional philanthropy.

Critiques of Institutional Philanthropy

Since the emergence of the general-purpose foundations in the early 20th century, there have been ongoing criticisms of institutional philanthropy and the roles that institutional philanthropy plays in perpetuating systemic inequities (Arnove, 1982; Reich, 2018). The modern foundation, particularly as originated in the U.S. in the early 20th century, is a unique institution (Reich, 2016). Foundations are characterized by broad and general purpose, seek social change by addressing the 'root causes' of social problems, exist in perpetuity, and are administered by an appointed, private, self-perpetuating board of trustees. Since the early 1900s critics have charged that foundations are a holding place for excess capital produced

through capitalism, which has often exploited workers and the environment in pursuit of capital. As such foundations have been complicit in perpetuating unequal social and economic outcomes among people and communities along racial lines (Arnove, 1982; Roelofs, 2003). Foundations are accused of providing limited funding for organizations led by people of color and serving the interests of communities of color (Barge et al., 2020; Greenlining Institute, 2006). In addition to differential outcomes, institutional philanthropy is inherently characterized by processes embedded in unequal power relationships (Villanueva, 2018) in which donors with resources hold power over beneficiaries and organizations with less financial and political capital (Ostrander & Schervish, 1990). Finally, foundations increasingly exert outsized power in the policy process (Reckhow, 2013). In the following section, we summarize three critiques that suggest that institutional philanthropy is inherently resistant to meaningful change that promotes equity and justice.

Philanthropy as Expression of Private Values

Philanthropy, private voluntary action for the public good (Payton & Moody, 2008), has long grappled with conflicting public/private pressures. An organization's publicness—not solely its legal designation as a public or private organization, is shaped by internal and environmental dimensions that make an organization more or less 'public' (Merritt, 2019; Moulton, 2009). Private foundations are endowed by resources from a single donor (individual, family, corporation, or a small pool of donors, such as Warren Buffet's contributions to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.) In contrast, public foundations, such as the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, engage in on-going fundraising from many donors (the public) to grow their endowments. Both forms of foundations receive contributions that are incentivized through the tax structure and earn income on their endowments that is exempt from taxation (Colinvaux, 2018; Reich, 2018). The tax deduction comes with "a responsibility to use philanthropic funds wisely and effectively" (Frumkin, 2006, p. 71).

The publicness of private philanthropy may lead to expectations that philanthropic organizations be inclusive and seek equitable outcomes (Dean-Coffey, 2018). However, philanthropy lacks a legal mandate for equity as philanthropy is an inherently private action which reflects expressive outcomes. "Philanthropy allows donors to speak to the world about what they believe is valuable" (Frumkin, 2006, p. 152). Whereas the focus on private values is important as it stimulates and motivates giving, the outcomes of philanthropy driven by private values may or may not lead to addressing the most pressing public needs in an equitable manner. Donor-centered philanthropy that focuses on the one-way relationship in which donors have more choice and power in philanthropy than recipients has led to an exclusion of recipient groups from the philanthropic process and furthers inequities in philanthropic outcomes (Ostrander & Schervish, 1990).

As such, philanthropy tends to operate in absence of recipient or broader societal consent (Seibert, 2019). For instance, Reich (2018) noted that individuals in higher income brackets are less likely to donate money to the poor (e.g., for basic needs) but tend to prefer giving to education or arts and culture. Further, in a recent study Weinryb (2020) found that wealthy philanthropists engaged in funding human embryonic stem cell research were "essentially detached from the general public and specific concerns about patient communities [...], which raises questions about their legitimate engagement for public purposes at the expense of elite interests" (p. 1228). While the private expression of philanthropy inherently involves power differentials along wealth, these power differentials are often further widened by racial power. It is predominantly White donors who give and Black or other minority organizations who receive. Indeed, only 3.6% of foundation dollars go to nonprofits led by people of color (Greenlining Institute, 2006) and Echoing Green (2020) found a 20-million-dollar philanthropic funding gap between White- and Black-led organizations in their 2019 applicant pool.

Philanthropy Lacks Democratic Accountability

Whereas philanthropy is essential to a democratic society as it promotes pluralism, fosters democratic civic engagement, and contributes to building civil society (Payton & Moody, 2008; Ostrander, 2007), philanthropy itself is not democratic. Foundations shape societal attitudes and public policy (Arnove, 1982; Reckhow, 2013; Roelofs, 2003; Tompkins-Stange, 2020) yet philanthropic leaders are not democratically elected. Foundations offer limited opportunities for the public to shape their policy agendas and are subjected to limited government oversight (Barkan, 2013; Reckhow, 2013; Reich, 2018).

These criticisms are not new. In 1912, a Congressional Committee on Industrial Relations convened to study labor relations in the U.S. While the impetus was a series of violent confrontations between labor and management, the Commission also investigated large corporations' growing influence in American society (Arnove, 1982; Reich, 2016). Members of the Commission described the new foundations as 'menace to society' and 'deeply antidemocratic' because they were not accountable to anyone but a self-perpetuating board of trustees and could exercise their unlimited power in perpetuity. Barkan (2013) notes that philanthropic donors "have the resources to shape public policy but they have no accountability to the public or to the people directly affected by their programs" (p. 637). In 2006, the Gates Foundation's rapid growth in assets and their influence in shaping public education (particularly their funding support for small school initiatives and their policy work on the common core curriculum), prompted an editorial in the LA Times that sarcastically referred to Bill Gates as the "superintendent of schools." As Ravitch (2006) wrote:

> *With the ability to hand out more than $1 billion or more every year to U.S. educators without any external review, the Gates Foundation looms larger in the eyes of school leaders than even the U.S. Department of Education, which by comparison, has only about $20 million in discretionary funds. The department may have sticks, but the foundation has almost all the carrots. In light of the size of the foundation's endowment, Bill Gates is now the nation's superintendent of schools.*

In partial response to perceptions of lack of accountability, foundations often emphasize professionalization and rationalization. However, others argue that the 'veneer of rational decision making' that is supported by professional planning and decision-making locks the funder's values and assumptions into the process and closes opportunity for input and contestation (Beer et al., 2021). "Technocratic processes…render invisible the role of influence, persuasion and power within institutions (Beer et al., 2021, p. 66). Rational market-driven logic increases donor pressures for nonprofit recipients of philanthropy to be more effective by measuring inputs and outputs, tracking outcomes, and assessing performance (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018; Heckler, 2019). This trend towards 'measurable philanthropy' (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018) means that funds are only granted if organizations provide trackable metrics (Horvath & Powell, 2020). Whereas grant recipients "are attempting to conform to a marketplace dominated by race- and gender-blindness" (Heckler, drawing on Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Sue, 2010, p. 276), this approach hinders systematic change as it does not challenge foundations to critically reevaluate their own history and practices (Echoing Green, 2020).

Philanthropy as a Tool of Capitalism

Foundations are creatures of capitalism, created from wealth accumulation made possible by the capitalist system and associated exploitive labor and environmental practices that have long sustained racial injustices (Harvey et al., 2020; Reich, 2018; Roelofs, 2003). In proposing

a theory of the foundation, Schramm (2006) defines the purpose of the private foundation as "an institution of democratic capitalism [that] exists to strengthen and facilitate the mutually supporting American system of democratic pluralism and a free market economy" (p. 357). There are at least three consequences to the intertwining of capitalism and philanthropy.

First, because foundations emerge from the unequal accumulation of wealth, they are reluctant to directly address these injustices in ways that challenge the status quo (Dowie, 2002; Roelofs, 2003). Instead, philanthropy has traditionally responded to the dark sides of capitalism and excess wealth accumulation (such as poverty, crime, health disparities, and environmental crises) through charity—funding nonprofits to provide services and supporting market incentives (Faber & McCarthy, 2005). Second, to avoid social and political unrest, philanthropy has historically supported social change at the margins. At best philanthropy is "reformist rather than supporting any fundamental challenge to underlying structural causes of social injustice" (Ostrander et al., 2005, p. 43). Third, other scholars describe how philanthropy has sought to co-opt social change efforts when they have gone 'too far' in seeking radical change that would dramatically alter the status quo or change becomes too contentious (Francis, 2019; Kohl-Arenas, 2014; Roelofs, 2003). Francis (2019) described the power that the Garland Fund had over the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), moving the NAACP away from racial violence to education. In the end, private philanthropy can "operate like interest groups or private firms to buy influence over the goals and strategies" (Francis, 2019, p. 278) of groups working to address systemic inequalities. Critics suggest that such funding requirements are a form of 'philanthropic colonization' that limits access to foundation funding and constricts the activities of grantees (Villanueva, 2018).

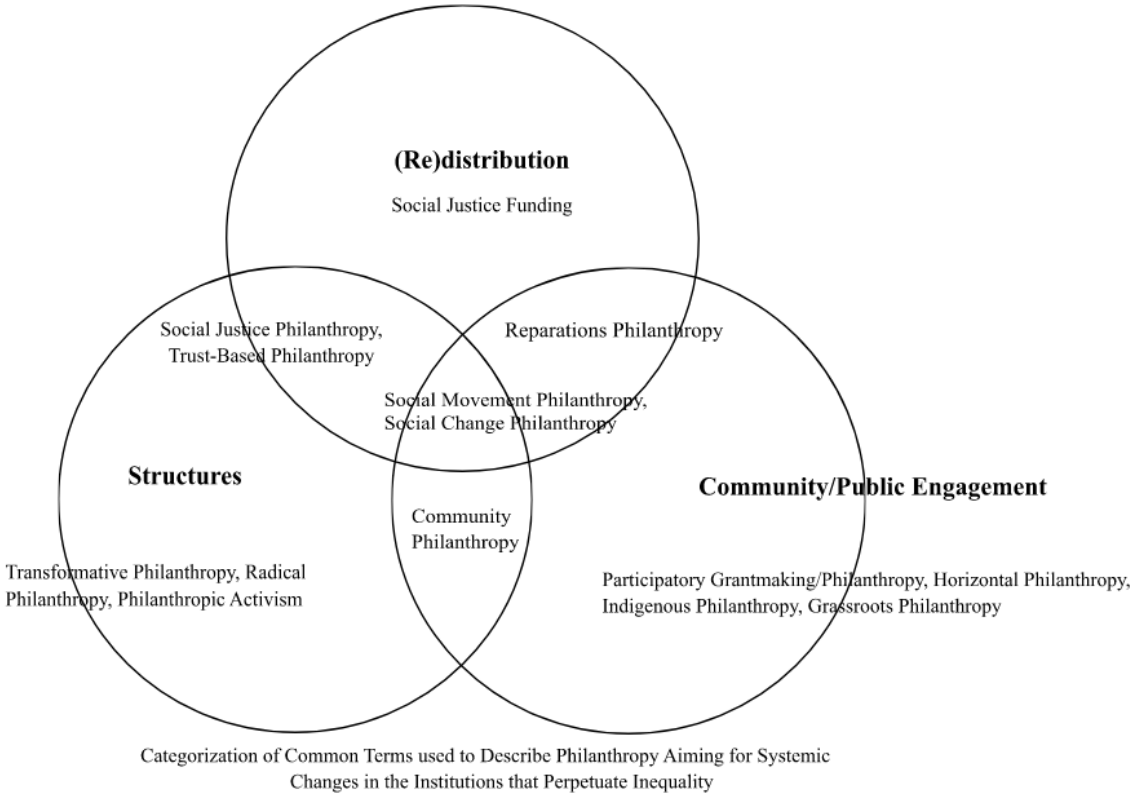
A Conceptual Framework of Justice Philanthropy

Building on the long standing and growing critiques of institutional philanthropy, which threaten the legitimacy of the field of institutional philanthropy, emerging language and associated practices offer the promise of something new: 'justice philanthropy'. However, as indicated in Figure 1, there are multiple terms and concepts being used that connect to issues of diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice (DEIJ) in philanthropy. These terms and concepts stem from multiple disciplinary angles including ethics, political theory and political science, social movement theory, geography, public administration, and community development and have emerged in research as well as in practice. Perhaps because of the transdisciplinary nature of this work, existing literature rarely makes connections between the different concepts, which leads to academic and practitioner confusion about what these terms mean and the implications for organizational practice.

To help remedy this confusion, we reviewed the definitions of core DEIJ-related terms in philanthropy research and practice (see the appendix for the citations associated with our review) and categorized them according to the primary mechanisms these concepts encapsulate to address systems of inequality. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the concepts center on structures, (re)distribution, and community/public engagement. Structures underscores efforts to remove or reimagine the institutions that systematically perpetuate inequality. (Re)distribution captures the allocation or reallocation of resources to compensate for prior disparate treatment. Community/public engagement represents efforts to leverage or maximize the experiences and expertise of people to address inequality.

In the following sections we begin by broadly defining the objectives of justice philanthropy. We then draw upon diverse scholarly traditions and the practitioner literature associated with these diverse terms to unpack the objectives and internal and external practices that are consistent with this complex phenomenon.

Figure 1. Categorization of Terms Used to Describe Philanthropy Aiming for Structural Changes in the Institutions that Perpetuate Inequality



Defining the Objectives of Justice Philanthropy

Despite the many differing terms used and practices implied, justice philanthropy is inherently a normative concept based on a shared value of 'human rights,' which provides strong ethical statements of rights and responsibility. Writing with respect to health, Braveman and Gruskin (2003) clearly argued, "Equity in health is an ethical value, inherently normative, grounded in the ethical principle of distributive justice and consonant with human rights principles" (p. 256). Similarly, in a rights-based approach to philanthropy, the recipient moves from "a supplicant in a position of gratitude" (Illingworth, 2020, p. 159) to a grantee asserting the cultural, economic, political, and social rights that all people have by virtue of being human. A rights-based approach imposes an obligation on those people and institutions who control and possess resources to achieve equitable and just outcomes.

From a moral perspective, Singer (1972) argued that the relatively wealthy have a moral responsibility to help the disadvantaged. From the South African 'ubuntu' philosophy, one's humanity is actualized through the act of giving in which the giver and recipient are mutual bearers of humanity (Mottiar & Ngcoya, 2016). While states are primarily obligated to protect human rights, there is increasing recognition that nonprofit and civil society organizations are also responsible for fulfilling those obligations (Illingworth, 2020). These responsibilities have been codified by international agreement and approved by nation states as part of the original Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Sustainable Development Goals

Since a responsibility to achieve equitable and just outcomes are two objectives fundamental to justice philanthropy, it is critical to define these two outcomes.

Equity

While philanthropy has no legal mandate for equitable outcomes and is often driven by private agendas, equity is a stated pillar of public administration (Frederickson, 1990) and other public service fields (Hart, 1974). Equity implies procedural fairness and fair distribution of public services (Frederickson, 1990; Guy & McCandless, 2012; Savas, 1978). Health scholars define equity as "the absence of systematic disparities…between social groups who have different levels of underlying social advantage/disadvantage" (Braveman & Gruskin, 2003, p. 254). Disadvantage refers to the absence of economic wealth, power, or prestige and accrues from one's status as being poor, female, and/or members of a disenfranchised racial, ethnic, or religious group (Braveman & Gruskin, 2003). Specifically related to philanthropy, Ashley (2014) described distributional equity as the fair distribution of philanthropic resources and proposed three dimensions of philanthropic equity across place: representation based upon a group's share of the population, standard of need, and merit. As Ashley's definition implies, unlike equality, equity rejects an 'egalitarian outcome' and requires allocations proportionate to 'differences.' Outcomes are thus equitable to the extent that they improve the conditions of the least advantaged—those who lack economic and political resources (Frederickson, 1990, p. 231).

Justice

Equity is an intermediate rather than end objective of justice philanthropy. The desired impact of justice philanthropy is justice: the eradication of the root causes of systemic inequality. While recent calls for justice philanthropy have largely emerged from practice (see, Burton & Barnes, 2017; Walker, 2019; Villanueva, 2018, for recent examples), justice as a goal of institutional philanthropy has been studied through critical and social movement perspectives for more than three decades (as examples see, Faber & McCarthy, 2005; Ostrander, 1995; Rabinowitz, 1990; Roelofs, 2003). As an outcome, justice philanthropy seeks fundamental change and system transformation in the economic, political, and social systems that promote inequality, rather than attending to the symptoms of the system's malfunctioning (Faber & McCarthy, 2005).

While equity and justice are outcomes, foundations also demonstrate equity and justice in their internal practices and their external relationships with community, suggesting that there are practices of justice philanthropy that distinguish it from 'traditional philanthropy.' While an exhaustive review of each dimension of justice philanthropy is outside of the scope of this article, we offer brief descriptions of each dimension.

Internal Work of Justice Philanthropy

Equity and justice are manifested not just in organizational outcomes but also in terms of internal procedures that promote procedural fairness (e.g., due process, equal protections, and civil rights) in hiring and internal decision-making processes (Frederickson, 1990; Gooden & Portillo, 2011; Guy & McCandless, 2012; Pitts, 2011). The terms diversity and inclusion largely refer to a set of management practices that focus on the internal culture and operations of the organization. As we describe below, inclusion and diversity are organizational practices that are critical to facilitating inclusive organizational conditions among diverse individuals (Bernstein et al., 2020). Over the last four decades regulative and normative pressures have led public and private organizations, including private foundations, to adopt diversity management programs, what Burton and Barnes (2017) refer to as the 'inputs and outputs' of internal philanthropic work. Diversity management literature proposes that diversity leads to increased productivity in the workplace (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000) and positive organizational performance measures (such as innovation).

These practices have deep roots in business management (drawing upon such diverse disciplines as sociology, psychology, and social psychology). However, more relevant to the objectives of equity and justice, public administration scholars, drawing upon political theories of representative bureaucracies, focus on the effect of diversity in improving outcomes for service beneficiaries (see, Groeneveld and Meier, 2021, for a current review of the intellectual tradition of representative bureaucracy). However, diversity does not always lead to positive outcomes and is often dependent upon other management practices, such as recruitment as well as inclusion and reflection, what critical studies refer to as 'privilege work' (Scully et al., 2018).

Diversity

Diversity has been defined as "the representation in one social system, of people with distinctly different group affiliations of cultural significance" (Cox, 1994, p. 5). Diversity is based on identifiable characteristics of individuals, such as race, gender, class, physical ability, culture, nationality, religion, and sexual orientation, all of which provide status in organizations and society (Weisinger et al., 2016). Diversity is a particularly challenging issue in philanthropy, where leadership positions have long been dominated by White men (Mills, 2016) and diversity refers to not just the identifiable characteristics of staff and volunteers, but also donors.

Theories of representative bureaucracy describe two forms of diversity—compositional, which is often described as passive representation—and substantive or active representation (Guo & Musso, 2007). Compositional representation implies that the characteristics of staff (broadly inclusive of staff, board, and volunteers in the nonprofit context) are representative of the public and/or the communities that they serve. Substantive representation occurs when staff act in the interests of their constituents by setting goals, enacting policies, and taking actions that reflect the interests of their constituents (Guo & Musso, 2007).

While a growing body of research explores the connection between active and passive representation in public bureaucracies (Groeneveld & Meier, 2021; Meier, 2019), there are fewer studies that test the relationships between nonprofit diversity and organizational activities and outcomes (LeRoux, 2020). There is some evidence that representation may increase awareness of issues of diverse stakeholders (Brown, 2000), shape the services provided (Gittell et al., 2000), particularly commitment to social change efforts (LeRoux, 2009). Ostrower (2007) showed that as female representation on boards increases, women are more likely to be served. In a study of female representation on United Way boards, Dula (2022) found a positive relationship between female board members and funding for nonprofit organizations serving girls and women. LeRoux (2020) also found that board diversity is positively associated with financial growth and CEO perceptions of performance. But most important for issues of equity, LeRoux's (2020) interviews with nonprofit leaders suggests that increased board diversity leads to a larger field of information and more effective problem solving.

Drawing upon theories of social status, Groeneveld and Meier (2021) posited that similarity in background between staff and beneficiaries reduces the social distance between the two, which facilitates interaction and enhances the service experience. Similarly, early studies of social change philanthropy, drawing upon concepts from social movement theory, describe how when staff and donors are drawn from beneficiary communities, rather than being objects of social movements, more equitable and just outcomes for beneficiary communities emerge (Ostrander, 1995; Ostrander et al., 2005; Rabinowitz, 1990). In a study of the environmental justice movement, Faber and McCarthy (2005) observed that staff in progressive foundations came from activist backgrounds or held progressive values that represented beneficiary communities. Consistent with the theory of active representation, foundation staff from activist backgrounds were more likely to see their foundation roles as extensions of their

activist values and were willing to use their foundation positions to mobilize resources for progressive movements. Staff from beneficiary communities were also likely to listen to activists and allow grantees to identify funding needs and push for the adoption of practices that provide more control to grantees.

In addition, there is strong evidence that diversity is multidimensional (for example, race, gender, culture, religion, ability). Intersectionality along these multiple dimensions adds distance to any social relationship (Groeneveld & Meier, 2021; Ostrander, 1999). It is also important to note that substantive representation does not occur in the face of token representation but only when a critical mass of individuals from under-represented groups is part of the organization (Dula, 2022; Groeneveld & Meier, 2021; Ostrander, 1995).

Inclusion

Representative diversity alone does not necessarily produce positive organizational outcomes or positive outcomes for communities of interest. Representational diversity ignores the structural realities that limit discretion in organizations and the cross-group interactions that occur within organizations and communities (Weisinger et al., 2016). Research suggests that positive diversity outcomes are dependent upon inclusion (Bernstein et al., 2020).

Inclusion differs from diversity by focusing not only on the compositional mix of people, but on the process of incorporation into organizational processes and culture (Shore et al., 2011). There are two dimensions to inclusion (Mor Barak et al., 2016). The first is the degree to which organizational structure provides discretion to staff to make decisions. For passive representation to turn into active representation, staff need to have discretion over decisions that are directly linked to their values (Meier & Bohte, 2001; Sowa & Selden, 2003). The degree to which staff have (or perceive) the ability to make a decision in a particular context emerges from organizational rules, oversight and monitoring, or shared norms and culture. Second, inclusion is an emotional dimension of the workplace climate. In inclusive environments, individuals are treated as an insider, while encouraged to retain their 'uniqueness' (Shore et al., 2011).

Inclusion is achieved through increased contact and personal comfort across groups and practices that promote 'insider status,' access to sensitive information, broad participation in decision making, and having 'voice' (Bernstein et al., 2020). These practices—called generative interactions—enable individuals to adopt a shared group identity that transcends (but recognizes) individual differences. In general, a climate of inclusion is associated with improved employee commitment to the organization and enhanced work group performance (Brimhall, 2019). Classic studies of participatory work environments posit that inclusion in decision making alters people's values, their identities, and their sense of efficacy (Pateman, 1970; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Brown (2000) found that boards that use inclusive practices are more likely to be sensitive to diversity issues. While inclusion is about creating internal conditions that move from 'me or us' to 'we,' as the intermediary between individual donor and beneficiary, foundations face barriers to creating inclusive environments. In addition, donor-centered models of philanthropy, particularly in public foundations, inherently limits staff and board discretion over funding decisions and gives elite donors increased control over their philanthropy (Ostrander, 2007).

Reflective Practices

In addition to changing management practices, as noted in our earlier discussion of the definitions of justice and equity, justice philanthropy is inherently based in a 'rights approach' to philanthropy. As a normative expectation, just philanthropy implies a shift in organizational and individual norms and beliefs. First, justice philanthropy inherently requires that philanthropic institutions acknowledge the role that organizations play in perpetuating

inequality (Scully et al., 2018) and commit to organizational missions and goals that align with equity and justice outcomes. Scholars of representative bureaucracy have posited that passive representation (staff diversity) is activated by organizational missions. When missions emphasize the value of supporting particular groups and causes, passive representation should lead to active representation (Keiser et al., 2002).

Justice philanthropy also requires mobilizing philanthropic elites (leaders, staff, and donors) as allies in the pursuit of equity and justice. Rooted in theories of social movements and critical race theory, by engaging others as allies in the cause, they become 'one of them,' reducing in-group outgroup polarization. Ally formation is also rooted in the notion of critical mass—that social change occurs when a small segment of a larger group can come together in a large enough group to overcome inertia and take action (Fredette & Sessler Bernstein, 2019). Ally formation is critical to achieving critical mass. Equity and justice efforts are mobilized most strongly when leaders, staff, and donors see their interests and concerns to be the same as those of the recipients and are able to closely identify with them (Ostrander & Schervish, 1990). Rather than being the 'subject of social movements,' they become an insider to the movement. In a case study of Haymarket Fund, donors had less interest and capacity to 'co-opt' movements because elites had been socialized and supported as activists (Ostrander, 1995).

Much of the DEI management literature focuses on staff and board members and some foundations are requiring implicit bias training for staff and leaders (Dorsey et al., 2020). However, justice philanthropy also involves engaging elite donors. The Raikes Foundation created the Impact-Driven Philanthropy Initiative that helps donors to give time and money more strategically in ways that advance equity and systems change. This has included investing in an ecosystem of donor support organizations and has launched the Giving Compass, an online platform that helps donors learn about issues and find organizations. These efforts provide a peer community that encourages elites to take responsibility for their advantage and offers a safe space to network and learn.

However, the process of fully mobilizing donors as allies requires not just a change in knowledge but also a change in values and beliefs as philanthropic elites come to understand their roles in creating and responding to inequities and injustices (Ostrander et al., 2005; Rabinowitz, 1990; Scully et al., 2018; Urschel, 2005) and their ethical responsibilities to support justice. Scully and colleagues (2018) described these shifts as occurring through reflective practices, 'privilege work.' They identified five steps in the process of 'privilege work': 1) discovering privilege and developing moral empathy for marginalized individuals and communities, 2) wrestling with the emotional conflict that fighting inequality produces, 3) partnering with marginalized communities, 4) publicly revealing their commitment to redistribution, and 5) practicing economic equity in their own work and community practices. Similarly, Urschel's (2005) case study of Resource Generation and interviews with its members (young women of wealth) described a four-step chronological process of moving elite donors from disempowerment to relinquishment. In the final stage, young elites were willing to give up their power and work with people from marginalized groups to return economic, social, and political power to marginalized communities.

External Practices of Justice Philanthropy

While the adoption of internal diversity and inclusion practices may be a necessary step in the movement towards justice philanthropy, shifts in internal practices and attitudes are not sufficient (Beer et al., 2021; Burton & Barnes, 2017; Lief, 2020) to address the broader concerns of the marketization of philanthropy and the lack of public accountability. Justice philanthropy is inherently distinguished by changes in community relationships and externally focused practices that seek to shift power from philanthropic organizations (and its decision makers) to marginalized communities through trust-based and participatory

practices, holding foundations accountable to the community for equitable outcomes, and leveraging the full means of philanthropic action within broader economic and policy systems.

Trust-Based Philanthropy

Trust-based philanthropy is an approach to grant making emerging from practice that seeks to open the grant making system to previously marginalized groups and address the inherent power imbalances between funders, nonprofits, and the communities they serve by reducing foundation control in the funder/grantee relationship. To retain control over the grant making process, foundation grants are often short-term and program specific and emerge from lengthy, formal application procedures (Buteau et al., 2020; Buteau & Chu, 2011). Consistent with the 'marketization' of philanthropy (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018) traditional grant making applications often favor those groups that 'know the lingo' and speak in 'White,' 'progressive' language (Ostrander, 1995). In addition, short-term restricted grants that do not fund operating expenses lead to lack of risk taking, inequitable hiring practices, and lack of investment in organizational capacity (Schubert & Boenigk, 2019) that disproportionately affect organizations led by people of color and grassroots organizations serving marginalized communities (Buteau et al., 2020; Dorsey et al., 2020).

Trust-based philanthropy seeks to create stronger and more equitable nonprofit communities through a variety of grant making techniques, such as multi-year unrestricted grants and streamlined applications and reporting processes. Trust-based philanthropy challenges the assumptions that some grant makers hold about the 'baseline' characteristics necessary for successful implementation—such as asset size—that inherently restrict the organizations that foundations are willing to fund (Dorsey et al., 2020). Trust-based grant making encourages honest and open communication (formal and informal) between grant makers and grantees (Hunnik et al., 2021) that provides more flexible funding and allows grantees to determine how to spend the funding (Dorsey et al., 2020). Finally, trust-based philanthropy moves away from reporting requirements that focus on oversight to metrics that center on grantee learning and improvement (Beer et al., 2021). Practices associated with trust-based philanthropy, such as unrestricted grantmaking, may improve the financial and programmatic performance of grantees (Hunnik et al., 2021). For example, a study of the Dutch People's Postcode Lottery found that unrestricted funding has been instrumental in encouraging innovation, flexibility, and collaboration (Wallace & Saxton, 2018).

Participatory Decision Making

Participatory philanthropy has deep roots in deliberative democracy and governance, community development and urban planning, and social work and community organizing (Gibson, 2018). Foundation grant making has often been top-down and centralized with the foundation leadership and professional staff setting funding priorities and making decisions about grant allocations. Participatory philanthropy opens the decision-making process along a continuum from seeking input on priorities and needs to involving communities in establishing the criteria for grant making to full participation in allowing affected communities to make decisions about the distribution of grants (Knight & Ruesga, 2013). Participatory grant making is based on the belief that participation is not just a means but an end in itself (Beer et al., 2021; Gibson, 2018; Knight & Ruesga, 2013) as those who are most affected should make the decisions that impact them (Beer et al., 2021). Participatory decision making contributes to better decisions as it increases knowledge about the assets and challenges of marginalized communities, creates community buy-in and agency, and promotes equitable and just processes in which marginalized communities gain control over processes that affect them (Beer et al., 2021; Gibson, 2018; Knight & Ruesga, 2013). Participatory philanthropy also seeks to build trust and connections within participating communities but also between grant makers and communities. This is particularly important as foundations have often been distrusted as elite outsider institutions by many marginalized communities. Studies of public

participation suggest that resident participation in issues that affect them produces positive outcomes for both individuals and service delivery systems. At the individual level, resident participation increases public awareness of issues, increases competence, enhances trust and commitment, and empowers participants through a greater sense of efficacy (Hardina, 2003; Julian et al., 1997; McDonnell, 2020; Pateman, 1970). There is also evidence that resident participation improves the efficiency and effectiveness of programs (Jakobsen et al., 2019) as residents are assumed to have more knowledge of community needs (McGinnis Johnson, 2016).

Flipped Accountability

Philanthropic institutions have few legal or structural requirements to account for their contributions to the 'public good' (Beer et al., 2021; Reich, 2018). Consistent with its roots in capitalism, market-based philanthropy increasingly describes grant making as an investment (Horvath & Powell, 2020). This trend towards measurable philanthropy requires tracking outcomes and assessing performance (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018; Heckler, 2019). However, partly to communicate their value to the public, foundations have adopted a variety of increasingly sophisticated strategic planning tools to guide decision making and evaluation requirements to ensure grantee compliance. Such technocratic responsibilities to accountability privilege the funders' values and expertise and displace accountability onto grantees (Beer et al., 2021). The choice of outcomes and foundation led evaluation practices may reinforce racism (Dean-Coffey, 2018). In current accountability relationships, the grantee is the agent responsible to the funder. This relationship does not allow the public to fundamentally challenge grant makers assumptions and choices nor hold the grant makers accountable to a 'public.' In addition, grant reporting, monitoring and evaluation practices co-opt the grantee and may push grantees away from movement building and organizing work.

Beer and colleagues (2021) proposed flipping this relationship such that the foundation is accountable to their constituents—those people experiencing inequities—and foundations are responsible for demonstrating that they are working in ways that are legitimate and valued by community members. Flipped accountability requires that foundations must make commitments to constituents about what the community can expect from the foundation, both in terms of outcomes and process, and foundations regularly interact with communities to gain feedback on foundation actions. This flip implies that the primary client for evaluation becomes the community and foundations are held accountable, rather than the reverse. Foundations' self-evaluation provides transparency and credibility of decisions about what is funded (Chelimsky, 2001). Flipped accountability also implies a commitment to the principles of equitable evaluation, which reorients evaluation from the individual causes of social challenges to the systemic drivers of inequity and embeds cultural competence into the evaluation process (Dean-Coffey, 2018; Dean-Coffey et al., 2014).

Leverage Multiple Tools for Systems Change

Grant making is often viewed as the primary tool of philanthropy (Reckhow, 2016) and the redistribution of philanthropic resources through more equitable grant making is often described as a key objective of justice philanthropy. While foundations may pursue change by funding organizations engaged in mobilizing and advocacy efforts, it is important to note that foundations have many other non-patronage methods at their disposal to support systemic change (Reckhow, 2016). A growing body of literature describes how foundations affect systems change through participation in the policy process, influencing the market, and facilitating grassroots collective action. Wichmann and Petersen (2013) viewed these non-patron efforts to change the political and economic structures that perpetuate injustices as a moral imperative.

Foundations (private and public) have long played important roles in the policy process (Arnove, 1982; Roelofs, 2003). In particular, the role of foundations in education policy has received a great deal of attention from foundations' influence on and recent success in promoting charter schools and the adoption of a federal core curriculum (Reckhow, 2013; Tompkins-Stange, 2020). Foundations increasingly work together to align agendas, support research, and advocate for shared policy platforms (Faber & McCarthy, 2005; Haddad & Reckhow, 2018; Reckhow, 2013). While such policy influence has been criticized as 'undemocratic,' particularly the growth of concerted foundation efforts, foundations committed to justice philanthropy may also foster community participation in the policy process by educating and mobilizing marginalized communities, including grassroots advocacy organizations (Mandeville, 2007; Wu, 2021) to identify issues and pursue policy change. Foundations create grassroots infrastructure for political activism through vertical integration and cluster-based funding (Faber & McCarthy, 2005). Vertically integrated funding supports capacity building by connecting local organizations to field level support organizations for research, legal and technical assistance. In contrast, cluster-based funding funds anchor organizations that play leadership roles to develop networks across geography, identity, or issue.

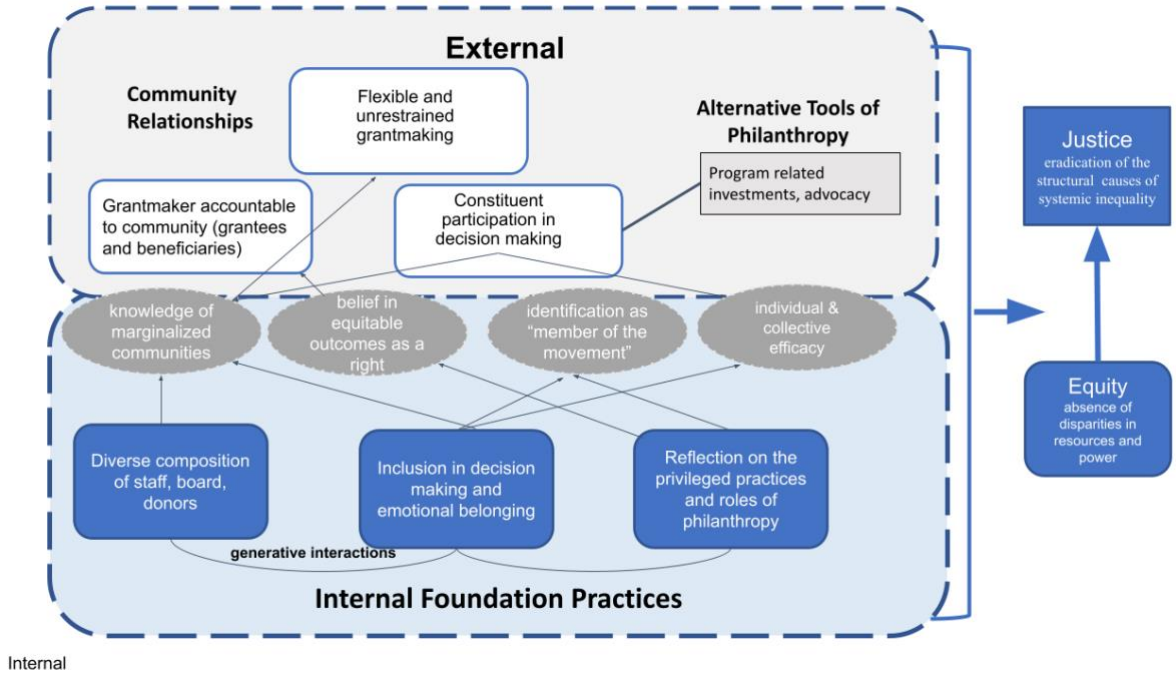
Finally, consistent with their roots in the capitalist economic system, foundations can also affect change in the economic system through their investment decisions that leverage large financial endowments. Foundations can use the power of their endowments invested in the stock market to promote justice by aligning their investment strategies with their foundation's mission and values, often referred to as mission-related investment. To align financial and social returns, in 2021 the Ford Foundation announced their decision to end investments in fossil fuels and instead invest in alternative and renewable energy opportunities (Ford Foundation, 2021).

Discussion: An Integrated Framework

Contrary to philanthropic efforts which seek to address the immediate symptoms of social and environmental issues (what is often described as charity), justice philanthropy seeks to address the 'drivers of the situation' by pursuing long-term structural changes in economic and political systems that perpetuate inequality, focusing on the reallocation of political and economic power. The pursuit of these societal outcomes involves changes in foundations' internal practices and their relationships with constituent communities and deploying diverse philanthropic tools. However, we have little empirical evidence to support the expectations that changes in foundation practices and relationships will lead to a redistribution of foundation resources and ultimately impact community outcomes.

While the theory of representative bureaucracy suggests relationships between representation by people of color and positive policy outcomes for communities of color, their relationships remain largely untested in institutional philanthropy. There is also limited research on the relationship between community relationships, such as participatory grantmaking, and distributional outcomes. In a study of community input into foundation grant making, McGinnis Johnson (2016) found that while community boards are more likely to make grants to less professionalized organizations, they are also more likely to fund older organizations, suggesting fewer differences in grant making between community and traditional boards than expected. Similarly, important questions remain about the distributional consequences of financial tools, such as program-related investments, and the effects of such market-based tools on advocacy and empowerment efforts (Berry, 2016; Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018). And, as we noted earlier, critics have long questioned whose interests foundations are representing when they engage in the policy process.

Figure 2. An Integrated Framework of Justice Philanthropy



Part of the challenge facing practice and research is understanding how these practices connect and the causal mechanisms by which they lead to change. As we illustrated in Figure 1, the numerous terms in use currently exist as a laundry list; however, our review suggests many points of connection and interaction. Based on our review of the concepts, we offer an integrated framework of justice philanthropy as illustrated in Figure 2. In this figure, we posit interactions between foundation practices, community relationships, and societal impact. The posited relationships are illustrative and not exhaustive. For the purposes of proposing a framework, we also identify potential mechanisms that may offer conceptual insights into the processes that connect internal practices and community relationships with equitable and just outcomes. Below we identify questions about the interactions between practices, the processes that connect practice and outcomes, and the potentials for reshaping the field of institutional philanthropy.

First, our review of these diverse concepts suggests that justice philanthropy involves changes in both the internal operations of the foundation and its relationships with the 'community,' which includes both grantees and residents. While some foundations may pursue internal changes and others may change their relationships with communities, we posit that both are necessary to advance equitable and just outcomes.

For example, building relationships in marginalized communities requires cultural competency and integrity, which are reflected in organizational practices (Dean-Coffey et al., 2014), implying that a diverse staff is necessary for constituent participation to be successful. Similarly, as we raised in our discussion of advocacy as a tool for systemic change, unless foundation policy efforts are accompanied by constituent participation, it risks reinforcing the elite interests of foundations. Theoretically, important questions arise about which practices are self-reinforcing, such that the presence of one strengthens the effect of the other, statistically described as a moderating relationship. Or are these mediating relationships, where by one practice affects change in community through another? For example, does staff representation lead to more flexible grant making? The direction and interaction of these relationships requires further exploration, theorizing, and testing in order to guide practice.

Second, our review raises important questions about the processes by which action leads to redistribution of resources and system change that benefits marginalized communities. In the center of Figure 2, we illustrate several possible mechanisms that emerged from our review. There is a growing multidisciplinary body of research that describes the interactive processes by which diversity and inclusion may support more equitable outcomes for individuals in small groups and organizations (Bernstein et al., 2020). However, less is known about how such organizational practices lead to equitable and just outcomes for organizational 'outsiders'—marginalized residents and communities. Groeneveld and Meier (2021) drew upon social identity theory to posit that compositional representation might lead to positive outcomes for marginalized communities through identification directly through one's own identity as a member of a marginalized group and indirectly through interaction with a co-worker. Similarly, research from multiple disciplines, including political science and public administration, has found that employee and public participation leads to greater awareness and efficacy (McDonnell, 2020; Pateman, 1970). Based on studies of individual giving, we assume that awareness of need and efficacy lead to a greater distribution of resources to marginalized communities (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). However, additional conceptualization is needed to understand these processes in foundations, particularly given their reliance upon elite donors. Scully and colleagues (2018) connected concepts of ally formation from critical race theory and social movement theory to make sense of how elites use their experiences as levers of change for marginalized groups. The careful development and application of theory to unpack these processes has the potential to advance practice.

Third, concern exists that despite language in support of racial justice, there will be few lasting changes in foundation practices (Beer et al., 2021; Mason, 2020). Change is hard and not all organizational change efforts are successful. It is quite possible that in some foundations the language of change may not match implementation. In some foundations, the language of racial justice may be easy to adopt but practices difficult to change. In other cases, particularly in public foundations that are reliant upon a broad pool of donors, racial justice may be controversial and it may be more risky for foundations to talk about racial justice than quietly adopt new practices. In such cases they may avoid the language and adopt practices that remain invisible to the broader public, including donors. Such disconnects between language and practice may further erode the legitimacy of institutional philanthropy and threaten the potential of justice philanthropy. Theories of organizational change (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) and decoupling (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2017) may provide some theoretical insights into why and when foundations change language and practice.

Finally, while individual foundations may move towards adopting the values and practices of justice philanthropy, questions remain about whether and how the *field* of institutional philanthropy will shift. Philanthropic support organizations, such as CFLeads, Giving Compass, Council on Foundations, Resources Racial Justice Fund, and the Open Society Foundations (to name just a few) are supporting a variety of educational opportunities and peer networks to support foundations' DEIJ efforts. Many of these efforts predate the racial justice movement of 2020. However, we have limited understanding of to what extent such top-down efforts are successful and which models of field support are effective. Similarly, there is evidence that foundations are increasingly acting together to advance social justice efforts. Haddad and Reckow (2018) observed that newer private foundations engaged in innovative practices such as advocacy philanthropy can impact older funders in adopting similar practices as older foundations aim to maintain relevancy and legitimacy. Those spillover effects from newer to older organizations have the potential to change institutional logics and, thus, magnify system change efforts. The concepts of institutional entrepreneurship and institutional reform, emerging from neo-institutional theory, often overlapping with social movement theory, may provide insights to help scholars and field leaders understand the process of field change.

Like the blind men touching the elephant, our efforts to unpack justice philanthropy led us to descriptions of heterogeneous values and practices. If viewed individually, we might continue to view the elephant in many ways and never realize the full potential of the whole. For practice, this loss of 'whole' risks the loss of identity of the movement towards justice, an inability to monitor how far we've come, and a means for broad participation in the movement. We also believe that an integrated framework provides a path forward to address existing critiques of philanthropy. While much of the study of equity has occurred outside of philanthropy, the justice philanthropy movement offers scholars the opportunity to better understand the complex relationships between foundation practice and outcomes, and why and when practice impacts individuals, organizations, and communities. Our description of an integrated framework may seem simplistic and ignore the complexities and challenges of shifting institutional philanthropy. This is not offered as a testable or complete model. Instead, we challenge scholars and practitioners to extend this framework to advance our understanding of how and when institutional philanthropy advances racial justice.

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Appendix. Common Terms Used to Describe Philanthropy Aiming for Structural Changes in the Institutions that Perpetuate Inequality

Terms in Use	Terms Introduced in Publication (listed chronologically)	Selected Definitions
Social Change Philanthropy	1990	1) is critical of the inequalities generated by capitalism; 2) seeks fundamental change and system transformation rather than amelioration of the symptoms of the system's malfunctioning; 3) concerns itself with power—who has it, how you get if you don't have it, and the connection between power and the democratic system, and how it can be equitably distributed; 4) relies upon a full range of policy tools including research and advocacy (Rabinowitz, 1990). Supports those who have been marginalized to take leadership in addressing systemic change (Urschel, 2005).
Social Movement Philanthropy	1995	1) funding of social movements and community organizing—form of active citizenship—to bring marginalized people together to address their own shared problems and have a say in important decisions that affect their lives; 2) models a democratic system based on collective ownership and control of resources, an equitable distribution of power and wealth; and freedom from oppressions of race, class, gender and sexual orientation through its own internal structure and grant making process (Ostrander, 1995, p. 199).
Indigenous Philanthropy	2002	From a development perspective, recognizes that the primary investors in society must come from within through participatory, citizen-led initiatives that strengthen civil society (Singh, 2002). Interpreted through a South African cultural context and the 'ubuntu' philosophy, "envisages an actualization of one's humanity through the act of giving in which the giver and recipient are mutual bearers of humanity…based on reciprocity and cooperation, they cast givers as equal in standing to recipients" (Mottiar & Ngcoya, 2016).
Social Justice Philanthropy	2003	"the practice of making contributions to nonprofit organizations that work for structural change and increase the opportunity of those who are less well-off politically, economically and socially" (Hunsaker & Hanzl, 2003, p. 6). "…gives voice to those who suffer" (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009, p. 984).

Terms in Use	Terms Introduced in Publication (listed chronologically)	Selected Definitions
		Grant making for progressive social reform that seeks structural change and redistributes social, political, and economic power (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018).
Community Philanthropy	2004	The act of individual citizens and local institutions contributing money or goods, time and skills, to promote the well-being of local people and communities (European Foundation Centre, 2004). A form of, and a force for, locally driven development that strengthens community capacity and voice, builds trust, and most importantly, taps into and builds on local resources (Hodgson, 2016, 2020), which are pooled together to build and sustain a strong community (Doan, 2019).
Philanthropic Activism	2005	Collective form of philanthropic effort to organize funders and foundation officials and/or coordinate grant making practices in support of a specific movement and/or political agenda (Faber & McCarthy, 2005).
Social Justice Funding	2005	"Philanthropic support for advancing progressive social change, that is the redistribution of power and resources (economic, social, cultural, and/or political) in a more egalitarian manner" (Ostrander et al., 2005, p. 33).
Horizontal Philanthropy or Philanthropy of Community	2005	"help among and between the poor" that "reflects principles of altruism, reciprocity and co-operation" through "material exchanges—food, money and clothes" and nonmaterial exchanges "such as knowledge, physical/manual support and moral/emotional support" (Wilkinson-Maposa et al., 2005, p. 7)
Grassroots Philanthropy	2011	"… building the independent capacities of a broad base of citizens to engage with each other and take collective action…directed by people's own interpretations of root causes and the strategies that are required to address them" (Edwards, 2011, p. 481). "…allows ordinary people to self-organize and take their destiny into their own hands; and to develop the skills necessary for participation in the public sphere" (Atibil, 2014, p. 468).

Terms in Use	Terms Introduced in Publication (listed chronologically)	Selected Definitions
Participatory Grantmaking /Philanthropy	2018	Engages the community in the decision making of the grant maker. It ranges on a continuum from providing input into the needs of the community to seeking input on strategy and goals to ceding grantmaking cedes decision-making power about funding—including the strategy and criteria behind those decisions—to the very communities that funders aim to serve (Gibson, 2018).
Transformative Philanthropy	2018	Brings about long-term, lasting, and structural results in which the outcomes and impacts exceed the value of the initial gifts or investments (Goeke, 2021; Nickel, 2018).
Reparations Philanthropy	2018	seeks "…to fund in communities most harmed through historic extraction, and explicitly fund Black and Indigenous organizations driving actual reparations campaigns. But this alone is insufficient. We also invest in communities to reorient their relationship to capital, control their own assets and break dependence from the dominant, extractive economy" (Tanaka, 2018, n.p.).
Radical Philanthropy	2019	Targets the structures that perpetuate inequality and poverty, recognizes the centrality of the cumulative and interconnecting forces of free-market capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism in making and maintaining global poverty, recognizes that poverty has other cross-cutting dimensions, including the intersectionality of race, class, and gender; seek to transform the institutions of the current economic system (Herro & Obeng-Odoom, 2019).
Trust-Based Philanthropy	2021	Addresses the inherent power imbalances between funders, nonprofits, and the communities they serve through multi-year unrestricted giving, streamlined applications and reporting, and relationships based on transparency, dialogue, and mutual learning (Hunnik et al., 2021).

Research Article

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Can Cross-Sector Support Help Social Enterprises in Legitimacy Building? The Mixed Effects in Hong Kong

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Cross-sector collaboration is widely considered beneficial for the sustainable development of social enterprises (SEs). This study provides a nuanced assessment of the impacts of cross-sector collaboration in supporting SE development (cross-sector support; CSS) by highlighting legitimacy building as the crucial goal for SEs in achieving sustainability. Studying Hong Kong, we examine the institutional pressures confronting SEs in their legitimacy building, their efforts to respond, and the role of CSS therein. Data from surveys and in-depth interviews show that the three key types of CSS—venture capital, operational, and promotional—have mixed effects on the efforts of SEs to cope with the various institutional pressures. Our findings suggest the necessity of an integrated blend of governance styles—a metagovernance approach—in shaping and guiding CSS of SEs and an approach that is sensitive to the plural, changing pressures in SE entrepreneurial processes to achieve financial sustainability as well as social legitimacy.

Keywords: Social Enterprise, Legitimacy, Institutional Pressures, Cross-Sector Collaboration, Metagovernance

Introduction

Social enterprises (SEs) are broadly defined as "organizations pursuing social aims through their economic activity" (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013, p. 131; also see Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Zainon et al., 2014). Since commercial revenues enable the social mission and impact of SEs, financial and social objectives are equally crucial for SE development. Given this hybridity in organizational logic, SEs generally face daunting challenges in earning legitimacy. Existing studies suggest that cross-sector collaboration is beneficial for SE sustainability because the interactions among various stakeholders advance mutual learning and shared knowledge and thus improve efficiency and profitability (Dacin et al., 2010; Quélin et al., 2017). While much attention has been given to the impacts of cross-sector collaboration on the *financial* sustainability of SEs, there remains a relative paucity of studies on how such collaboration affects their endeavors in acquiring legitimacy—another key aspect of organizational sustainability.

SEs commonly pursue cross-sector partnerships to grow and flourish. The SE literature on cross-sector collaboration centers on such partnerships (Di Domenico et al., 2009;

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McDermott et al., 2018) while overlooking the cross-sector collaboration among public, private, and nonprofit sectors in *supporting* SEs, which we term cross-sector support (CSS) to distinguish it from cross-sector SE partnerships. The multisectoral actors joining the supporting networks (benefactors) do not necessarily form partnerships with SEs, but they establish the rules of the game at the macro level, foster the meso-level interorganizational relations of SEs, and influence the micropatterns of SE practice. When SE sustainability is understood in a broader sense, one that goes beyond mere financial sufficiency to also include legitimacy, the effects of CSS are particularly important, as they significantly shape the institutional environment in which SEs seek recognition and legitimacy.

The goal of this study is to examine the institutional pressures confronting SEs in their legitimacy building, their efforts to respond, and the role of CSS therein. We address these issues by drawing on the empirical evidence from surveys and in-depth interviews with stakeholders of SEs from various sectors in Hong Kong, where cross-sector collaboration has been broadly encouraged in SE development, with the government playing a dominant role in establishing multiple CSS schemes. Our research finds that, in the case of Hong Kong, the three key types of CSS for SEs, namely, venture capital support, operation support, and promotion support, have mixed effects in helping SEs respond to regulative, normative, and cognitive institutional pressures in their attempts to build legitimacy.

Literature Review

Legitimacy of Social Enterprises

Legitimacy, defined by Suchman (1995, p. 574) as the "generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions," is vital for all organizations to demonstrate social worthiness and mobilize resources (Oliver, 1991). Scholars and practitioners highlight the particular importance of legitimacy for SEs to attain resources and support (Dart, 2004; Huybrechts et al., 2014; Zainon et al., 2014), as SEs are underpinned by the theme of social justice and community cohesion (Seanor & Meaton, 2008). According to Dart (2004, p. 413), for SEs, "the conformity to societal expectations rather than efficiency is the principal organization goals and primary determinants of organizational success."

Earning legitimacy is challenging for any type of organization. Scholars distinguish among different types of legitimacy. Huybrechts et al. (2014) and Huybrechts and Nicholls (2013) provided a helpful summary of the categorizations; Suchman (1995) and Scott (1995) suggested a "typology consisting of three types of legitimacies: pragmatic or regulative legitimacy (compliance induced by a regulatory entity and/or motivated by access to resources and advantages), moral or normative legitimacy (compliance with norms and values) and cognitive legitimacy" (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013, p. 133). In addition, Nicholls (2010, p. 133) proposed "associational legitimacy, induced by 'association with other entities that are already perceived to be more legitimate,'" and other works have discussed "discursive legitimacy—the 'ability to speak legitimately for issues or other organizations'" (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013, pp. 133–134; also see Hardy et al., 2005; Phillips et al., 2000; Smith & Besharov, 2019). "Each type of legitimacy feeds a particular avenue of conformity" through which organizations are confronted with various types of institutional pressures (Huybrechts et al., 2014, p. 270; also see Nicholls & Cho, 2006; Scott, 1995).

As a typical form of hybrid organization, SEs face more daunting challenges in acquiring and preserving legitimacy, as they need to cope with the innate tensions within their multiple commitments and hybrid organizational logics (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Dart, 2004; Kerlin, 2017; Pache & Santos, 2013). Hybridity easily leads to mission drift (Dees, 1998; Hudon & Sandberg, 2013), tensions between internal stakeholders (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Mason

et al., 2007; Smith & Besharov, 2019), and divergent expectations by external stakeholders (Agrawal & Hockerts, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2013; Smith & Besharov, 2019). To attain legitimacy and recognition of their unique identity, SEs should seek to sustain their organizational hybridity, which requires continuous endeavors to cope with tensions and divergent expectations brought about by the 'double bottom line' (Emerson & Twersky, 1996) and multiple stakeholders (Huybrechts et al., 2014) to create and maintain congruences between their organizational attributes and the environment (Suddaby et al., 2017).

Institutional theory, which is sensitive to the role of embedding shared meanings,[1] cultural values and norms upon them (Mason et al., 2007), offers analytical tools for examining the macro- and micro-environment in which SEs seek legitimacy. According to Mason et al. (2007), "The institutional environment supports the values that SEs are founded upon and influences the processes required to maintain the primacy of these values" (p. 292). Scholars have depicted the various isomorphic institutional pressures that SEs encounter in their institutionalization processes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Huybrechts et al., 2014; Kerlin, 2017; Kerlin et al., 2021a, 2021b; Mason et al., 2007).

When exposed to various institutional pressures, organizations need not passively accept them but can strategically respond to them (Kerlin et al., 2021b; Oliver, 1991; Scott, 1995). Scholars are particularly interested in the strategic responses of hybrid organizations that contain multiple, conflicting internal logics (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Oliver (1991) developed a conceptual framework for identifying and explaining the alternative strategic reactions of organizations to institutional pressures that included five categories of reactions based on organizational capacity and willingness to conform: acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance, and manipulation. Acquiescence refers to organizations using tactics of habit, imitation, and compliance to obey and accept the rules and norms. Compromise suggests that organizations use balancing, pacifying and bargaining tactics to negotiate with institutional stakeholders and balance their multiple expectations. Avoidance uses concealing, buffering and escape tactics to disguise nonconformity. Defiance suggests that organizations utilize dismissive, challenging and attacking tactics to ignore and contest norms and requirements. Manipulation refers to the tactics of co-option, influence and control to shape criteria and values. Analyses of SE coping strategies, however, have largely focused on the internal, microlevel divergences among individual SEs, such as the founders' social capital, leadership and management skills, and SE organizational structures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Oliver, 1991; Smith & Besharov, 2019). The influence of interorganizational collaboration by SEs—especially those characterized by a different blend of institutional logics—has been less explored (Savarese et al., 2021).

Cross-Sector Collaboration and Intermediaries for Social Enterprise Development

Cross-sector collaboration, defined as "the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organizations in one sector separately" (Bryson et al., 2006, p. 44), is an important theme in the SE literature. Most works on cross-sector collaboration have taken "a functionalist view" and "focus on the advantages of collaboration" (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013, pp. 131–132). In the context of SE development, attention has been paid mainly to the efficacy of collaboration in enhancing the *financial sustainability* of SEs by combining and leveraging the resources and expertise of actors from different fields (McDermott et al., 2018; Quélin et al., 2017). Nonetheless, collaboration also gives rise to complex dynamics in the management of competing logics and possible tensions within SEs (Savarese et al., 2021), which are crucial for their hybridity maintenance and legitimacy building but have received less attention (Di Domenico et al., 2009).

Several works have documented numerous difficulties in cross-sector collaboration that stem from the inherent diversity within collaboration and the multiple objectives and competing

institutional logics brought by participating organizations from different sectors (Di Domenico et al., 2009; Gray & Purdy, 2018). The prescriptions for addressing such difficulties have commonly focused on the goals of mitigating conflicts through integration and convergence (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana et al., 2015; Smith & Besharov, 2019), that is, bringing the partners to the table, coordinating their actions, facilitating their interactions, and resolving the tensions that arise from their differences (Chatzichristos & Nagopoulos, 2020; Gray & Purdy, 2018). Although scholars have noted the unequal power relations in these processes (Curtis, 2008), few have critically assessed the potential risks of organizational blending caused by overemphasizing synergies. In cross-sector collaboration, recognizable distinctions between participating organizations from different sectors are often taken for granted. This is particularly problematic for cross-sector collaboration involving SEs, as the very concept of SE "reflects an evolution toward blurring boundaries between distinct and potentially conflicting institutional orders" (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013, pp. 131–132), and cross-sector collaboration creates an additional layer of blurring effects. While there is considerable research on how SEs can draw knowledge and resources from their collaborative partners, the discussion of their efforts and challenges in distinguishing themselves from their partners in sectors whose generic features and distinct identities are well established and widely recognized remains limited. Huybrechts and Nicholls's (2013) discussion of how SEs mobilize pragmatic and moral legitimacy to justify their collaboration with corporations and Savarese et al.'s (2021) examination of how hybrid organizations deal with partnerships with 'dominant-logic organizations' are among the few who have provided insights into the challenges confronting SEs in integration and convergence resulting from cross-sector collaboration.

The existing SE literature on cross-sector collaboration largely focuses on the *cross-sector partnerships* of SEs (Brandsen et al., 2005; Di Domenico et al., 2009; Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013; Sakarya et al., 2012). However, CSS, in which multisectoral actors make collaborative efforts to support SEs, but benefactors may or may not form partnerships with SEs, has received scant attention. SE development is greatly affected not only by cross-sector partnerships but also by the various types of support received from the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, and it is the latter that plays a more significant role in shaping the institutional environment in which SEs seek legitimacy. Participants in CSS, whom we call benefactors, can provide resources to support SEs in various forms, such as funds, knowledge, expertise, social networks, organizational infrastructure, management skills, personnel training, advertising, and regulation. Some benefactors form partnerships with the SEs they support through capital investment and/or involvement in governance boards, while others may play an intermediary role, offering training, advertising, and evaluation services to SEs generally without becoming formal partners or stakeholders of any specific SEs. Here, a separate body of literature exploring the role of intermediary organizations—such as private or nonprofit organizations that assist SEs in incubation, capacity building, and accreditation—in supporting the adaptation of SEs to institutional contexts (Head, 2011; Kerlin et al., 2021a; Ongaro & Ferlie, 2020) is enlightening. Nonetheless, these works have often focused on particular intermediary organizations and have rarely adopted a cross-sector collaboration perspective in examining the relationships and interactions between different intermediaries and their impacts on SEs. The two separate bodies of literature, one on cross-sector collaboration and the other on intermediaries, could be linked to stimulate thoughts on how CSS aligns various intermediary organizations to influence the endeavors of SEs to cope with institutional pressures in seeking legitimacy.

Although the intermediaries that have drawn scholarly attention are mainly from the nonstate sector, there is a growing literature on the role of government as a 'public entrepreneur' that can use financial and regulatory incentives to stimulate cross-sector collaboration (Choi et al., 2019; Ongaro & Ferlie, 2020). Government policy can shape both the internal dynamics of CSS and the ecosystems in which CSS is carried out. We need further insight into how government can better play this special intermediary role, simultaneously serving as the

architect of the CSS and one of the multiple participants in it, which remains an underexplored theme in SE governance.

Rationale: Cross-Sector Support and Social Enterprise Legitimacy Building

Synthesizing the insights from several streams of theoretical discussion, this study seeks to fill the existing gaps by scrutinizing the dynamics and effects of CSS in helping SEs cope with the institutional pressures in their legitimacy-building process. CSS is interesting and important because it addresses meso-level interorganizational interactions and connects the macro-institutional environment with the micropatterns of organizational performance, which have often been examined separately.

We draw on the literature that discusses the various types of legitimacy, which offer clear expectations of the avenues through which SEs attain legitimacy and encounter institutional pressures. The impacts of CSS on SE legitimacy building could be assessed by the role of their supportive measures in creating or blocking those avenues.

Building on the rich literature that documents the organizational strategies used by hybrid organizations (in general) and SEs (in particular) to cope with various institutional pressures, our research moves beyond the discussion of the strategic responses of SEs to *each* specific type of institutional pressure and investigates the more complex, multitasking process of how SEs simultaneously tackle the different types of pressures that involve goals that are inconsistent or even inherently self-contradictory. The most daunting challenge confronting SEs is the dilemma that by endeavoring to address one type of pressure, they might encounter another. We ask to what extent CSS can provide assistance to SEs in tackling this dilemma.

The research on cross-sector collaboration by SEs provides considerable insight into the processes and challenges involved in their building of cross-sector partnerships and emphasizes the importance of *integrating* multiple institutional objectives and logics. Our research, however, problematizes the 'integration and convergence' approach that takes diversity for granted and calls for a shift in focus from harmonizing differences to highlighting distinctions in the cross-sector collaboration involving SEs. This is important for comprehending how external support to SEs could more effectively assist their endeavors to build legitimacy. The scholarly works on the role of government and other institutional intermediaries in supporting SE development have inspired us to reflect on what intermediaries can do to foster not only convergence but also divergence in SE cross-sector collaboration. Linking the two bodies of literature, we will explore whether and how CSS could foster an 'ecosystem' (Hazenberg et al., 2016) in which SEs could more easily differentiate themselves from other 'dominant-logic organizations.'

This study also extends the analysis of the mechanisms shaping SEs' coping strategies from their individual and internal resources and difficulties to the dynamics within collective support to SEs offered by external, multisectoral actors. We examine how the contribution of resources by those actors and the power relationships that it entails shape the balance of logics within SEs and their ability to meet diverse stakeholder expectations.

In evaluating the effects of CSS, it is necessary to go beyond assessing isolated supporting measures to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the 'support portfolio' that considers the interplay between different support schemes and their joint influence as well as their interactions with the policy context. We ask how the government can better play an intermediary role in shaping and guiding the CSS portfolio to make it a more effective supporting mechanism for SE development. What distinguishes government from other intermediaries is the former's greater power and authority as well as challenges in setting rules, providing regulations, and creating an enabling institutional environment. Since the market, government, and civil society each have shortcomings and thus cannot bring about

optimal outcomes on their own, addressing their failures necessarily involves no single policy action but a balanced policy patchwork. A metagovernance approach, defined by Meuleman (2008) as "how public managers consciously design and manage governance style mixtures…of hierarchical governance, network governance and market governance" based on "the considerations of how the different modes of governance interact" enables us to reflect on an optimal constellation of different governance modes that recognize the strengths and weaknesses of various sectors and where they offset or complement one another (p. 2).

The Case of Hong Kong

The *raison d'être* and mode of survival for SEs is an evolving issue in specific environments (Defourny & Kim, 2011). We chose Hong Kong as a case study for three reasons. First, Hong Kong has long been a neoliberal economic showcase. On the one hand, the government has highlighted its support to innovations and entrepreneurship. On the other hand, the dominant market-based logic and noninterventionist approach have intermingled with the resistance of the status quo to innovative initiatives. These qualities render Hong Kong a typical case for an examination of the complex dynamics and effects of SE governance. Second, while a significant amount of research concerning the SE sector in Hong Kong has informed us of the factors enabling SEs to effectively grow economically, investigations of their efforts to build long-term identity, legitimacy, and comparative advantage and the difficulties of this process are scarce. The third reason for selecting Hong Kong for the current case study is its practicality: The authors have experience and connections in examining the growth of this sector.

A large percentage of SEs in Hong Kong were transformed from traditional nonprofit organizations (NPOs), which were largely funded by the government until the late 1990s, when the new public management paradigm introduced contracting practices (Defourny & Kim, 2011). As government funding for NPOs continuously declined after the financial crisis and the economic downturn in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Chan et al., 2011), the government replaced the old subvention system for financing NPOs with a new system: the lump sum grant. Nonprofit social service providers were asked to redeploy their existing resources to meet new emerging needs (Chan et al., 2011). Under considerable pressure to broaden their revenue base, they were driven to develop commercialized and quasi-market operations and transformed into SEs.

To foster the start-up of SEs, several funding schemes have been initiated by the Hong Kong government since 2001 (Ho & Chan, 2010). Successful applicants can obtain up to 3 million Hong Kong dollars for the operation of SEs in the first three years. In addition, the government has encouraged the business sector and civil society to collaboratively participate in the development of SEs. Among the various types of CSS offered to SEs in Hong Kong, three types—venture capital support, operation support, and promotion support—were most frequently mentioned by our respondents, as they were widely applicable to SEs of all kinds and at different development stages. We introduce them in Table 1.

The number of SEs in Hong Kong has grown rapidly, and their services are highly diversified. Despite this positive trend, a study conducted by The Chinese University of Hong Kong et al. (2014) revealed that one of the greatest challenges facing SEs in Hong Kong was developing their reputation and legitimacy. Approximately 30% of the respondents stated that they had no confidence in SE brands and were not sure how SEs could help society change. Only 2% of the respondents in the survey frequently purchased SE goods or services. A recent survey on *The State of Social Enterprise in Hong Kong* (British Council, 2020) showed that 24% of the SEs faced the challenge of customer acquisition and market development. The SE representatives interviewed in our study all stated that the sustainability of SEs depended not only on their financial performance but also on social recognition of the entire sector, which was difficult to achieve through individual organizations' efforts.

Table 1. Major CSS Types in Hong Kong

CSS to SEs	Participants and Form of Cross-Sector Collaboration
Venture Capital Support	
Social Innovation and Entrepreneurship Development Fund (SIE) Enhancing Employment of People with Disabilities through Small Enterprise Project The Development Bank of Singapore Limited (DBS) Foundation Social Enterprise Grant	The venture capital funding is mainly from the public finance and nongovernmental organization (NGO) sectors. All programs engage representatives from the government, business, and civil society to review applications, give advice, and evaluate SE performance.
Promotion Support	
Disseminating knowledge of SEs to improve public recognition	CSS benefactors promote SE through their own networks.
Producing promotional videos and radio shows	The Hong Kong Council of Social Service (NGO) coordinates the production and broadcasting of promotional videos and radio shows.
Establishing online shopping platforms	Power Assets Holdings Limited makes donations for the construction of the platform, and the Hong Kong Council of Social Service is responsible for their design and operation.
Operation Support	
Business consultation and provision of training courses	The Home Affairs Department invites practitioners from various sectors to register as consultants for SEs. CSS benefactors provide trainings in diverse fields. The Social Enterprise Business Centre (NGO) primarily coordinates the consultation services and training.
Publication of guidebooks	The Hong Kong Council of Social Service (NGO) compiles and publishes multiple handbooks about SE operation.

Source: Publicized documents from the Hong Kong Council of Social Service, Fullness Social Enterprises Society, and The Social Enterprise Business Centre; see Appendix 1.

Methods

This study utilizes mixed research methods. We collected data through a questionnaire survey and 54 in-depth interviews in Hong Kong between 2018 and 2019.

The questionnaire survey was designed to gain an understanding of SE practitioners' overall evaluation of the efficacy of CSS of SEs in Hong Kong and the difficulties they face in attaining legitimacy and credibility. We defined 'legitimacy' in the survey as "the ability of an SE to gain recognition by its various stakeholders and the public as a distinct organization to address social problems that can achieve the dual goals of financial sustainability and social mission." 'Credibility' indicates the ability of an SE to accomplish its stated social mission. An annual report by the Hong Kong General Chamber of Social Enterprises sorted more than 630 SEs

into 9 categories according to their working areas. In October 2018, we selected 63 SEs through random stratified sampling procedures (stratified by working area) and sent them questionnaires. Ultimately, we obtained 48 effective replies. To understand the respondents' attitudes and explanations for these attitudes, we contacted each of the 48 SEs in our sample by phone and conducted semi-structured interviews with their founder, manager or staff between November 2018 and January 2019. Each interview lasted between one and two hours. We asked the interviewees about the concrete difficulties they had experienced in their organizational legitimization processes, the coping strategies they had adopted, the forms of CSS they had received, the opportunities and pressures brought about by such support, and their suggestions on how to improve CSS and government policies. We asked our interviewees to describe in detail specific events and concrete examples to elaborate their views. We also solicited their opinions on various kinds of interorganizational dynamics as well as change over time in their organizational development.

To supplement our analysis, we also collected multiple types of internal and publicized documents from the interviewed SEs. In addition, with a snowballing strategy, we conducted interviews with 2 representatives of the intermediary organizations supporting SEs (Intermediary A is director of an NGO, which is a parental organization of an SE; Intermediary B is manager of an SE incubator agency), 2 volunteers serving in the interviewed SEs (Volunteers C and D), and 2 experts (Experts E and F) who had served as advisors for SE development in both government and SE associations. These interviews provided diverse perspectives for us to comprehend the concrete interactions among government, the business sector, and civil society and thus enabled us to better evaluate the effectiveness of cross-sector collaboration in helping SEs cope with the various institutional pressures in their legitimization process.

Qualitative Data Analysis

We followed Saldaña's (2016) procedure to analyze our qualitative data (Saldaña, 2016). All the interviews and other secondary materials were recorded, transcribed, and coded with NVivo12. We used a structural coding method to identify common empirical themes. We drew on constructs from Oliver (1991) and Kerlin et al. (2021b) to label our conceptual categories and guide our two major steps in the coding process (Table 2).

Step 1: Identifying Institutional Pressures and SE Responses

We first identified the institutional pressures that SEs encountered in their legitimization process. Based on Raffaelli and Glynn's (2015, p. 7) definition of institutional innovation as "novel, useful, and legitimate change that disrupts, to varying degrees, the cognitive, normative, or regulative mainstays of an organizational field," Kerlin et al. (2021b) argued that SEs create cognitive (institutional logics), normative, and regulative disruptions as institutional innovations. We drew on such insights to organize our analysis by categorizing the institutional pressures confronting SEs in their disruptions of the status quo into regulative, normative, and cognitive pressures. We then examined how the SEs in our sample reacted to the institutional pressures they faced. We used Oliver's (1991) five broad categories of organization strategies—acquiesce, compromise, avoid, defy, and manipulate—to code the reactions as indicated by our respondents.

Step 2: Assessing the Roles and Effects of CSS

Table 3 presents the evaluations from the SE respondents on the roles of CSS in assisting them in coping with the various institutional pressures. We categorized CSS impacts into positive, ambivalent, and negative. A positive impact meant that the SE respondents found the various forms of resources offered by CSS helpful in their endeavors to cope with institutional

Table 2. Coding Structure and Findings[a]

Institutional Pressure	Interview Content	Social Enterprise Response	Cross-Sector Support
Regulative Pressure Lack a unique and suitable legal form for SEs	The threshold for registering as a nonprofit legal form is high (30% of SE respondents)	*Acquiescence* Register in for-profit legal form (25% of SE respondents)	*Positive* The CSS benefactors provide helpful advice and guidance on the choices of which legal forms to register for (19% of SE respondents)
	No tax exemption for registering in the category of private company limited by share (13% of SE respondents)	*Acquiescence* Do not apply for tax exemption (10% of SE respondents)	*Ambivalent* The role of CSS is limited unless it could prompt the government to establish a distinct, suitable legal form for SEs (15% of SE respondents)
	Difficulty of engaging more external investors in development if registering in the category of company limited by guarantee (27% of SE respondents)	*Acquiescence* Do not expand investor board (23% of SE respondents)	
Regulative Pressure To enhance profitability, often at the cost of other organizational goals	Achieve financial balance in three years after receiving government start-up funding. The assessment process focuses on financial performance (29% of SE respondents)	*Acquiescence* Use cautious business operation models, reduce expenditure on employee salaries (15% of SE respondents)	*Positive* SEs obtain financial support for short-term operation and cash flow (17% of SE respondents) as well as management knowledge transfer and skill training (23% of SE respondents) from CSS.
		Avoid Turn to financial support from parental agency and partners (17% of SE respondents)	
Normative Pressure To be seen as fair players in the market competition *Cognitive Pressure* Find great tension inherent in dual goals of achieving financial balance and social recognition	Asked why SEs can obtain start-up funding and enjoy favorable policies (15% of SE respondents)	*Acquiescence* Do not apply for start-up funding (4% of SE respondents)	*Negative* The government's provision of matching funds, which aims to encourage CSS, has intensified the suspicion that SEs take advantage of government support to make profits (10% of SE respondents)
		Defy Actively seek seed funding (10% of SE respondents)	

Normative Pressure To be seen as accountable for social mission	Criticized for being undeserving of supportive policies as SE goods and services were of poorer quality than those provided by private companies (25% of SE respondents)	*Manipulate* Improve good and service quality (25% of SE respondents); make production processes transparent to the public (25% of SE respondents)	*Positive* CSS benefactors offer consulting services to address SE management problems, thereby helping to improve their quality assurance and brand promotion (10% of SE respondents)
	To allocate most revenues to beneficiaries while resources for further development are limited, and financial status remains unstable (31% of SE respondents)	*Acquiescence* Allocate most revenues to targeted beneficiaries and reproduction (15% of SE respondents) *Avoid* Highlight social mission as just lip service while controlling labor cost for financial sustainability (12% of SE respondents)	*Ambivalent* Advice and trainings offered by CSS benefactors help SEs run more efficiently. However, they center on commercial practices rather than social impact accumulation, which may lead SEs to lose unique features, posing difficulty for their image and legitimacy building (12% of SE respondents)
Cognitive and Normative Pressures To become unique entities that can achieve dual missions and be recognized by the public as such.	Build and balance hybrid institutional goals of profit-making and social welfare delivery (35% of SE respondents)	*Manipulate* Advocate the special organizational advantage of SEs both within organizations and to (potential) investors and customers (31% of SE respondents)	*Ambivalent* CSS benefactors disseminate knowledge of SEs through multiple channels to improve public recognition but cannot effectively manifest the concrete, unique contributions of SEs (17% of SE respondents) (Intermediary) *Positive* SE associations provide accreditation services for social benefits offered by SEs, like *Fullness Social Enterprises Society* (15% of SE respondents) and the Social Enterprise Endorsement (SEE) Mark Program[b] (10% of SE respondents) (Intermediary) *Ambivalent* The accreditation services from SE associations are not authoritative or influential due to implementation weaknesses (21% of SE respondents)

Notes: Interviewed SE categories: For-profit legal form (company limited by share): 13 (27%); For-profit legal form (company limited by guarantee): 25 (52%); Nonprofit legal form (branch of society, charity or NGO): 10 (21%).

[a] Developed from Oliver (1991) and referenced by Kerlin et al. (2021b). [b] SEE Mark program is a service offered by the Hong Kong General Chamber of Social Enterprises to certify bona fide social enterprises, see https://seemark.hk/en_gb/introduction.

Table 3. Hong Kong Social Enterprise Survey (October 2018–January 2019)

Social Enterprise	Number	Percent
Working Area		
Art and Culture	5	10.42
Care Services	6	12.50
Corporate Services and Business Support	5	10.42
Eco Living	6	12.50
Education and Training	4	8.33
Food and Beverage	6	12.50
Personal Care	6	12.50
Home and Lifestyle	5	10.42
Transportation	5	10.42
Legal Form		
Nonprofit Legal Form (Branch of Society, Charity or NGO)	10	20.80
For-Profit Legal Form (Company Limited by Share)	13	27.10
For-Profit Legal Form (Company Limited by Guarantee)	25	52.10
Registration Year Period		
2001–2007	9	18.80
2008–2014	25	52.0
2014–2019	14	29.20
Major Sponsor of Start-up Funds		
Government	10	20.83
Business (Individual and Corporate)	28	58.33
Foundation	10	20.83
Current Sources of Income		
Goods and Services	28	58.33
Government Funding	3	6.25
Goods and Services and Government Funding	6	12.50
Goods and Services and Public Donation	11	22.92
How important is legitimacy and credibility for SE survival?		
Very Important	35	72.92
Somewhat Important	10	20.83
Not Very Important	3	6.25
Not at All Important	0	0.00
How do you evaluate the legitimacy and credibility of the SE sector in Hong Kong?		
Very Good	5	10.42
Good	15	31.25
Fair	20	41.67
Poor	8	16.67
Can government policy help improve SE legitimacy?		
Agree	18	37.50

Disagree	10	20.83
Not Sure	20	41.67
Can the involvement of the business sector help improve SE legitimacy?		
Agree	12	25.00
Disagree	28	58.33
Not Sure	8	16.67
Can the participation of civil society help improve SE legitimacy?		
Agree	30	62.50
Disagree	8	16.67
Not Sure	10	20.83

pressures. Ambivalent impact was felt when CSS neither created favorable conditions for SEs nor generated new pressures. Negative impact referred to the new or exacerbated pressures experienced by SEs due to CSS. In the in-depth interviews, we also explored the major reasons behind the respondents' perception of the effects of CSS.

Findings

The survey sample shows diversity in age, legal form, supporting agency and working area. The sample information, survey questions and responses are summarized in Table 3. The survey data illustrate that although the importance of legitimacy is well recognized by SE representatives, fewer than half of the respondents think the SE sector in Hong Kong has established a good reputation and has been accepted by the public.

From the interview data, we found that SEs in Hong Kong had experienced various regulative, normative, and cognitive pressures and adopted diverse coping strategies. The three key types of CSS of SEs—venture capital support, operation support, and promotion support—have mixed effects in helping SEs cope with the institutional pressures in their attempts to build legitimacy and gain social recognition. The venture capital support provided by various sectors in the form of direct investment or loans helps SEs fulfill the regulative requirement of achieving financial balance, but due to inadequate constitutive rules on the legal definition and performance requirements (other than financial performance) of SEs, venture capital support exacerbates the normative pressures on SEs, as it makes SEs appear to enjoy government favors and privileges and thus an unfair advantage in market competition. Operation support from private and nonprofit collaborators is helpful for SEs to improve organizational management and hence survive. Nonetheless, it intensifies not only the cognitive pressures in the building and consolidation of a hybrid logic within SEs but also the normative pressures as their attempts to borrow operational practices from the private and nonprofit sectors arouse societal suspicion of SEs as an effective alternative to existing organizational approaches. Promotion support provided by multisectoral benefactors is useful for enhancing public awareness of a broad range of SEs. Nonetheless, it is not effective in demonstrating their unique value and contribution.

Regulatory Pressures

We found that SEs in Hong Kong primarily experienced two types of regulative pressures: (1) a lack of distinct and suitable legal forms for registration, and (2) stringent and demanding requirements for receiving start-up funding.

In Hong Kong, few legal and regulatory measures are specifically provided for SEs. SEs can register in multiple organizational categories. 'Society' (Association Ordinance Chapter 151), 'company limited by guarantee' and 'company limited by share' (Companies Ordinance Chapter 622) are the most common registration forms. Our respondents Intermediary A and Expert E explained that the government made the multiple legal forms available for SE registration to encourage cross-sector collaboration, that is, to provide flexibility for business and civil society actors to participate in SE development. However, the interviewed SE representatives expressed confusion about identifying suitable forms for their organizations. In our study sample, over 43% (20 respondents) found that no suitable legal forms matched their organizational goals; 30% (14 respondents) thought that the threshold for registration in the 'society' category was too high and thus had to register in the for-profit categories. Our respondents also reported some practical difficulties when registering as for-profit forms: Six respondents from the SEs that had registered as 'private companies limited by share' complained that their SEs were not eligible for tax exemption; 13 representatives of the SEs that had registered as 'companies limited by guarantee' indicated that their organizations had difficulty engaging more external investors in their development processes. These SEs had all adopted the acquiescence strategy in response by not applying for tax exemptions and not expanding their investor boards. However, they worried that such situations were unfavorable for the further development of their organizations.

Respondents also noted the pressures that accompanied start-up funding. Twenty-nine percent of the studied SEs (14 respondents) were under great stress after receiving government start-up funding, as they were required to achieve financial balance in three years. The manager of SE 12, which had received start-up funding, told us:

> *The government agencies should be responsible for their spending. Therefore, they need to obtain evidence that their sponsored SEs are doing a satisfactory job. The core assessment for a funded SE is whether financial balance can be achieved after the funding period. While the social value effects are difficult to evaluate in the short term, the assessment process puts more emphasis on financial performance, which places great pressure on SEs to enhance profitability, often at the cost of other organizational goals.*

To qualify for the various start-up funding schemes, an SE must undergo stringent accreditation, and these measurements and criteria hold its managers accountable primarily for financial performance rather than social mission achievement. Fifteen percent of our studied SEs (7 respondents) adopted the acquiescence strategy by employing cautious business operational models and reducing expenditure on employee salary. For example, SE 12 had planned to expand its operational scale and allocate more resources to support the vulnerable farmers who were its targeted beneficiaries but eventually abandoned the plan because its management was concerned that these plans would endanger the organization's financial status. In contrast to the acquiescent SEs, 17% of the studied SEs (8 respondents) adopted the avoidance strategy by turning to their parental agencies and/or partners for financial support instead of applying for start-up funding.

What roles did CSS play in relieving the regulative pressures on SEs? Nineteen percent of our sample (9 respondents) considered the benefactors from various sectors helpful in providing advice and guidance for them to make decisions on the legal forms for which to register, whereas 15% felt that the benefactors' role in this aspect was limited unless they could prompt the government to create a distinct, suitable legal form for SEs. The respondents indicated that CSS exerted positive impacts on their organizations' success in meeting the start-up funding

requirements, as 17% of the studied SEs obtained financial support for short-term operation and cash flow, and 23% received management knowledge transfer and skill training that was conducive to their financial sustainability from the benefactors, especially those from the business sector.

Normative and Cognitive Pressures

Societal recognition and acceptance are particularly essential for SEs (Dart, 2004). However, it is extraordinarily difficult for SEs to align themselves with what society is accustomed to and accepts as appropriate. "People are accustomed to paying businesses for the value their products and services provide us and accept that they will appropriate financial value from the transaction. They are also accustomed to social-purpose organizations creating social value (or financial value for beneficiaries) but not seeking to appropriate that value. Organizations or initiatives that attempt to do both potentially violate social norms for proper organizational practice" (Newth & Woods, 2014, p. 13). We found that SEs in Hong Kong faced three main types of normative and cognitive pressures due to different societal actors' divergent understandings and expectations of them: the pressure to be seen as fair players in market competition, the pressure to be accountable for social mission accomplishment, and the pressure to be recognized by the public as unique entities that could achieve dual missions.

Respondents reported that they had experienced pressure through accusations of engaging in unfair practices in market competition. Seven respondents (15%) said that they had been questioned as to why SEs could obtain start-up funds and enjoy favorable policies. To avoid such pressure, 4% of the studied SEs adopted the compliance tactic (acquiescence) by not applying for any start-up funding schemes. Ten percent of the SEs, however, simply dismissed the pressure (defying) and actively sought different seed funding. Either way, the SEs faced cognitive pressure, as their managers found substantial tension inherent in their dual goals of achieving financial balance and social credibility.

Five respondents (10%) noted that the Hong Kong government's provision of matching funds, which aimed to encourage cross-sector collaboration—the participation of the private sector in SE development—had, in effect, intensified such doubts. Before 2016, only NPOs and individuals were eligible sponsors in SE start-up funding schemes. To maximize their economic and social effects, since 2016, the government has opened those schemes to private company applicants who can secure matching funds. As a result, business enterprises could independently establish SEs and obtain financial support if they could acquire enough matching funds and obtain approval from the government. This change has caused considerable confusion and concern that SEs could profit by taking advantage of government support. As the manager of SE 37 remarked:

> *My friends who are small company owners often complain to me that they also hire many disabled people, but they can't enjoy the same start-up support and tax exemptions that SEs enjoy. They think the policy toward SEs is so messy and confusing and might cause unfair competition in the market.*

Twenty-five percent of the studied SEs (12 respondents) had been criticized for being undeserving of supportive policies, as their products and services were of poorer quality than those provided by private companies. In reaction to such criticism, the SEs adopted an influencing tactic (manipulation) by endeavoring to improve their goods and service quality through ex ante checks and ex post assessments or by making the production processes transparent to the public. Ten percent (5 respondents) noted that the benefactors of certain

CSS schemes were helpful in offering consulting services to address their management problems, which significantly improved their quality assurance and brand promotion.

The public also frequently doubted whether SEs were accountable for fulfilling their social mission. The respondents described various forms of societal resistance to SEs, including people's suspicion; open complaints and criticism; and refusal to consume, endorse, or donate to them, which created massive pressures both normatively and cognitively. The respondents from 15 SEs (31%) indicated that their SEs were under pressure to allocate most of their revenues to beneficiaries, while their resources for further development were limited, and their financial status remained unstable. Seven SEs (15%) adopted a compliance tactic (acquiescence) by allocating most revenues to their targeted beneficiaries or reproduction. Six SEs (12%) used a concealing tactic (avoid) by highlighting their social mission as lip service while strictly controlling their labor cost for financial sustainability.

Six SE representatives (12%) acknowledged the value of CSS in helping them address this issue, as they had learned how to operate their enterprises more efficiently from the benefactors from the business sector. Most interviewed SE managers had turned to practitioners in the business sector to learn commercial management skills. They also frequently attended various training programs and workshops offered by different SE associations. They noted that financial management and marketing skills rather than social impact accumulation were the core content of such training.

Borrowing operational experience largely from the commercial sector, however, sometimes led SEs to lose their unique features, causing difficulties for their identity and image building. For example, many SEs are supported by a volunteer system; most of the studied SEs regarded volunteers simply as the solution to human power insufficiency and rarely considered how to turn them into an effective force for social mission advocacy. Volunteer D noted that the managers did not acquaint the volunteers with the social mission and value of the SEs and did not require them to provide such information to the consumers of their products/services. While many potential consumers are interested in the background stories and goals of SEs, volunteers who lack such knowledge and consciousness and are only given the task of efficiently selling products/services inevitably disappoint consumers and reduce their trust in those SEs.

Fifteen respondents (31%) noted that their organizations had experienced substantial pressure in building and balancing the hybrid institutional goals of profit-making and social welfare delivery. All managers of these organizations implemented a strong influencing tactic (manipulation) by actively advocating for the special organizational advantage of SEs both within their organizations and to their (potential) investors and customers. Eight respondents (17%) acknowledged the positive role played by the benefactors in CSS in disseminating knowledge of SEs through multiple channels to improve public recognition. In particular, the respondents mentioned the contribution of various intermediary organizations, which are part of CSS, in helping them gain social recognition but nonetheless expressed a mixed attitude toward their effects. Seven respondents (15%) said that the SE association called the *Fullness Social Enterprises Society* offered useful accreditation services for SE social benefits, which could certify and acknowledge the social value of SEs. Five respondents (10%) noted that the SEE Mark Program had a similar function in certifying SE social impact, while 10 (21%) viewed the SEE Mark as uninfluential. Representatives of SEs 11, 15, and 27 pointed out that the SEE Mark evaluation process lacked inclusiveness and independence and that the coverage of certification services was limited because they were only available to members of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Social Enterprises.

Nonmembers, which were not small in number, were excluded. Representatives of SEs 6, 11, and 19 added that the existing certification services offered by the intermediary organizations were not comparable to accreditation from impartial independent third parties in terms of

their authority and influence, as the certification appraisers were the same staff who frequently served as training program tutors for SEs and thus had maintained good relationships with many of the SE management and staff. Expert F, who is a former certification appraiser, admitted that acquaintance pressure was a significant barrier to fair and objective assessment. All the SE representatives stated that CSS could do more to appropriately evaluate and publicize the achievements and social impacts of SEs and thus could better manifest their concrete, unique contributions. Several respondents also hoped that government or other benefactors in CSS could address the transparency and accountability problems of SEs, which are crucial for image building and legitimization.

Discussion: How to Improve the Efficacy of CSS?

Studying the case of Hong Kong, we find that CSS, on the one hand, has offered invaluable financial resources and operational experience for SEs to conquer regulative pressures, especially in their start-up period, yet, on the other hand, has had a less desirable effect in helping SEs tackle normative and cognitive pressures. In some ways, it has even exacerbated such pressures. Since CSS brings together benefactors from different sectors who are accustomed to diverse institutional logics and thus have divergent approaches and expectations in helping SEs, such support creates another layer of complexity to the maintenance of SE hybridity.

CSS, although with good intentions, leaves SEs little choice, as their survival is at stake. Due to power asymmetries, rules are imposed by resource-rich benefactors, and the SEs that receive support can hardly "shape the collaboration according to its own institutional norms" (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013, p. 142). As Savarese et al. (2021) and Di Domenico et al. (2009) have suggested, collaborations featuring numerous interactions and based on the reciprocal exchange of knowledge and resources may facilitate sustained hybridity. To enhance its efficacy in assisting SEs, CSS needs to emphasize a more interactive and reciprocal relationship between the benefactors and the SEs that seek their support.

Echoing the descriptions of power imbalance in cross-sector collaboration by Nicholls (2010) and Huybrechts and Nicholls (2013), we find that certain benefactors in CS—the government, which has policymaking authority, and the corporate actors, who can provide critical funding resources and expertise in organizational financial sustainability—wield dominant influences in shaping the rules of the support game and thus effecting changes on the ecosystem of SEs toward a direction unfavorable for SE legitimacy building. The Hong Kong government's new public management approach, which prioritizes cost efficiency and stresses quantifiable performance measurement, has reinforced the tendency of CSS to converge on commercial logic. Throughout their development, SEs must continuously seek a balance among different values, goals, and operational rationales. However, this balance is easily lost in an environment in which managerial and market discourses and approaches dominate most support schemes. Financial performance as a key condition to receive continuing support puts pressure on SE practitioners to take quick action to position themselves in the competitive market. In effect, their efforts to accomplish social impact and preserve hybridity within the organization are greatly repressed.

A more balanced power distribution among the benefactors within CSS is important to avoid the shift of support toward a single dominant logic, which would exacerbate the tensions within SEs that are already striving arduously to preserve their hybridity. Scholars have acknowledged the role of discursive legitimacy in balancing other sources of power (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2013; Phillips et al., 2000). Thus, in the case of Hong Kong, if CSS places more weight on the discursive legitimacy of the relatively 'resource-poor' benefactors such as nonprofits and other civil society actors, these benefactors may be able to exert more

influence on their intangible resources and thus counterbalance the dominance of the 'resource-rich' benefactors (Phillips et al., 2000).

It would be unfair to state that CSS in Hong Kong has taken no action to improve the moral or normative legitimacy of SEs. The government has created official websites to provide general SE information to the public. Multisectoral benefactors have offered primarily financial subsidies for SE promotion through various channels. Nonetheless, the evaluation and publicization of SE performance in terms of their social impact remain inadequate. The assessment of social performance "generally lacks standardization and comparability" and is thus undoubtedly more difficult than the assessment of financial performance, the methods for which are well established (Ebrahim et al., 2014, p. 82; Paton, 2003). Nonprofit benefactors may contribute more insight and expertise in the documentation, evaluation, and communication of SE social performance to enhance public recognition of the unique value of SEs.

CSS should also strengthen the role of SE beneficiaries and representatives of the wider community who are (potentially) the principal stakeholders of SEs and who have an ultimate say in the normative profile of the SE. Inspired by Ebrahim et al.'s (2014) advice on how to enhance the downward accountability of SEs, we suggest that the various support schemes can seek to enhance beneficiaries' direct representation in the governance of SEs, build their capacities to contribute to the decision-making and evaluation of SEs, and systematically solicit their feedback on using the goods/services being offered by SEs. This approach "can be understood as a boundary-spanning mechanism" (Huybrechts et al., 2014, p. 263) for "strengthening beneficiary voice and loyalty rather than exit" (Ebrahim et al., 2014 , p. 13), which is useful in assisting SEs in being recognized by and accountable to multiple stakeholders.

As Ebrahim et al. (2014, p. 6) have noted, legal recognition "provides greater legitimacy to the blended social and commercial objectives of social enterprises in the eyes of both staff and external stakeholders such as providers of capital" and can "impose greater costs to mission drift." Such mechanisms remain missing in the case of Hong Kong. While CSS is effective in mobilizing resources from the public, private, and nonprofit sectors to SE development and has thus enhanced the short-term profit-making and commercial operational capacities of SEs, it has somehow blurred the unique identity of SEs by making such support available to several organizational categories in which SEs can register, rather than providing support tailored specifically for SEs due to the loose legal and regulatory frameworks. This approach has, in effect, magnified the boundary-blurring effects of CSS, making it difficult for SEs that receive support from multisectoral benefactors to establish a unique identity distinct from other 'dominant-logic organizations' (Savarese et al., 2021).

Moreover, the major benefactors of SEs, especially the government, offer few concrete rules guiding the transparent and accountable SE operations. The lax regulation of SE profit allocation and social mission accountability causes further confusion regarding the differences between the corporate social responsibility of private companies and SEs. Currently, suggestions for SE profit allocation are posted on the Hong Kong SAR Home Affairs Department website without details on enforcement. Furthermore, there are no concrete mechanisms for holding SEs accountable for their balance between profit-making and social service delivery activities. Expert F, who is an experienced SE consultant, commented:

> *SEs are socially driven, and private enterprises are profit driven. Although some private enterprises spend part of their resources on charitable purposes, it is only a relatively small proportion of their inputs. In contrast, most of the profits of SEs are not allocated to shareholders but are used for*

> *achieving social goals. Currently, the government only gives suggestions to SEs for profit allocation but has no compulsory rules. People will certainly suspect that SEs will put the profits into their own pockets.*

This lax regulation also prompts SEs to pay insufficient attention to their operational transparency, which might exacerbate the normative pressures they face. In our study sample, SEs have generally introduced their organizational history and continuously updated news regarding their activities on their websites and social media platforms; however, project proposals, work reports and budget information were not available to the public. Only 2 of 48 SEs publicized their financial reports, an omission that reiterates the call for broad communication (Bradford et al., 2020). The manager of SE 5 explained:

> *Unless there are standardized, compulsory requirements and mechanisms for SEs to keep their operations transparent to the public, they will not bother to invest in such efforts given their limited resources and human power. Thus, people might have suspicions about SEs' operations. The solution might be the government acting as the gatekeeper by soliciting detailed operational documents from SEs and forcing information disclosure to the public.*

Many respondents echoed this point in the interviews. In their view, some forms of explicit exogenous accountability and transparency mechanisms in SE governance might help reduce public distrust in SEs and foster their distinctive identity. This assertion provides new thoughts on how to enhance the efficacy of support for SEs. Other than financial performance, government policy and CSS in Hong Kong generally set relatively loose conditionalities and regulations on SE operations (e.g., assets, returns, earning distributions) and accountability to give them greater flexibility for development. Such an approach, however, may unintentionally create additional pressures for SE legitimization. Therefore, CSS ought to pay greater attention to the role of constitutive and regulative rules in supporting SEs. As Mason et al. (2007) have reminded us, "Regulative rules set the acceptable boundaries within which the organization operates. Constitutive rules shape and define the roles performed by institutional actors in specific organizational contexts and cultural environments…The interplay between regulative and constitutive rules is important for understanding why SEs are governed differently to other types of organizations" (p. 293).

The government's role as both a rule-setter and a convener of CSS is crucial. This study finds that SE practitioners all hope that policy support from the government can move beyond financial resource input toward more proactive efforts to fuse and fine-tune different modes of governance to create favorable conditions for their legitimacy building. Our findings thus suggest the necessity of an integrated mixture of governance styles—a metagovernance approach—in shaping and guiding CSS of SE and an approach that is sensitive to the plural, changing pressures on the entrepreneurial processes of SEs to achieve not merely financial sustainability but also legitimacy and social recognition. In the current policy package encouraging CSS for SEs, elements of market-type governance are predominant, which is critical for boosting financial performance; nonetheless, market-type governance has added to rather than relieved the various institutional pressures confronting SEs in their legitimacy and identity building.

Network governance has contributed to the creation of an inclusive support network for mobilizing resources and expertise from diverse sectors to assist SE development.

Nonetheless, networks operating on their own cannot address the power imbalance and isomorphic pressures on weaker actors, such as SEs, within the networks. Mechanisms for tackling these issues, including enhancing interaction and reciprocity between SEs and their benefactors, giving more weight to nonprofit benefactors' intangible resources that are helpful for boosting the moral and discursive legitimacy of SEs, and expanding the pool of benefactors to include SE beneficiaries and their communities at large, must be stressed in network-style governance. In addition, the SE representatives in our study sample all expected certain forms of hierarchical governance, such as government creation of clearer legal boundaries and regulation of accountability and responsibility, which they believed could help them establish distinct identities and win recognition and trust from society. Moreover, the government may encourage more diverse forms of CSS so that SEs "can avoid dependence by maintaining alternative resources" (Huybrechts et al., 2014, p. 262; also see Froelich, 1999).

We do not argue that CSS is futile in helping SEs earn legitimacy and social recognition in the case of Hong Kong. Nonetheless, our findings show that such support has had, at best, mixed effects in helping SEs muddle through the daunting pressures they face in sustaining hybridity and attain legitimacy. To enhance CSS efficacy, some adjustments to the types and roles of benefactors joining the support endeavors as well as greater attention to assistance and regulation in aspects other than financial sustainability are important. Diversity within support networks and a multilateral model that stresses collaboration and coordination among different benefactors in forming more integrated measures to foster not only the financial performance but also, more importantly, the social impacts, legal recognition, transparency and accountability of SEs are important for CSS to serve as "enabling guardrails rather than constraining guards" (Smith & Besharov, 2019, p. 30). Furthermore, the government must offer more nuanced and integrated governance arrangements that go beyond the traditional cost-efficiency thrust and embrace multiple goals and methods. A combination of creating synergy through CSS and empowering SEs by regulating their distinctive accountability can energize mutually beneficial collective outcomes and facilitate their identity and legitimacy building.

Conclusion

Our study expands the literature on cross-sector collaboration and its impacts on SEs. The literature largely focuses on the contribution of cross-sector collaboration to the financial sustainability of SEs. We complement it by examining the impact of cross-sector collaboration on efforts by SEs to cope with institutional pressures in organizational legitimacy building. While most extant works have focused on the cross-sector partnerships of SEs, we shift our attention to an overlooked aspect: CSS, which does not necessarily involve partnerships with SEs but is crucial for shaping the institutional environment in which they pursue legitimacy. We also integrate the literature on cross-sector collaboration and intermediary organizations to offer a more expansive concept of SE governance that acknowledges not only the internal tensions and difficulties in the preservation of SE hybridity but also, more importantly, the role of external actors, especially government, in creating a macro environment and meso-level interorganizational relations conducive to legitimacy building and, consequently, sustainable development for SEs.

There are several limitations of this study. First, we have not scrutinized the relationship between CSS and SE internal governance structure, such as stakeholder involvement. More fine-grained analyses of this relationship by future studies would offer us a more in-depth understanding of the effects of CSS on SEs. Second, we have not explored the rationale underlying the choice by SEs of different support schemes. It would be helpful if other researchers could tell us more about the extent to which SEs have choices and, if so, what factors make CSS more or less attractive to them. Finally, we conducted a single case study of Hong Kong at one particular time period. Future research that studies cases in different

institutional environments, adopts comparative perspectives, and takes a longitudinal approach can test and deepen our theoretical propositions. We also call for further reflection on the modes of governance based on various national contexts that can enable cross-sector collaboration to better support the complex goals of SEs in their dynamic, arduous processes of coping with multiple institutional pressures.

Notes

1. Scott (1995, p. 49) defined institutions as "multifaceted, durable social structures, made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources."

Disclosure Statement

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Appendix 1. List of Documents

Venture Capital Support

1. Social Innovation and Entrepreneurship Development Fund (SIE), https://www.sie.gov.hk/en/who-we-are/sie-fund.page
2. Enhancing Employment of People with Disabilities through Small Enterprise Project, https://www.sehk.gov.hk/en/gov_fund.html
3. DBS Foundation SE Grant, https://www.dbs.com/foundation/featured/social-enterprise-grant-programme

Promotion Support

1. Disseminating knowledge of SEs to improve public recognition, https://www.ses.org.hk
2. Producing promotional videos and radio shows, https://www.socialenterprise.org.hk/zh-hant/video
3. Establishing online shopping platforms, https://www.goodgoods.hk/en

Operation Support

1. Business consultation and provision of training courses, https://www.socialenterprise.org.hk/zh-hant/business-support
2. Publication of guidebooks:
   The Hong Kong Council of Social Service (2016), *A Practical Guide of Setting up A Social Enterprise*. https://www.socialenterprise.org.hk/en/content/se-good-start-now-available-downloading
   The Hong Kong Council of Social Service (2016), *Choosing a Legal Form and Recommended Practices*. https://www.socialenterprise.org.hk/en/content/se-good-start-now-available-downloading
   Social Enterprise Business Center (2021), Social Enterprise Directory. https://socialenterprise.org.hk/en/content/se-directory-202122-%E2%80%93-se-figure

Research Article

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COVID-19 Impacts on Border Community Organizations

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The COVID-19 pandemic massively affected the nonprofit sector. This article explores how the crisis has impacted nonprofit organizations at a U.S.–Mexico border community with a large population of minorities and migrants. Guided by resource dependency theory and the nonprofit capacity building framework, surveys reveal that nonprofits with less financial support from the government sector, low leadership, and weak operational capacities receive critical impacts from the pandemic. The findings also show that local nonprofits are bonded closely to the community during the pandemic, which reflects the collectivistic culture in Hispanic/Latino communities. This study provides important insights on how local nonprofits with limited resources and an increase in demand from vulnerable populations struggled with the pandemic.

Keywords: Nonprofits in Border Community, Nonprofit Capacity, Resource Dependence, COVID-19 Pandemic

Introduction

The COVID-19 crisis has disrupted procedures, operations, and resource allocation for many businesses, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations. The U.S.–Mexico border region (hereafter border community) emerged into the national spotlight during the pandemic as the community consists of a high number of minority and migrant workers who usually suffer from inequities in income, health care access, and other essential needs. A recent study from the Pew Research Center (Gramlich & Scheller, 2021) showed that since the COVID-19 outbreak, many minority and migrant workers were met with challenges of living in a border community, including physical distancing and access to health care, leading to high numbers of infections, hospitalizations, and deaths. Local nonprofits working in border communities also faced challenges, as they were forced to quickly cease operations to respond to the public health order.

Prior to the pandemic onset, health and human service nonprofits in particular were already overwhelmed with work in border communities, as the region has a great need for services related to immigration, health insurance, higher education, and poverty (Loomis et al., 2019). Texas Health and Human Services (2021) showed that there are 29.3% of the population living below the poverty line in border areas compared with 15.9% population of the population in non-border areas; and there are 46.1% of adults (age 18–64) with no health insurance in border communities, compared to 28.3% in non-border communities.

Previous studies show that during major crises, it can be a challenge for local government and nonprofit organizations to help vulnerable populations in border communities due to language barriers, financial challenges, and social isolation (Loomis et al., 2019). Many nonprofit

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organizations, particularly those that handle immigration issues, public health, and child services, are not fully prepared with sufficient capacities to address needs (Mason & Fiocco, 2017). The ongoing pandemic has placed additional burdens on nonprofits in the South Texas border communities.

This study aims to evaluate the challenges that local nonprofit organizations have been met with during the pandemic in a border community in South Texas. It seeks to understand how COVID-19 affected nonprofits in a minority and migrant community with limited resources and support. Last, this study considers how several capacity factors, such as having an active board, conducting regular performance measurement, and community engagement, help nonprofit organizations survive a major health and economic crisis.

Nonprofit organizations have varying needs and priorities, making their response to crises unique from public agencies and private businesses. Previous studies have shown that nonprofit organizations with strong capacities and leaders who are sensitive to the changing environment can react quickly during crises (Gilstrap et al., 2016; Raffo et al., 2016). In contrast, for some small nonprofits, with less sustainable resources and capacities, it can be difficult to deliver services effectively during a major crisis (Carman & Fredericks, 2010). Although no standardized scale for 'nonprofit size' exists, categories provided by several institutions, including the National Center for Charitable Statistics, IRS's Tax Stas area, and the Nonprofit Times, nonprofits whose total assets or revenues are less than $100,000 can be considered small (Hallman, 2014). Many of them also rely on unstable external funding sources, which increase risks when unexpected changes happen in the environment (Knox & Wang, 2016).

Nonprofit leaders advise that organizations need to take on proactive roles using their capacities to collect all possible resources and survive during disasters (Canady, 2020). The current pandemic tested these nonprofit organizations' capacities in operations under turbulence. This can be challenging to small nonprofit organizations, which have relatively less capacities and resources compared to organizations with higher revenue. The recent Texas Nonprofit Leaders' COVID-19 Impact Report (Built For Texas, 2020) revealed that nonprofits led by people of color with less than $100,000 revenue have been hit hardest by the pandemic. Similarly, research being conducted in Puerto Rico (Chandrasekhar et al., 2021) and in New Orleans (Hutton et al., 2021) have also found that small nonprofits with less recovery capacities are facing more struggles post-disaster. Furthermore, although nonprofits have received some federal and community aid through community foundations in the pandemic (Azevedo et al., 2022), government agencies have not allocated sufficient support to these organizations, particularly ones in border communities with a higher number of vulnerable populations. The Tracking Accountability in Government Grants System (2021) shows that although Texas received $12.33 billion (as of September 2021) funding from the federal system, most financial resources flowed into the metropolitan areas, such as Austin, Dallas, and Houston. Border communities, like El Paso, Laredo, and Del Rio, received significantly less federal assistance.

How can nonprofit organizations serving border communities with limited resources improve their capacities to survive during the pandemic and post-pandemic period? To answer this question, the study first examines how the pandemic has impacted local nonprofits in a U.S.–Mexico community. The study is informed by literature on nonprofit capacity and guided by resource dependency theory to explore several capacity factors, which are associated with the overall effect and the financial pressure on these nonprofit sectors during the crisis. Based on the analysis, this study finds that the community itself is supportive and many nonprofit organizations received help from community foundations.

The findings of this study contribute to the empirical literature on nonprofit capacity building. First, this study extends the inquiry of the importance of capacity building for nonprofit

organizations' response to significant economic, social, and political disruption brought by large-scale health and economic crises like the COVID-19 pandemic. The study identifies several capacity factors, such as active board, regular performance measurement, and community engagement, which helps nonprofit organizations remain sustainable through unstable financial conditions. Secondly, the study also reveals the need for increased capacity building in nonprofit sectors, particularly in border communities. Previous studies have offered practical suggestions for nonprofit capacity building; however, few have focused on border communities, which serve highly vulnerable populations and Hispanic/Latino groups.

This study aims to shed light on nonprofit capacity development and resistance to critical crises in minority and migrant communities with increased vulnerable populations, who often require additional resources. In the following sections, resource dependency theory and a capacity building framework are proposed to examine the research question. The study then conducts quantitative analysis in a sample of local nonprofits from a U.S.–Mexican border community in Texas. Findings suggest the increased need for local nonprofit organizations serving minority and migrant communities to develop emergency management and contingency plans.

Literature Review

Resource Dependency Theory in Nonprofit Management

Resource dependency theory is often used as a platform for discussing nonprofit organizations' survival and performance (Hodge & Piccolo, 2005; Miller-Millesen, 2003). The theory was first introduced by Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) to explain how an organization's survival depends on resources from different institutions. According to Pfeffer and Salancik (1978), "The key to organizational survival is the ability to acquire and maintain resources" (p. 2). However, resources are not always available, stable, or sufficient, particularly in crises. To avoid these problems, organizations seek other resources to merge with for gaining resources and reducing uncertainty (Hillman et al., 2009; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Organizations have a higher chance to survive, achieve their missions, and obtain stability by receiving external resources successfully. On the other hand, these organizations open themselves to vulnerability via influence and control by the ones they depend on (Malatesta & Smith, 2014; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

Several empirical studies have defined 'resources' differently depending on an organization's mission. For example, some private firms consider certain knowledge or equipment as a valuable resource (Schroeder et al., 2002). Others may seek political mechanisms as resources to depend on (Hillman et al., 2009; Meznar & Nigh, 1995). For nonprofit organizations, the primary need is often revenue and financial sustainability. Revenue sources come from private contributions (individual donations, foundation grants, corporate gifts), government grants, and nonprofit commercial activities (membership fees, sale of products and service, government contract) (Bigelow & Stone, 1995; Froelich, 1999; Hodge & Piccolo, 2005). By obtaining various resources, nonprofit organizations create a different level of dependency with each external entity (Brooks, 2000; Hodge & Piccolo, 2005). Based on resource dependency theory, diverse revenue streams can bring both opportunities and risks to nonprofit organizations.

Government funding is often critical to nonprofit survival (Doyle et al., 2016; Froelich, 1999). Compared with other types of resources, government funding programs like grants are more sustainable. Many struggling nonprofits adjust their strategies to focus more on government funding. The National Council of Nonprofits found that in 2019, for every dollar of nonprofit revenue, 31.8 cents come from government grants or contracts (National Council of Nonprofits, 2019). While obtaining a stable resource is attractive, scholars also warn that this

dependency can put nonprofit organizations into a "subsidy trap" (Brooks, 2000, p. 451), which allows too much government control, which increases bureaucratic pressures to influence mission drift or unnecessary operational changes (Doyle et al., 2016; Hodge & Piccolo, 2005). Nevertheless, obtaining resources from government agencies helps to establish nonprofit organizations' accountability, since government agencies request formal reports to monitor and manage the effective usage of grant money (Carman, 2009; Doyle et al., 2016). Appropriate financial assistance from government agencies brings substantial support to nonprofit survival and development (Doyle et al., 2016; Gazley, 2008; Salamon et al., 2009). For instance, Lecy and Van Slyke (2013) found that government grants lead nonprofit organizations to a more sustainable development and expansion, which increase the organizations' long-term sustainability. Compared with other funding sources, such as individual contributions or private foundations, government support may provide nonprofit organizations a larger positive effect (Lecy & Van Slyke, 2013). Therefore, this study has the first hypothesis that:

> Hypothesis 1: Nonprofit organizations with more grants from governments will be less impacted by the pandemic.

Private contributions, like individual donations or foundation grants, are also important resources that nonprofit organizations depend on. Nonprofit organizations usually have more flexibility to manage resources from private contributions, since it does not require strict performance and outcome reporting mandates (Hodge & Piccolo, 2005). On the other hand, foundations are also willing to develop an interdependent relationship with nonprofit organizations. Ostrander and Schervish (1990) argue that foundations depend on recipients for the moral, social, and normative values of their existence. Fairfield and Wing (2008) also observe that nonprofit organizations have their own influence and their own set of resources to offer back to foundations. This interdependent relationship suggests that nonprofit organizations tend to have a closer connection with foundations, especially if they are from the same community. The Foundation Center (2008) reported that during the financial crisis of 2008 foundations' contributions to nonprofit sectors remained stable (Delfin Jr. & Tang, 2008; Joseph, 2011). A survey of U.S. environmental nonprofit organizations found out that foundation support had a beneficial impact on their operation and performance (Delfin Jr. & Tang, 2008). Salamon et al. (2009) also learned that many nonprofit organizations would actively seek cooperation with community foundations to resist the major fiscal crisis. Recently, Azevedo et al. (2022) noticed that community foundations played a pivotal role in COVID-19 funding within communities. For these reasons, the second hypothesis is developed:

> Hypothesis 2: Nonprofit organizations that have received more grants from community foundations will be less impacted by the pandemic.

Nonprofit Capacity and Survival in Major Crisis

Organization capacity is a set of abilities which enables organizations to develop, sustain, and improve the delivery of a mission (Cairns et al., 2005; Linnell, 2003). In the nonprofit context, this set of abilities involves skills, resources, and functions across multiple domains, such as performance evaluation, strategic management, employee training, and community engagement (Bryan, 2019; Despard, 2017; Doherty et al., 2014; McKinsey & Company, 2001; Minzner et al., 2014). Specifically, scholars proposed a conceptual model of reviewing nonprofit organizations' capacity in different domains: Leadership capacity, which inspire, oversee, manage, and innovate the organization's development; Management/Operational capacity, which ensure organizations run effectively and efficiently; Adaptive capacity, which help organizations to handle both the internal and external environmental changes (Despard, 2017; Marguerite Casey Foundation, 2012; McKinsey & Company, 2001).

Based on the conceptual model, each domain in nonprofit capacity plays an important role in daily operations and sustainability during critical times (Despard, 2017; Kapucu et al., 2011). Bryan (2019) also argues that nonprofit capacity can greatly influence organizational effectiveness, such as goal attainment, system resources, and multiple constituencies. In the domain of leadership capacity, an active board with professional skills and high involvement helps nonprofits receive more resources and reduce vulnerability when faced with fierce competition (Hodge & Piccolo, 2005). Bryan (2019) discussed that board members belong to nonprofit's acquiring system resources, which reflects an organization's capacity and helps to minimize environmental uncertainty. LeRoux and Wright (2010) also find that nonprofit directors' professionalism has a positive effect on nonprofit organizations' performance. It should be noted that the nonprofit board also influences an organization's strategies on management and operation. Active boards with strong commitment and experience attempt to use several strategic tools, such as performance measurement plans, emergency management tactics, and engagement with the community through rapid changes (Never, 2011). The Nonprofit Institute at the University of San Diego (2020) provides five suggestions for nonprofit boards during the recent crisis: 1) Reaffirm the board's duty of care; 2) Identify the primary risks facing the organization; 3) Allow the board to communicate transparently; 4) Coordinate with the larger community; and 5) Keep the organization's long-term mission at the forefront. In short, if a nonprofit board can still actively maintain these governance responsibilities, it can help the organization to better handle a major crisis, which leads to hypothesis 3:

> Hypothesis 3: Nonprofit organizations with active boards will be less impacted by the pandemic.

Strong leadership strategically guides nonprofit organizations based on the mission statement. Nevertheless, leaders also need important tools to ensure the effectiveness of operations in their organizations. The performance measurement system is one of the most important tools that nonprofit organizations should be equipped with, especially with an increasing pressure to demonstrate their accountability to government and the public (Selden & Sowa, 2011). Performance measurement, as one important operational support in nonprofit management, can reflect an organization's baseline capacity (Bryan, 2019). Performance measurement helps nonprofits to monitor and observe their programs and produce relevant information to strengthen management and information decision-making, especially facing uncertain environments (Poister, 2008). For example, scholars found that if a nonprofit organization conducts regular performance measurement with a formal written plan, it could improve its accountability of using resources and the effectiveness of service delivery (Benjamin, 2010; LeRoux & Wright, 2010). In Carman and Fredericks' study (2010), 67% of nonprofits in their survey reported that they measured their organizations' performance by checking if they met program goals and objectives; 71% reported that they focused on measuring the financial expenditures related to program activities. Therefore, the formal measurement plan should target data collection related to outcomes, such as program expenditures, community impact, and mission achievements (Carman & Fredericks, 2010; LeRoux & Wright, 2010). In return, this helps to attract more funding from government and private foundation sources, which provides a higher chance of survival to nonprofits during a changing environment (Carnochan et al., 2014). Therefore, this study develops the following hypothesis:

> Hypothesis 4: Nonprofit organizations that conduct regular performance measurements will be less impacted by the pandemic.

An organization's adaptive capacity is correlated to the organization's engagement with the legitimized community (Besel et al., 2011). Several studies find that a nonprofit organization's sustainability is often influenced by formal and informal relationships within the community's network (Bowen et al., 2010; Bryson et al., 2001). Nonprofit organizations have more power,

especially during crises, if they are more visible and established in their communities (Pfeffer & Leong, 1977; Provan et al., 1980; Raffo et al., 2016). From a resource perspective, an active nonprofit in the local community can strengthen its capacity to engage with multiple constituencies (Bryan, 2019). A proactive community engagement needs both the organization and the community to interact in a two-way manner (Foo, 2007; O'Regan & Oster, 2000). The nonprofit organization provides services to their local communities, while they also receive feedback and input from their local communities. This active engagement increases legitimacy for nonprofit organizations (Carey et al., 2007; Morsing, 2006). With the discussion above, this leads to the final hypothesis:

> Hypothesis 5: Nonprofit organizations that actively engage with their local community will be less impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Method

Sample

The sample in this study comes from two major sources. First, the study uses the GuideStar Premium database to identify 501(c)(3) nonprofit organizations in a Texas border town. The primary search shows that there are 324 nonprofit organizations under the 501(c)(3) public charity category in the database. This search excluded revoked organizations, which failed to file 990 forms for three consecutive years and organizations with zero assessments or growth receipts. These excluded organizations are usually run by volunteers with low capacities, and they may not have the capacity to conduct a formal measurement on their organizations' performance; their boards would only assemble when there were special events in the community; and the boards do not meet regularly, seek to fund strategically, or represent the organizations actively in the community. Since their budget and assessment are usually zero, the financial impact by the pandemic will not be clearly reflected. In addition, the sample excluded defunct or merged organizations. Many of these organizations were not active or no longer exist in the local community. As a result, this yielded 107 organizations qualified in the sample.

An online survey was designed to test the research questions for this study. The survey was first piloted in a small group with three nonprofit management researchers and two nonprofit board members at the beginning of May 2020. They ensured the questions were clearly articulated, and the response options were relevant. After receiving feedback from the pilot survey, a modified online survey was distributed to all qualified nonprofit organizations' executive directors from June to August 2020. Two rounds of follow-up reminders were sent after the initial email. This resulted in a total of 50 valid responses, with a response rate of 46.73%. The surveys were sent out during the pandemic, which may have impacted the response rate. Nevertheless, to make sure the sample is representative of border communities, this study ensured the data matched the Texas border areas in general.

According to the Texas Department of State Health Services (2022), the border areas in Texas includes the 32 counties (see Note 1), which are adjacent to the international boundaries between the U.S. and Mexico. Table 1 shows the scope of the nonprofits in the sample compared with all the registered nonprofits with the specific NTEE code in the Texas border area. With the small number of respondents, the sample covered almost all types of nonprofit organizations except the International, Foreign Affairs category. However, in the Texas border area, this type of nonprofit organization only accounts for 1.6% of the total. In some categories, it looks like the sample covers a slightly different percentage of the organizations, such as Environment and Animals and Education and the Health, but the differences were not meaningful. Overall, the sample is consistent with nonprofits in other Texas border communities, which shows the sample is representative.

Table 1. Scope of Nonprofit Organizations in the Sample Compared to Nonprofits in the Texas Border Area

Categories	NTEE Code	Texas Border Nonprofits (2021)	Number in the Sample (%)	Number from Respondents
Arts, Culture, and Humanities	A	267 (6.8%)	10 (9.3%)	7 (14.0%)
Education	B	560 (14.2%)	14 (13.1%)	4 (8.0%)
Environment and Animals	C, D	197 (5.0%)	3 (2.8%)	4 (8.0%)
Health	E, F, G, H	272 (6.9%)	14 (13.1%)	9 (18.0%)
Human Services	I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P	1,118 (28.4%)	39 (36.4%)	17 (34.0%)
International, Foreign Affairs	Q	62 (1.6%)	4 (3.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Public, Societal Benefit	R, S, T, U, V, W	498 (12.7%)	9 (8.4%)	4 (7.0%)
Religion Related	X	914 (23.2%)	12 (11.2%)	4 (7.0%)
Mutual/Membership Benefit	Y	35 (0.8%)	1 (0.9%)	1 (2.0%)
Unknown, Unclassified	Z	13 (0.3%)	1 (0.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Total		3,936	107	50

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables in all of the hypotheses are to understand how COVID-19 has affected local nonprofit organizations in the border community. In the survey (see Appendix I), it asked organizations, "How much has the COVID-19 pandemic affect your organization so far?", using a 5-point Likert scale. While the pandemic has dominated the nation, many research centers use similar measurement scales to explore the COVID-19 impact on nonprofit sectors. For example, in a study focusing on San Diego nonprofits during the pandemic, scholars asked the organizations to identify their services disruption by suing a 5-point Likert scale (Deitrick et al., 2020). Similarly, a report on Texas Nonprofit Leaders' COVID Impact also used a 3-point Likert scale to assess the level of challenges that they have met (Built for Texas, 2020). While the COVID-19 pandemic is a unique health crisis that many sectors have never experienced before, it is appropriate to evaluate the impact by using this ordered scale.

Some other studies also show that under unstable environments, many nonprofit organizations immediately face financial challenges (Kim & Mason, 2020). In Deitrick et al.'s (2020) work, many nonprofit leaders expressed concern on a decline in their financial resources. In addition, the Texas Nonprofit Leaders' COVID Impact Report revealed that nonprofits serving communities of color and low-income households faced the most financial pressure (Built for Texas, 2020). Based on these preliminary findings, it is interesting to learn how the pandemic hit nonprofits financially in a border community with a high number of Hispanic/Latino populations living in low-income households. Thus, the study also explored the sample organizations' financial pressure by asking the executive directors to estimate the percentage of revenue loss that they would confront by the end of 2020. Furthermore, to understand how nonprofit organizations were specifically influenced by the pandemic, the survey provided an open-ended question (see Appendix I) asking the organization to describe the challenges they have faced. The findings section provides detailed results from the survey.

Independent Variables

To understand how COVID-19 has influenced local nonprofits in border communities, this study considered several independent variables. The first aims to understand nonprofit organizations' dependency on government resources. In the survey, one question asked the participating organizations to indicate the number of grants that they have received from all levels of government agencies in the fiscal year of 2019. In addition, the study also asked the organizations to reveal the number of grants that they have received from local community foundations.

Next, the study included several factors to study if organizations' capacity is correlated to the impact from the pandemic. The first one is assessing the board members' involvement. The Marguerite Casey Foundation (MCF) (2012) developed four levels to measure board involvement and support. Level one indicates that the board provides little direction, support, and accountabilities to the organization, while level four indicates that the board is engaged as a strong strategic resource. At a higher level of involvement, board members shared commitment, and valued collective wisdom. This four-level measurement applies to general board involvement in a nonprofit organization. The COVID-19 context may require the board to take additional specific actions in response to the crisis.

The Nonprofit Institute at the University of San Diego (2020) suggested that nonprofit board should take the following actions during the pandemic: 1) Reaffirm your duty to the organization during board meetings; 2) Actively reach out to donors; 3) Discus and identify current risks that the organization faces during board meetings; 4) Actively coordinate with the local community; and 5) Ensure the organization continuously moves toward the mission. Therefore, this study designed a survey question asking which actions each nonprofit had taken since the pandemic onset. The respondent could choose up to five actions of board involvement. An index was created based on the participants' responses. The board, who took one or no listed actions due to the extreme difficulties, were categorized as low activity; the board who took 2–3 actions were categorized as medium; and the board who took 4–5 actions were categorized as high.

According to Despard (2017), it is challenging to measure nonprofits' capacity, especially related to management and operational aspects. Previously, the MCF has developed 20 items to measure a nonprofit's management capacity. Despard (2017) argued that some of these items are overlapping, and some do not apply to all types of nonprofit organizations. Therefore, for the management capacity, this study asked if the participating organizations had a formal written measurement plan, which they conducted regularly.

Last, the survey asked the participants to select how they engaged with the community during the pandemic. The Abt Associates & Branch Associates (2009) developed a set of items to assess nonprofits' community engagement. These items include: 1) Providing public services to the community; 2) Using a website or social media to raise awareness; 3) Looking for partnership or stakeholders from the local community; 4) Mobilizing and motivating the public in the community. The institution also learned that most nonprofits utilized at least two items to engage with the community. Because this study was conducted during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, this set of items was adopted and adjusted to fit the current situation.

A separate question asked if the organization: 1) Actively solicited donations from the local community; 2) Actively assisted the community by offering more services; 3) Kept updating their websites and social media; 4) Shared the credited sources about COVID-19 in the community; and 5) Sent emails about their reactions to their stakeholders. The organizations with one or no reaction to the community were categorized as low engagement; organizations with 2–3 reactions were categorized as medium engagement, and the organizations with 4–5 reactions were categorized as high engagement.

In addition to the factors pulled from the literature review, the study also added one more factor of survey respondents, which correlated to the impact level of the pandemic to the specific organization. Research shows that different sizes of nonprofit organizations may experience critical events and economic uncertainties differently (Joseph, 2011; Salamon et al., 2009). Researchers employed varied estimates to measure nonprofit organizations' size (Jaskyte, 2013). Both revenue and assets are commonly used to determine nonprofit organizations' size. However, Carroll & Stater (2009) argued that nonprofit organizations are particularly subject to resource dependency, and as a result, revenue could greatly impact nonprofit organizations' structures and financial health.

During the 2008 economic crisis, one study showed that mid-sized (revenue between $500,000 to $3 million) organizations met the most challenges (Salamon et al., 2009). Maher et al. (2020) also found that nonprofits with smaller revenue had more doubts about their financial capacity and were struggling with regard to operations. In this study, revenue is used to reflect local nonprofits' size, and it is considered as a control variable. To collect the revenue data, participating organizations' 990 Forms were considered (year 2019). If one organization's data was not available for 2019, the previous year's data was selected in the database. Overall, no revenue data was earlier than 2017 in this study.

Linear and Ordinal Logistic Regressions

To appropriately analyze the data, this study utilizes an ordinal logistic regression model. This model provides stable parameter estimates with smaller confidence intervals (Harrell Jr., 2015; Norris et al., 2006). For the second dependent variable, all respondents estimated the percentage of revenue lost in fiscal year 2020. Since this variable is continuous, a linear regression is implemented. The sample size (N=50) is relatively small in this study. Several studies argued that although the sample size (N=50) is relatively small, the research shows that if a minimal sample size (N=25) is met, regression analysis can still be utilized (Jenkins & Quintana-Ascencio, 2020). Barlett et al. (2001) suggested that in regression analysis, the "ratio of observations to independent variables should not fall below five" (p. 48). Therefore, with the sample size (N=50), the regression model includes five independent variables and one control variable. This ensures that the regression analysis will avoid the reproducibility problem. The primary purpose of using the regression analysis is to explore the possible links among the variables, rather than to justify any causal relationships. The study also checked to ensure all assumptions of the ordinal logistic regression assumptions before conducting the final analysis. The next section presents the study findings.

Findings

Descriptive Findings

Table 2 presents the descriptive findings in this study. Results show that many local nonprofit organizations in border communities have been greatly affected by the pandemic. By using a 5-point Likert scale, 55.1% of respondents indicated that they have been extremely impacted; 24.5% indicated that they have been greatly impacted; about 20.4% indicated that they have moderate or less impact. All organizations in the sample reported that the COVID-19 pandemic impacted them to some extent. The survey also provided an open space to let organizations explain the specific impacts that they had been met with since the beginning of the pandemic.

Figure 1 demonstrates some common challenges that local nonprofits had met during this major health crisis in the border community. In general, organizations stated that cancelling scheduled fundraising events was their biggest concern. Many of them believed that this would

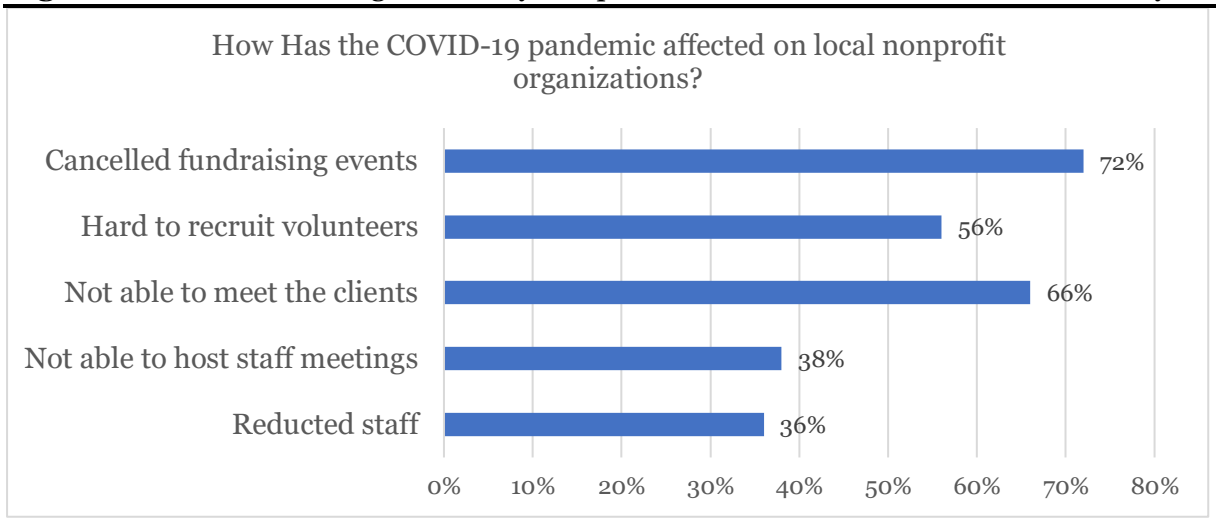
Table 2. Descriptive Findings

Variables	Mean (%)	Frequency	SD	Min	Max
COVID Impact (5-point Likert scale)	4.28		0.97		
1-No Impact at all	0	0			
2-Small impact	8.2	4			
3-Somewhat impact	12.2	6			
4-Great impact	24.5	12			
5-Extremely impact	55.1	28			
Estimated Revenue Loss	0.42		0.28	0	0.90
Total number of Grants	2.74		2.51	0	10
Total number of Foundations	3.28		4.35	0	20
Revenue	2,925,595.27		8,035,274.30	0	50,430,578
Ln Revenue	11.94		4.12	0	17.74
Having Performance Plan					
Yes	14.3%	16			
No	69.4%	34			
Board Member Involvement Level					
Low	10.2%	5			
Middle	30.6%	15			
High	59.2%	30			
Provide Community Engagement					
Low	24	46.9%			
Middle	13	26.5%			
High	13	26.5%			
N	50				

have significant impacts to their revenue. Respondents also indicated that they had to reduce services to their clients since face-to-face interaction was limited. Offering services through the internet was not always an available option since some people cannot afford the resources associated with technology use in border areas. Next, many nonprofits faced challenges associated with recurring volunteers. During the pandemic, the local news also reported that some volunteers had tested positive for COVID-19, which discouraged many to serve as volunteers. Other than these difficulties, the participating organizations also reported that they were not able to host staff meetings as usual, and some organizations had to lay off their employees permanently.

The descriptive findings also reveal the nonprofit organizations' capacities in the border area. Approximately 69% of respondents indicated that they did not have a formal written performance measurement plan. Some of them explained that they had some sort of informal plans but the majority of them could not show clear objectives in their plans or did not have enough resources to actually conduct the measurement plan. Over half (59.2%) of respondents believed that their board members showed strong leadership by being highly involved in the organizations. In the open-ended questions, one respondent explained that their board members treated the organization as a 'familia' (family in Spanish), meaning they pride themselves in taking care of the organization. This potentially reflected the local culture in the border community, although this was not measured directly through any variables in the statistical analysis. On the other hand, 46.9% respondents admitted that they provided low engagement to the community, even before the pandemic happened. One respondent

Figure 1. Common Challenges Faced by Nonprofits in a U.S.–Mexico Border Community



explained that their board members mostly reached out to their family members and close friends. They rarely reached out to anyone beyond the local community.

The descriptive findings also show some financial attributes of the responding organizations. Overall, the average revenue size is $2,924,595, ranging from $0 to $50,430,578. The majority of organizations (58%) have revenues of less than $1,000,000. Three organizations (6%) reported that they have zero revenue in fiscal year 2019. Organizations also received grants and financial support from local foundations. The highest number of grants received was 10; and the highest number of financial supports from local foundations was 20. In the sample, 80% (40) organizations reported that they have received at least one grant, while 66% (33) organizations received the financial support from at least one local foundation. It seems like the local foundation provided the greatest help to local nonprofits, although the help may not have been distributed evenly. Because of the variation in revenue, in the next analysis natural log was used to transfer data.

This study is conducted in a border community with a 95.2% Hispanic/Latino population. 25.4% residents were born outside of the U.S. (DATAUSA, 2022). Due to these demographic features, nonprofit organizations serving this area may have some unique characteristics from the community. The study asked several open-ended questions in the survey to capture these characteristics, such as asking to identify if they provide services only to the U.S. citizens and permanent residents, where 14% of respondents answered yes; 80% of respondents answered that they provided services to everyone in need, including international clients; 2% indicated that they primarily serve foreign residents who live in Mexico; and 4% explained that they offer services primarily to residents living in the local community. These results show that most nonprofits are inclusive to their clients in the border area.

The survey also asked respondents to identify the most important social issue that should be addressed in the community after the pandemic. The respondents thought the most urgent need was low-income families and homeless people, followed by insufficient public health facilities, insufficient public education, and youth development services.

Last, the survey asked respondents to use one phrase to describe their local community. Among all the answers, the following words/phrases appeared the most frequently: dynamic community, staying together, with rich or unique culture (see Figure 2). These words and phrases manifested a united border community which has a sense of group connection and cultural identity. In addition, certain phrases from the answer also revealed that this border community was ‘isolated,’ and ‘underserved’ with many ‘low-income’ families. Some of these

Figure 2. Word Cloud for Describing a Border Community

community characteristics exacerbated the challenges in local nonprofits as they combatted the pandemic.

Findings From the Regression Analysis

To understand how COVID-19 affected nonprofit organizations in a U.S.–Mexican border town, this study conducted two regression models to observe the impacts from different perspectives. In the first model, the dependent variable was measured by the executive directors' self-evaluation on how the pandemic impacted their organizations using a five-point Likert-scale. The model explored the research hypotheses and focused on how the organizations with different resources and capacities might be affected by the COVID-19 pandemic within different levels. The finding shows that if an organization received one more government grant, it would have a 0.376 decrease in the ordered log odds of being affected by the pandemic ($\beta=-0.376$, $p<0.05$). In other words, receiving government grants helps nonprofit organizations to remain sustainable during the pandemic in the border community. This is consistent with previous literature review on resource dependency. Specifically, the theory suggests that the ability of gaining government's support can greatly help nonprofit organizations' survival (Doyle et al., 2016; Froelich, 1999).

Surprisingly, the model also shows that if an organization received one more grant from a local foundation, it would have a 0.211 increase in the ordered log odds of being affected by COVID-19 at a higher level. This finding runs in opposition to Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) statement that "the key to organizational survival is the ability to acquire and maintain resources" (p. 2). However, this does not indicate that a nonprofit organization getting more support from a local foundation would receive more impacts from the pandemic. It should be noted that this study was conducted in the summer of 2020. At that time, although many local foundations were willing to help the community, they had limited time to allocate their resources to the local nonprofits. Some foundations were not able to distribute resources until November 2020. As a result, some nonprofit leaders may feel that their organizations were greatly impacted by the pandemic when they answered the survey in summer 2020. Similarly, in the second regression model, the result shows that if a nonprofit organization received a greater number of grants from the governments, it was less impacted by the pandemic ($\beta=-0.356$, $p<0.05$). The number of foundation grants that a nonprofit organization received did not show any associations with the estimated revenue loss.

Table 3. Regression Analysis of the Relationships Between Nonprofits' Capacity and the Impact From COVID-19

	COVID Overall Impact on Organization	Estimated Revenue Loss
Variables	Odds Ratio (SE)	B (SE)
Number of Grants	−0.353 (0.144)**	−0.356 (0.15)**
Number of Foundations	0.163(0.082)**	0.150 (0.008)
No Performance Measurement Plan	1.953(0.845)**	−0.291(0.087)**
Board's Activeness Level		−0.315(0.047)**
Low	−0.204 (0.874)	
Middle	−1.369 (0.782)*	
High	Reference Group	
Community Engagement		0.277(0.052)*
Low	−0.979 (0.845)	
Middle	1.291 (0.939)	
High	Reference Group	
Organization Attributes		
LnRevenue	0.101 (0.078)	−0.089(0.000)
R^2	0.349	0.431

**p<0.05, *p<0.1 (see note 2 and note 3).

To examine if nonprofit capacity is related to the impact from COVID-19, the study checked if the targeted organizations had a formal performance measurement plan and conducted it regularly. The findings show that if a nonprofit organization does not have a formal performance measurement plan conducted regularly, it faces a 1.953 increase in the ordered log odds of a higher impact by COVID-19. This is consistent with the notion that a well-developed performance measurement system could benefit nonprofit organizations' operation and management, especially when facing an uncertain event (Carnochan et al., 2014; Poister, 2008).

In addition to the performance measurement plan, this study also explored the involvement levels from board members to the targeted organizations, and if this factor influences the impact level from the pandemic to the organizations. Although the finding shows a slight significance ($\beta=-1.369$, $p<0.1$), it still reflects that the odds of those organizations with a moderate board involvement were 1.369 times that of those with a higher level of board involvement being greatly affected by COVID-19. That is to say that a nonprofit organization with a more active board helps the organization to weather major crises. The second regression model provides a similar finding that the more active the board was during the pandemic, the less revenue loss was predicted by the organization's executive director ($\beta=0.315$, $p<0.05$).

The second model shows that community engagement has a slightly negative impact on the organizations' revenue loss. This is similar to the finding on nonprofit organizations' connection with local foundations. When COVID-19 hit the community, every community organization was likely affected to varying degrees. Therefore, if a nonprofit organization greatly depends on the funding sources and support from its local community, it will be impacted during crises. The community engagement factor did not show any effect on the first model.

Discussion

Nonprofit Organizations in Border Community

The COVID-19 pandemic dramatically affected nonprofit organizations within the U.S. and in the current study. As this research was being conducted, the pandemic was still raging, and many nonprofit organizations were struggling to remain sustainable. The findings in this study reveal challenges that nonprofit organizations have been met with since the beginning of the pandemic in a border community with limited resources. Many nonprofit organizations in this study indicated that they were greatly or extremely impacted by the pandemic. Cancelling scheduled fundraising events was the biggest challenge to these nonprofits, especially if they depend heavily on their local community's support. Under normal circumstances, local nonprofit organizations benefit from strong social ties to their own communities (Galaskiewicz et al., 2006). However, under turbulent environments, it can be difficult for nonprofits to maintain internal and external stability (Lin & Wang, 2016; Prentice, 2016).

In a recent study, Chen (2021) found that emergencies increased the risk of having financial distress in nonprofits with high reliance on external funds and when volunteers are most likely coming from local communities. In the findings, the result from the second regression analysis model shows that those nonprofits estimated more revenue loss when they indicated that they had a higher engagement with the community. This finding seems to be inconsistent and counter-intuitive with previous studies (Galaskiewicz et al., 2006). But the finding of this study may reveal that having a unitary financial source from the local community could be a concern for nonprofit leaders during a major crisis. During the pandemic, the entire community was impacted and less people would have attended events and activities sponsored by community organizations; some donors may have lowered their donations, as they may have also faced individual financial challenges brough on by the pandemic.

It should be noted that the finding did not indicate that community engagement is not important or even less beneficial for local nonprofits. In fact, nonprofit leaders in minority and migrant communities need to be more active in presenting their needs to upper-level governments and seek additional collaboration with other communities when their local community was at risk. Studies showed that many Hispanic/Latino people feel socially isolated and perceive a lack of support in the U.S. (Barrio et al., 2008; Callister et al., 2011; Hurtado-de-Mendoza, 2014) and more recently in the pandemic (Medina & Azevedo, 2021). Just as one respondent commented on an open question in the survey, "Our community is beautiful and friendly with rich culture. However, we are isolated from the rest of the country."

Nonprofit organizations are often the first and only organizations to provide social services to vulnerable populations like the minorities and immigrants in border communities (Garrido et al., 2019; Lee et al., 2017; Lee, 2019). This study also found that many nonprofit organizations indicated that during the start of the pandemic they were facing a surge of demands from the border community. The local community with a high Hispanic/Latino population under poverty aggravated the negative impact from the pandemic and increased the burden on nonprofit sectors.

During crises, government agencies need to provide necessary help. Compared to the nonprofit sector, resources from governments are relatively steady since they rely on taxes (Tuckman & Chang, 1991). Findings here revealed that nonprofit leaders self-evaluated that their organizations were less impacted by the pandemic if they received more government grants. This is consistent with findings from the Economic Crisis in 2008 that nonprofit sectors were able to survive and even grow with the support of the Obama administration's economic stimulus package and the American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (Casey, 2014). On the other hand, local nonprofit leaders assessed that their nonprofit organizations were more impacted if they depended heavily on local foundations. This does not mean that

nonprofit organizations should not receive assistance from their local foundations. This study was conducted in the summer of 2020, when the pandemic had only been going on for three to four months. At that time, government sectors were able to distribute financial support faster than local foundations within this border community. Some nonprofit leaders worried that the support from local foundations was less sustainable than from government sectors. Therefore, these nonprofit leaders estimated that their organizations received more negative impacts by the pandemic if they depended on local foundations heavily. A follow-up study could be conducted in the future to determine the important roles that local foundations have played in helping their local nonprofits.

This study found that local nonprofit leaders felt their organizations would be less impacted by the pandemic if they received more grants from the governments. However, a recent report shows that many nonprofit leaders, particularly those from underrepresented groups, did not feel very supported by elected officials in Texas (Built For Texas, 2020). The report showed that those nonprofits serving small communities did not have equal access to Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) from the government (Built For Texas, 2020). Government agencies offered the special grants and funding opportunities, such as the CARES Act (Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act), which nonprofit sectors are eligible to apply for. Nevertheless, nonprofits in border communities did not receive enough support and have been overwhelmed by the pandemic (Moya et al., 2021).

Historically, border communities have been attached to immigration issues, in addition to other problems such as a shortage of healthcare facilities, large numbers living in poverty, less education opportunities, and even environmental issues, which have received less attention from policy makers. In one open-ended question, respondents pointed out that these problems were urgent in the local community. This study brings attention to the fact that border communities face critical issues, and need more sustainable support and collaboration, before, during, and after crises.

To the nonprofit leaders in border communities with large numbers of minorities and other vulnerable populations, this study shows that several factors related to nonprofit capacity were crucial during disasters. These factors include having an active board, conducting regular performance measurements, and engaging with community. Nonprofit organizations with an active board, which constantly seek to find alternative funding sources, give inputs in governance meetings, and maintain strong networks, will significantly help them in navigating crises.

In a recent study, McMullin and Raggo (2020) also suggested that nonprofit boards needed to learn from this pandemic and start proactively planning for any potential crisis in the future. An active board will strengthen the organization's capacity to resist a major crisis like the pandemic. This study showed that during a crisis, the board could show strong support by giving some strategic directions and actions, such as reaffirming the duty to the organization through a board meeting; discussing and assessing the risks that the organization is facing; reaching out to donors, especially major donors as early as possible; coordinating with the local community and greater networks; and making sure the organization can continuously work toward the mission. The more actions a board is taking, the more resistance they could help their organization to gain during a hard time.

Other than an active board, nonprofit organizations should realize that having a formal and regular performance measurement will also improve its capacity to handle uncertainties. A good performance measurement can help monitor and detect any weaknesses and threats to the organization. It should be noticed that this measurement should follow a formal structure with a basic analytic skilled staff. Having a vague idea or conducting the performance measurement casually may not help nonprofits to survive and resist effectively during crisis. In fact, research revealed that nonprofit organizations conducting a formal performance

measurement regularly will increase the confidence from their stakeholders and collaborators, including government agencies (Gazley, 2008). In return, when an unexpected situation happens, these organizations could potentially receive more support from their stakeholders and partners. Last, although findings did not reveal that high community engagement would help nonprofit leaders to assess that they would receive less negative impact by the pandemic, in the long-term high community engagement may still increase a nonprofit's capacity. When a major crisis happens, a nonprofit should engage with its local community by providing available assistance; using a website or social media to provide a timely update; soliciting donations; and actively looking for collaborations and partners. Nonprofits may also try to explore engagement beyond the local community and increase their networks. This may help to diversify nonprofits' financial resources and improve a broader capacity during a crisis. In summary, there are several capacity factors, which involve leadership, performance management, and community engagement, that are crucial to nonprofit sectors under emergency. Nonprofit leaders need to invest more resources and time to emphasize capacity building in these aspects.

Conclusion

This study is not without limitations. First, data was collected in summer 2020, which was still early in the pandemic. Until this point, the pandemic brought far-reaching influence, which was unprecedented. This article used a general measurement (5-point Likert Scale) to detect some early impacts to nonprofit organizations. As of now the crisis is still ongoing, and more nonprofit organizations may have noticed additional unique challenges and influences during the post-pandemic period. Further, this study uses a survey to collect the data, which could cause some survey bias, such as wording issues, misinterpretations, and information bias. Future studies may use more rigorous and detailed measurements to observe how nonprofits with different missions in minority and migrant communities are sustained through the pandemic.

Second, the sample size in this study is relatively small, due to the low accessibilities being offered in border communities. The small sample size could not provide a strong power to the statistical analysis. Thus, this study did not test how COVID-19 impacted nonprofits differently by their variety of missions. During the data collection, it was found that many local nonprofits' status was revoked by the IRS. The contact information of these organizations was also missing or incorrect in the database, making it difficult to find out more information. This negatively impacted the validity of the sample. However, this issue also reflects that many small nonprofits are unsustainable in this border community. As Cortés (1998) has noted, Hispanic/Latino nonprofits are less recognized by the IRS, and many of them do not exist longer than ten years. This indicates a substantial need for research attention to nonprofits serving Hispanic/Latino and other underrepresented groups. This may help to reduce inequality issues of nonprofit services in small and less resourced communities. More culture related variables should be designed to examine more unique characteristics of nonprofits in a border community with more vulnerable populations. Last, the study explores the COVID-19 impact on border nonprofits by conducting the quantitative analysis. More qualitative research is needed to learn the specific challenges that these nonprofits have met within their unique cultural context.

This study provides a picture of the influence of COVID-19 on small nonprofits from a U.S.–Mexico border community's perspective. Along with the findings, several suggestions to these nonprofit leaders are offered, such as seeking to obtain more sustainable resources and enhancing capacity development during a crisis. These suggestions are not meant to be universally accepted. Instead, general advice is provided to nonprofit organizations for awareness during major crises, especially to those organizations in a community with a high number of underrepresented groups. Nonprofit organizations should also review and adopt

these suggestions within their own community context, which may have different cultural or demographic backgrounds. Future research could also improve the validity and generalizability of this study by conducting research on this topic in different communities in different scales. Although the pandemic was unexpected, it taught many lessons to nonprofit organizations. It is necessary to continue the exploration and investigation on this topic, which help nonprofits to better survive and serve their communities.

A significant contribution of this study is that it reveals that nonprofit organizations with a high Hispanic/Latino and migrant population community were closely bonded to each other, especially during an emergency. This collectivistic culture is dominant in this minority community, where group activities were encouraged and responsibility is shared (Gudykunst, 1998). This unique cultural norm provided ample self-support during the pandemic. On the other hand, local nonprofit organizations were not active enough to seek external support beyond the local community.

Notes

1. Based on the Department of State Health Services, the border areas in Texas includes the following 32 counties: Brewster, Brooks, Cameron, Crockett, Culberson, Dimmit, Duval, Edwards, El Paso, Frio, Hidalgo, Hudspeth, Jeff Davis, Jim Hogg, Kenedy, Kinney, La Salle, Maverick, McMullen, Pecos, Presidio, Real, Reeves, Starr, Sutton, Terrell, Uvalde, Val Verde, Webb, Willacy, Zapata, and Zavala.
2. In this study, Model 1 used ordinal regression; the dependent variable is the overall impact on the organization; Table 3 shows the odds ratios with the standard errors in parentheses.
3. In this study, Model 2 used linear regression; the dependent variable is the percentage of the revenue loss; Table 3 shows the parameter estimates with the standard errors in parentheses.

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Appendix A. Survey Questions to Understand COVID-19 Impact on Border Community Organizations

1. How many government grants has your organization received in the past fiscal year (2019)?
2. How many grants has your organization received from local community's foundations in the past fiscal year (2019)?
3. How much has the COVID-19 pandemic affect your organization? (1=not affected at all; 5=extremely affected my organization)
4. How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect your organization so far? (select that all apply)
    a. We cancelled our scheduled staff meetings, and could not switch them online.
    b. We cancelled our scheduled fundraising events, and could not find an alternative way to do it.
    c. We closed our organization's physical location and could not work remotely.
    d. We reduced services to clients compared to before.
    e. We cannot recruit enough volunteers for safety concerns.
    f. We had to make staff reductions during the pandemic.
    g. Others: _____
5. What is the percentage (%) of the revenue lose by the pandemic would you predict in this fiscal year (2020)?
6. Has your organization applied to the CARES relief funding already?
7. In response to the impacts of the COVID-19, what actions has your board been taken so far?
    a. Reaffirmed your duty to the organization at the board meeting
    b. Actively reached out to the donors
    c. Discussed and identified the current risks that your organization was facing during the pandemic at the board meeting
    d. Actively coordinated with the local community
    e. Ensured the organization continuously moving toward the mission
8. Which of the following actions did your organization take to engage with the community during the COVID-19 pandemic?
    a. We are actively working on new solicitations (fundraising) from the community to help those who are impacted by the COVID-19.
    b. We have taken an active role in our community through response efforts (distributing food, assisting elderly, working with community experts and local government to identify needs, etc.).
    c. We updated our website and social media to tell people how to receive help from our organization.
    d. We shared credited updates and sources about the COVID-19 in our community.
    e. We sent an email about our response to COVID-19 to our stakeholders (including the board members, clients, donors, or volunteers).
9. Does your organization have a performance measurement plan?
    a. Yes, we have a formal written plan.
    b. Yes, we have an informal plan.
    c. No, we do not have a plan, but we are working on it.

    d. I don't know.
10. Averagely, how often does your organization conduct a performance measurement?
    a. More than once per month
    b. Once a month
    c. Once per season
    d. Once in every six months
    e. Less than once per year
11. What population does your organization primarily serve to? (e.g., U.S. citizens, foreign residents who live in Mexico, or others).
12. After the COVID-19 pandemic happens, which social issue do you think is the most urgent one in our local community?
13. If you could use one phrase to describe our U.S.–Mexico border community, what would that phrase be?

Research Article

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Immigrant-Serving Organizations and Local Law Enforcement: Do Nonprofits Predict Cooperation with ICE?

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Relatively little research has examined the role of immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) as policy advocates, and virtually no studies have sought to empirically determine whether ISOs shape local policy implementation decisions. Here we study the relationship between ISOs and the policy decisions of sheriff offices, which oversee county jails. Sheriff offices are vital to implementing federal immigration enforcement programs. We determine whether the presence of ISOs predicts sheriff office cooperation with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Using a sample of 630 sheriff offices that responded to a national U.S. Bureau of Justice survey, we find the concentration of ISOs registered to provide pro bono legal aid in immigration court does predict sheriff office cooperation. The presence of these legal-aid nonprofits predicts whether sheriff offices will adopt anti-detainer (or 'sanctuary') policies. Additionally, these legal-aid nonprofits also correspond to fewer immigration background checks submitted to ICE from county jails.

Keywords: Immigrant-Serving Organizations, Nonprofit Advocacy, Immigration Policy, Cooperative Federalism, Sanctuary Cities, Representative Bureaucracy

Introduction

As the last decade witnessed the implementation of numerous punitive policies against immigrants, immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) rallied around the country to help low-income immigrants, most notably by providing legal services. Yet, there is a dearth of research examining the ability of these groups to influence policy decisions, especially regarding local policy implementation. Here, we seek to determine whether the presence of ISOs predicts cooperation between county sheriff offices and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Sheriff offices are vital to the implementation of Secure Communities (S-Comm), ICE's largest immigration removal program (see Chand, 2020; Farris & Holman, 2017; Thompson, 2020).[1]

According to records by the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC), ICE witnessed a dramatic increase in refusals to honor detainers in the mid-to-latter half of the last decade. Detainers are requests to hold immigrants in state and local custody after they have been screened through S-Comm (TRAC, 2019).[2] Sheriff office cooperation with detainers is vital because they run county jails, where the vast majority of arrested individuals are

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initially held and where federal background checks are initiated. As more state and local law enforcement agencies limited cooperation with ICE, President Trump issued Executive Order No. 13768, which, among other things, mandated public reporting of 'sanctuary' jurisdictions, communities with agencies that refuse to honor some ICE detainers.[3]

Here, we determine if ISO presence predicts the level of cooperation of county sheriff offices with ICE, especially cooperation with S-Comm. We use a representative sample of 630 sheriff offices to the Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey, issued by U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, to find a strong relationship between the concertation of certain ISOs and sheriff office cooperation with ICE. The number of local ISOs registered with the Executive Office of Immigration Review (EOIR) to provide pro bono legal aid to immigrants predicts a decline in sheriff office cooperation. Sheriff offices in jurisdictions with EOIR nonprofits are significantly more likely to adopt anti-ICE detainer policies, which restrict the circumstances under which a jail will hold an immigrant for ICE. Additionally, the presence of EOIR organizations also produces significantly fewer submissions from county jails to ICE for immigration background checks.

The demographic makeup of the county also predicts the adoption of anti-detainer policies. The percent of Hispanic or Latino population in the county is positively related to the adoption of such policies. However, sheriff offices in counties with increasing Hispanic populations (measured as percent growth from 2010–2014) are significantly less likely to adopt anti-detainer policies. Sheriff offices in conservative communities (counties that vote Republican) are also significantly less likely to adopt anti-detainer policies, as are communities with higher unemployment. Demographic makeup of the sheriff office, itself, predicts some aspects of enforcement and cooperation with ICE. The percent of Hispanic and Black sheriff deputies in the sheriff office is inversely related to the number of ICE immigration background checks while the office's budget is positively associated with more background checks.

In the following sections, we discuss how ISOs often serve as policy advocates and explain why county sheriff offices are important to local enforcement of immigration policy. We discuss the data used here and how we created our sample of ISOs. We present our findings, reached through bivariate logistic and negative binominal regression analyses. Finally, we discuss the implications of our research for both immigration and nonprofit scholars, as well as immigrant-rights advocates.

ISOs as Advocates

The body of literature on immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) is somewhat small, fairly recent—and rather revealing for advocates of marginalized communities. ISOs have long been key players in helping to meet the needs of immigrants, and particularly low-income ones, on a range of issues from transportation to childcare. ISOs help immigrants subject to illegal discrimination in housing and employment (Jiménez, 2011). They provide job training (Montes & Choitz, 2016). They occasionally work to fill basic health care needs (Raymond-Flesch et al., 2014). They even create supplementary education opportunities for immigrant children (Zhou, 2008).

The most vital service ISOs provide is low-cost, and occasionally pro bono, legal aid for immigrants (de Leon & Roach, 2013). There are many forms of legal-aid assistance ISOs provide (e.g., help filling out visa applications), but helping to secure access for representation in immigration hearings is their most important duty. Immigration removal hearings are administrative (and not criminal) proceedings; thus, individuals are not provided an attorney if they cannot afford one. Many immigrants, including unaccompanied minors, are forced to navigate their removal hearings without legal assistance (Eagly & Shafer, 2015). In fiscal year 2016 alone, there were 237,000 immigration court cases (U.S. EOIR, 2017), more than three

times the total number of criminal cases in all federal Article III district courts in the entire country for the same year (U.S. Courts, 2017). In a recent study of removal hearings in immigration court from 2007–2012, Eagly and Shafter (2015, p. 8) found that only 2% of immigrants were able to obtain pro bono representation from either ISOs, law firms, or legal-aid clinics at law schools.

The size of the U.S. immigrant population, particularly from Latin-American countries, has grown dramatically in recent decades (Radford, 2019). Not surprisingly, this same period has witnessed efforts to pass punitive immigration policies (Ybarra et al., 2016). Many of these policies have sought to shift immigration-enforcement duties to state and local law enforcement agencies, although most immigration laws are civil matters (Arriaga, 2016). The resulting twenty-first century U.S. immigration system has aptly been described by Varsanyi and her colleagues (2012) as a "multilayered jurisdictional patchwork" of immigration federalism (p. 138). The highly complicated—and many would argue intentionally confusing—U.S. immigration system has made the need for immigration legal aid more pressing than ever (de Leon & Roach, 2013). Indeed, in a recent study, the authors of this piece found strong evidence that ISOs providing pro bono legal aid are effective at reducing local ICE removals through the agency's S-Comm program (Calderon et al., 2021).

It is difficult to generalize about ISOs and policy advocacy because, frankly, there are few studies of ISOs at a broad, national level. Most research on ISOs as interest groups has consisted of rich case studies providing detailed explanations of how individual groups politically mobilize immigrants and allies to rally support for pro-immigrant causes (Brown, 2013; de Leon et al., 2009). Based on these, we know that ISOs are important advocates for the integration of immigrants into local services (Bloemraad, 2006; Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2012; Calderon, 2020; Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; de Graauw, 2008; de Graauw, 2015; de Graauw & Bloemraad, 2017; de Leon et al., 2009; Jones-Correa, 2011).

Despite the lack of national studies, there are some inferences we can make about ISOs and policy advocacy. Based on the wider range of nonprofit research, we know that organizations providing highly professionalized services or representing marginalized identity-based clients are more likely than other nonprofits to engage in advocacy work (MacIndoe & Whalen, 2013; Minkoff, 2002). Additionally, we know that advocacy efforts by nonprofit service providers are strategic and driven by insider tactics (Mosley, 2012). ISOs, by definition, are identity-based groups providing services to immigrants generally, which is a shared identity, or specific ethnic immigrant groups as defined through their organizational mission statements or IRS tax code filing (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2012; Roth & Allard, 2016). An immigrant's legal options or access to government services can be impacted by various factors, and professionalized ISOs often help immigrants determine available options. ISOs may also act as intermediaries between public and private institutions and interests for advocacy purposes (Mosley, 2014). Additionally, ISOs that provide legal aid would certainly qualify as professionalized service providers.

Scholars have recently begun developing a picture of broad trends on advocacy by ISOs. Based on in-depth interviews with 50 ISOs in South Carolina, Roth and his colleagues (2018) found that 50% of organizations claimed to engage in some form of policy advocacy, although advocacy efforts were often "indirect, non-confrontational, and episodic" (p. 682). In a small, yet highly informative, survey consisting of 66 ISOs in Northern California, the group Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (2008, p. 8) found legal-aid ISOs engaged in some policy advocacy in addition to other services.

In what was the first national survey of ISOs, the authors of this study found some validation of Roth and his colleagues' (2018) locally drawn conclusions that most groups engage in some forms of advocacy at various levels of policy decision-making. The majority of the 221 groups replying to our study reported advocating at least occasionally to specific policymakers.

Policymakers to whom groups advocated varied greatly, from 69.2% saying they petitioned their state legislature to only 49.5% who reported advocating to the governor's office (Calderon et al., 2021).

It is good news that most ISOs advocate; however, survey results also reveal many areas of immigration policy where advocacy is badly needed. Specifically, our national survey revealed a shortage of advocacy to state and local law enforcement agencies regarding immigration policy roles. A mere 35.1% of ISOs reported advocating about ICE detainers to state or local law enforcement agencies.[4] This could suggest that these nonprofits engage in strategic advocacy based on their organizational goals and priorities (Mosely, 2012). Rather than attempting to influence state-level immigration policy, nonprofits could switch their insider tactics to engage local law enforcement in their advocacy efforts. However, the majority of ISOs have never contacted a law enforcement agency about its policies regarding ICE detainers. This is noteworthy, as ICE's primary method of enforcing immigration removals is by obtaining immigrants from state and local jails, known as a 'custodial arrest' (TRAC, 2018). ICE issues detainers to local jails when the agency wants to arrest an immigrant in custody. The indication that some nonprofits engaged in advocacy with local law enforcement suggests a priority of the nonprofit to advocate on detainer policy issues.

In the following section, we discuss the modern role of non-federal law enforcement agencies involved with enforcing federal immigration policy. We focus on the role of county sheriff offices, which run local jails, and are arguably the most important non-federal actor in immigration policy implementation (Farris & Holman, 2017).

Sheriff Offices and Anti-Detainer Policies

While immigration policy has traditionally been a federal responsibility, national policymakers have shifted much enforcement responsibility to state and local actors in recent decades. Additionally, the line between civil immigration law and traditional criminal justice policy has been blurred by passing certain enforcement activities to state and local law enforcement agencies (Arriaga, 2016). No enforcement program best exemplifies the intersection of immigration policy and the criminal justice system better than ICE's largest enforcement program, Secure Communities (here on referred to as 'S-Comm').

S-Comm started in 2008 and was in nationwide operation by 2013. It works as a national deportation-screening program. When an individual is booked into a local jail, the person's biometric information (e.g., fingerprints, physical description, etc.) is typically sent to federal authorities who submit the information through an integrated database run by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which is the home department of ICE. The FBI is checking for criminal violations, such as outstanding warrants. ICE, however, is checking for immigration violations. If the individual is 'flagged' (deemed removable), then ICE can issue a detainer, requesting the jail to hold the individual for up to 48 hours so that ICE agents can obtain the individual and begin removal proceedings (U.S. DHS, 2011).[5] This process of detaining immigrants from law enforcement agencies is known as a 'custodial arrest,' as ICE is obtaining the individual from the custody of a separate agency, as opposed to ICE agents directly apprehending immigrants from their home, workplace, or other locations (TRAC, 2018).[6] It is worth noting that immigrants ensnared through S-Comm are not necessarily convicted of a crime, as the charges that led to the individual being booked can later be dropped or the person could be found not guilty of the violation. Furthermore, research shows most immigrants with 'criminal records' flagged through S-Comm's background checks and ultimately removed by ICE have been convicted of merely petty offenses, such as minor drug possession or driving without a license (TRAC, 2014; Tsankov & Martin, 2010, p. 411).

Sheriff offices are vital to implementing S-Comm (Chand, 2020; Farris & Holman, 2017; Thompson, 2020). Individuals arrested by state or local law enforcement are typically booked in a county jail run by the county sheriff's office. Thus, county sheriff offices play an important, and occasionally undesired, role in the program's implementation. This is precisely why ICE reports the number of immigrants it arrests and removes through S-Comm at the county level (see the last S-Comm Report, U.S. ICE, 2014). Given their autonomous authority as creatures of the state, sheriff offices "have some degree of control over how they want to engage" with federal immigration policy (Farris & Holman, 2017, p. 144). The most important cooperative decision on the part of the sheriff office is whether to honor an ICE detainer. While ICE is loath to admit it, DHS and the federal government cannot force, constitutionally speaking, a local jail to hold an immigrant flagged through S-Comm.[7] Consequently, an ICE detainer is essentially a request. Additionally, a county jail is not required to submit fingerprints or biometric information to federal authorities for background checks. Some sheriff offices only submit background checks if the individual has been arrested for a serious crime that would result in jail time if convicted (Kang, 2012, p. 104–105; Omar, 2016, p. 176–177).

Immigration policy scholars, immigrant rights advocates, and even some law enforcement agencies, have argued that S-Comm unnecessarily entangles law enforcement agencies in the immigration policy implementation process, causing fear of police in immigrant communities (Ray, 2011; Theodore, 2013; Tramonte, 2011). As S-Comm spread across the county early last decade, opposition to ICE detainers gradually grew. Some municipal governments were quick to pass policies limiting law enforcement cooperation with ICE detainers (e.g., Olivo, 2011). Early opposition to ICE detainers was limited to only a few largely urban progressive areas. However, after S-Comm was fully operational across the United States in 2013, opposition to ICE detainers boomed. Between March 2013 and December 2014, 97 local law enforcement agencies and municipal governments (mostly counties) passed policies officially limiting their jail's cooperation with ICE detainers (U.S. ICE, 2017, p. 23–35). These jurisdictions, given the somewhat confusing title of 'sanctuary' communities, have since become a source of controversy for anti-immigration policymakers (Collingwood & Gonzales O'Brien, 2019, p. 7–8; Le, 2014).

Noticing intense opposition to S-Comm among his base, then-President Obama suspended the program after the 2014 elections.[8] Immediately upon taking office in January 2017, however, former President Donald Trump reactivated S-Comm via Executive Order No. 13768. In additional to reactivating S-Comm, Trump's EO also called on ICE to report on all communities with official policies against compliance with any ICE detainers. ICE issued the first of these reports in February 2017. These reports provided information for those interested in studying local law enforcement cooperation with implementing federal immigration policy.[9] Importantly for us, they provided a comprehensive list of all communities that have adopted official policies against compliance with aspects of ICE detainers (see U.S. ICE, 2017, p. 23–35).

Anti-Detainer Policies, ICE Submissions, & Dependent Variables

These 'anti-detainer policies' form the primary dependent variable for this study. We are interested in whether the concentration of ISOs predicts the adoption of local anti-detainer policies. At this point, we should clarify some confusion surrounding these policies. First, no community or law enforcement agency—at least to our knowledge—has ever refused *all* cooperation with ICE. The idea of a total 'sanctuary community,' where local government will not at all work with federal immigration authorities is a misnomer (Tramonte, 2011). In reality, when an individual divisively refers to a 'sanctuary' community, they are usually referring to a jurisdiction (typically not a city) that has limited cooperation with ICE detainers. ICE's (2017, p. 23–35) report explains under what circumstances local agencies will not honor a detainer. Common limits on compliance with ICE detainers, expressed in these policies, include not

holding immigrants beyond their release date if the charges are dropped or the person is bonded; not holding immigrants charged with petty misdemeanors (e.g., driving without a license); or not holding immigrants without additional issuance of a criminal warrant. Second, if the person is wanted for a serious crime (e.g., murder, rape, or major drug trafficking) the individual is certain to first be charged with the criminal infraction. Under such circumstances, the individual, if convicted, will then serve their criminal sentence here in the United States and only afterward be handed over to ICE for removal.[10]

Between September 2011, when the first anti-detainer policy was passed in response to S-Comm, and Dec. 31, 2014, when Obama's suspension of S-Comm went into effect, 196 jurisdictions adopted a formal policy on limiting law enforcement cooperation with ICE.[11] We use the adoption of these local policies as a dichotomous dependent variable titled **anti-detainer policy**. This variable indicates whether the county has a policy limiting the county jail's cooperation with ICE detainers. Nationally, 91% of the 196 anti-detainer policies were adopted by the sheriff office itself (see U.S. ICE, 2017), with the rest being adopted by municipal governments like the county board of commissioners.[12] This is not surprising given the important role sheriff offices play in implementing S-Comm.

We are also interested in the number of immigration background checks the sheriff office submits to ICE as a measure of cooperation. Therefore, we use ICE's final monthly report on S-Comm, shortly after Obama suspended the program (U.S. ICE, 2014).[13] The S-Comm report provides vital information about ICE's enforcement activities at the county level. Of interest to us, is the total number of **submissions** the county jail made to ICE for immigration background checks. This submission variable is the aggregated total number of background checks the sheriff office made to ICE the entire time S-Comm was in operation locally, before the program's suspension in December 2014. We posit that counties with higher concentrations of ISOs will produce fewer immigration background checks ('submissions'), *ceteris paribus*.

Study Sample

This study consists of county sheriff offices that responded to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistic's (BJS) national survey of law enforcement agencies, known as Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey. As a national representative sample of both state and local agencies involved with law enforcement activities, the LEMAS is a popular public database for researching law enforcement activities, used for studies published in top-ranking public administration and criminal justice journals (e.g., Aiello, 2017; Hickman & Poore, 2016).

ICE issued its final report on S-Comm on Dec. 31, 2014 (see U.S. ICE, 2014).[14] Fortunately, the Bureau of Justice Statistics conducted a LEMAS (U.S. BJS, 2013) in 2013.[15] The fortuitous timing of the survey allows a natural experiment to predict the adoption of anti-detainer policies, as it was administered exactly one year before Obama suspended S-Comm and ICE's last report. Additionally, 2013 was also the year S-Comm went into national operation, before the previously discussed wave of anti-detainer policies adopted by local governments and law enforcement agencies, most of which were adopted in 2014.

The LEMAS consists of responses from various types of law enforcement agencies, including state prisons and city police departments. Because we are interested in the actions of the county jail, we focus on the county sheriff office respondents, which provides us with a sample population of 630 counties. The response rate of county sheriff offices to the LEMAS was 80.1% (see U.S. BJS, 2013, p. 5).[16]

Types of ISOs

Given their important role as immigrant-rights advocates, especially in an age of heightened enforcement of punitive policies, we anticipate the local presence of ISOs should predict the level of local law enforcement cooperation with ICE. In other words, the higher the concentration of ISOs should increase the likelihood of the county having an anti-detainer policy. Here, it is important to note that what constitutes an 'immigrant-serving organization' is not entirely consistent across the academic literature. Some scholars opt for similar terms to describe these groups, such as 'immigrant-serving nonprofits' (e.g., Brown, 2013) or 'immigration-legal service providers' or ISPs (e.g., Shannon, 2009). Clear differences across definitions often come down to how researchers operationalize groups. For example, it is common for scholars to define ISOs based on whether the group voluntarily identifies itself as an 'Ethnic and Immigrant Center' (code P84) on the Internal Revenue Service's (IRS) National Tax-Exempt Entity categorization system, found on Form 990s (see Hung, 2007; Joassart-Marcelli, 2013). Roth and Allard (2016, p. 732) note this almost certainly leads to an undercount of the true number of ISOs, as not all groups that provide immigration services identify as "ethnic and immigration centers." Faith-based groups that provide substantial legal and social services to immigrants are left out of such a definition. Many groups serving immigrants choose to identify based on the primary service the organization provides (e.g., Housing Support, L80; Educational Services, B90). Additionally, some groups focus on support for an intersectional population of immigrants (e.g., LGBT, P88; Sexual Abuse Prevention, I73).

For this study, we take a broader interpretation of what constitutes an ISO, collecting information on a wide population of nonprofits providing services to immigrants from multiple different sources across the entire nation. First, we replicated the approach of de Leon and Roach (2013) by collecting information about groups listed in the Catholic Legal Immigration Network (CLNIC) and the Immigration Advocates Network (INA). We then added to that sample by collecting information on ISOs registered to provide low-cost legal aid with either one of two federal offices involved with immigration hearings. The first office, the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR), oversees immigration court and maintains a working 'List of Pro Bono Legal Service Providers.' The second office is the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA), which is the highest civil appellate body for immigration hearing appeals, and similarly maintains a list of 'BIA Recognized Organizations.'[17] EOIR's list provides information about nonprofits that have attorneys who have committed to provide at least 50 hours of pro bono legal services in immigration court per year. This is important, as most ICE removal orders are appealed to immigration court, where the case will be heard by an immigration judge. EOIR provides this list to all individuals with removal proceedings in immigration court (U.S. DOJ, 2017, p. 5). It is best to have an attorney in immigration court, as evidence suggests it greatly improves one's chances of winning a case (Eagly & Shafer, 2015); however, a second low-cost option is to receive assistance from a BIA-accredited organization. These groups are nonprofits that employ BIA-representatives, who are certified non-attorneys allowed to represent individuals in immigration court hearings (BIA, 2015).

To test the effects of ISO resources, we collected information about each organization's revenue and expenses from the group's Form 990, the annual form nonprofits file with the Internal Revenue Service. We obtained these forms by searching the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS) and Guide Star.[18]

Our national search yielded a collection of 1,079 ISOs nationally, a relatively small number for a country that is home to roughly 40 million immigrants (Radford, 2019). Of these groups, the vast majority, 85% (917 ISOs), were registered with the BIA; 12% (130) were registered with the EOIR; and a mere 3.2% (only 34 groups in the entire United States) were registered with both.

ISO Variables

Because we are studying county-level cooperation, we aggregated all information from our national search of ISOs down to the county level for the 630 LEMAS counties. Additionally, because our dependent variables end on December 31, 2014, we aggregated information about ISOs that existed prior to January 1, 2015.[19] In total, there were 295 ISOs, spread across 120 counties, for the 630 LEMAS counties in our sample.

We created four county-level ISO independent variables to test the relationship between ISOs and local law enforcement cooperation with ICE. The first variable is a count of the number of ISOs (**# ISOs**) within the county. However, because nonprofits providing professionalized services, such as legal aid, are more likely to engage in policy advocacy (MacIndoe & Whalen, 2013), we also created two sub-category ISO variables. The first is a count of EOIR-registered groups (**# EOIR orgs**), indicating the number of ISOs that provide pro bono legal aid by immigration attorneys in immigration court. The second variable (**# BIA orgs**) indicates the number of ISOs registered with the BIA to provide a non-attorney legal aid advocate. If prior research holds true for ISOs, we anticipate the professionalized ISOs, especially those registered with the EOIR, would advocate more than those without the capacity to provide free or low-cost legal aid.

Finally, we also aggregated the revenue and expense information from the group's 990 forms at the county level and took the mean value between the two values.[20] We divided this county-level number by 50,000 (to produce a more meaningful coefficient) to an **ISO budget per $50,000** variable.

Sheriff Office Factors

Factors related to the sheriff office, itself, will affect the agency's level of compliance with ICE policies. One such important factor is the agency's demographic makeup. Representative bureaucracy teaches us that public employees from underrepresented groups often take active representational steps for marginalized populations when implementing public policy (e.g., Meier, 1993; Seldon, 1998). One's identity can shape an administrator's life experiences in a way that, in turn, can shape how said administrator may exercise discretion when implementing policy. Specifically, administrators from underrepresented groups may exercise decision making authority in ways that produce more equitable policy outputs (Sowa & Selden, 2003). Indeed, prior research has shown that fewer ICE removals in counties with sheriff offices that have higher percentages of Hispanic and Latino or Black deputies (Chand, 2020). Because the LEMAS collects demographic data on the number of Hispanic and Black officers within the sheriff office, we create **% Hispanic officers** and **% Black officers** variables indicating the demographic diversity within the sheriff office. Presumably greater ethnic diversity among the law enforcement officers within the agency should produce less cooperation with ICE.

Agency resources, particularly their budget, often determine whether the agency is cooperative with intergovernmental policies (Barrilleaux et al., 1992), and some county jails have complained about the cost of holding individuals beyond their release date for ICE (Greene, 2012). Here, we include the sheriff office's budget, as a **sheriff budget per $5,000** variable (collected from U.S. BJS, 2013). Similarly, some have argued that counties with Intergovernmental Service Agreements (IGSAs) with ICE produce more immigrant removals (Jaeger, 2016). IGSAs reimburse the jail or detention center for holding immigrants. We include a dichotomous **IGSA** variable indicating whether the county jail run by the sheriff office has an IGSA with ICE.[21] Lastly, many sheriff offices provide financial incentives for officers to become bilingual or multilingual. Thus, we include a **bilingual incentive** variable

(U.S. BJS, 2013, p. 90), based on the assumption that agencies serving immigrant communities will have more need for bilingual officers.[22]

County Demographic Factors

Socioeconomic conditions of the community will also impact local policy decisions. Racial threat hypothesis predicts that communities with large concentrations of minorities, perceived to be a cultural or economic threat to Whites, are more likely to adopt punitive policies that impact minority populations (Key, 1949). Others have argued that it is not the actual size of a marginalized community, itself, but the growth rate of said population that explains the adoption of punitive policies (Hopkins, 2010). Still, others argue against the racial threat hypothesis, finding that a large—yet still numerical minority—population of Hispanics (on the order of 20%–40%) results in a more *favorable* exercise of discretion by law enforcement in favor of immigrants (Pedroza, 2019). We include three variables measuring the racial composition of the county: 1) **% Hispanic**; 2) **% Black**; and 3) **% Hispanic change**, measuring the percentage change in the county Hispanic population from 2010–2014. All three variables are collected from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (2013).[23] We also include the county-level unemployment rate (ACS, 2013), testing the relationship between local economic hardship and cooperation with ICE.

Research has long debunked the mythical link between immigration and crime (see U.S. National Commission and Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931, the "Wickersham Commission"). Numerous studies have confirmed the finding that immigrants do not cause crime (Feldmeyer, 2009; Moehling & Piehl, 2009; Sampson et al., 2005). Still, those who advocate for punitive immigration policies push the immigration-crime argument. Here we test for a potential link between crime and the adoption of anti-detainer policies. Our **crime per 1,000** residents variable is the number of violent and property crimes, dividing by the population, and multiplying by 1,000.[24]

Economic and political factors also play a role in immigration policy adoption. All things being equal, anti-immigrant sentiment tends to increase when people perceive the economy as bad (Chandler & Tsai, 2001; Newton, 2005). We include the county-level **unemployment** rate, collected from the ACS (2013). Some research indicates that politically conservative communities—those voting for Republican presidential candidates—produce more ICE removals, controlling for other factors (Chand & Schreckhise, 2015; Schreckhise & Chand, 2021). Other research has established that law enforcement agencies in conservative areas are more likely to participate in punitive immigration policies (Wong, 2012). We include an average of the county-level presidential vote in 2008 and 2012, labeled **Republican vote**.[25] Most immigration enforcement activities are focused on U.S.–Mexico border regions (Creek & Yoder, 2012, p. 676; King, 2009). This is true for ICE activities as well, as prior studies have found that ICE disproportionally removes more immigrants from states bordering Mexico (Chand & Schreckhise, 2015). We include a dichotomous variable indicating if the county is in a **border state**. Finally, we control for the overall population of the county (**county pop per 5,000**), also collected from the ACS (2013). The following section presents comparisons of our sample (LEMAS counties) to the broader U.S. population and the results of our analysis.

Sample-Population Comparison & Results

Table 1 displays the frequency of anti-detainer policies. Nationwide, nearly 6.5% of U.S. counties adopted an anti-detainer policy by the end of 2014. This is similar to our LEMAS sample of counties, of which slightly less than 8% (55 total) had adopted anti-detainer policies during this period.

Table 1. Counties With an Anti-Detainer Policy

Type of Policy	% LEMAS Counties with (n)	% U.S. Counties with (n)
Anti-Detainer Policy	7.97% (n=55)	6.45% (n=196)
Total County N	630	3,039

*All U.S. County comparisons exclude California (due to the Trust Act), Hawaii, and Alaska.

Table 2. Demographic Comparison for LEMAS Sample and All U.S. Counties

County-Level	LEMAS Counties			U.S. Counties		
Demographics	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.
% Unemployed	629	8.85	1.90	3,038	8.48	1.97
% Rep Vote	629	56.66	13.07	3,039	58.69	13.92
Crime per 1,000	629	11.43	13.53	2,503	12.27	10.85
County Pop	629	129,510	273,999	3,039	65,181	172,980
% Hispanic	629	8.16	12.44	3,039	6.83	11.90
% Hispanic Change	630	88.73	70.75	2,757	122.01	123.01
% Black	629	10.04	12.84	3,039	8.57	13.98

Table 3. County-Level ISO Statistics for LEMAS and All U.S. Counties

Type of ISO	% LEMAS Counties with (n)		% U.S. Counties with (n)	
	At least 1	Multiple	At least 1	Multiple
ISOs	17.40% (120)	9.30% (64)	9.97% (303)	4.84% (147)
EOIR Orgs	3.62% (25)	1.01% (7)	2.17% (66)	0.79% (24)
BIA Orgs	13.19% (91)	6.12% (47)	7.63% (232)	3.42% (104)

To check if our LEMAS sample is comparable to the broader U.S. population, we compared the county demographic variables, discussed in the previous section, to the county demographics for the continental United States. Table 2 presents this demographic comparison. Demographic variables for our LEMAS sample are extremely close to the broader United States. The only noticeable difference is the county populations, where our LEMAS sample consists of significantly larger county populations than the average U.S. county. On all other variables, however, the means and standard deviations are quite similar.

We provide yet another comparison between our LEMAS sample and the continental U.S. in Table 3, this time presenting a comparison of ISOs, our primary factor of interest. Again, we see similarities between the sample and broader population. LEMAS counties are considerably more likely to have at least one ISO (approximately 17% vs. 9%) and have at least one BIA organization (13% vs. 6%), although few counties have EOIR organizations in either the sample or population (4% vs. 2%). Given the larger average population of LEMAS counties, we would expect slightly more ISOs in those counties. That said, most counties in both the LEMAS sample and the broader United States do not have any ISOs or BIA organizations, and very few have EOIR organizations for either. The similarities in these descriptive statistic comparisons suggest the LEMAS is a strong representation for the continental U.S.

In Table 4, we present the results of two bivariate logistic regression models. Model 1 predicts the adoption of county-level anti-detainer policies using the total number of ISOs in the county, while Model 2 distinguishes between the two types of legal aid organizations: groups registered with the EOIR vs. those registered with the BIA.[26] In substitution of the traditional coefficient, we present the odds ratio, which can be interpreted as the probability of the policy's adoption. Values of above 1 denote positive relationships between the independent and dependent variable, and values below denote negative relationships.

Table 4. Logit Models Predicting Anti-Detainer Policies

	Odds Ratio (SE)	
	Model 1	Model 2
County Variables	All ISOs	Legal Aid Orgs
ISO Factors		
# ISOs	0.91 (0.12)	-
# EOIR Orgs	-	2.38* (0.92)
# BIA Orgs	-	0.66 (0.16)
ISO Budgets (per $50,000)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00* (0.00)
Sheriff Office Factors		
Bilingual Incentive	4.16** (1.94)	5.00*** (2.41)
Sheriff Budget (per $5,000)	1.00 (0.01)	1.00 (0.01)
% Hispanic Officers	0.96 (0.02)	0.95 (0.03)
% Black Officers	0.95 (0.06)	0.94 (0.06)
IGSA	0.73 (0.44)	0.64 (0.41)
County Demographics		
Unemployment	0.81* (0.08)	0.80* (0.08)
Crime (per 1,000)	0.99 (0.02)	0.99 (0.02)
Border State	0.14* (0.13)	0.13* (0.13)
Republican Vote	0.95** (0.02)	0.95** (0.02)
% Hispanic	1.08** (0.03)	1.08*** (0.03)
% Hispanic Change	0.99* (0.00)	0.99* (0.00)
% Black	0.95 (0.04)	0.95 (0.04)
County pop (per 5,000)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Constant	9.11 (12.40)	10.62 (14.58)
Pseudo R^2	0.288	0.303
LR chi^2	95.80***	100.98***
N	591	591

Notes: p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***. Cells contain odds ratios with standard errors (in parentheses). Odds ratio values above 1 indicate positive relationships.

Beginning with our primary variable of interest, the ISO factors, we see the total number of ISOs in the county (Model 1) is not predictive of county-level adoption of anti-detainer policies; however, when we examine the effect of legal aid groups individually (Model 2), we see the presence of EOIR groups is predictive of the adoption of anti-detainer policies. The likelihood of an anti-detainer policy in the county increases by more than 2 times with each addition of an EOIR organization, holding all other variables constant. Additionally, the collective budgets of ISOs in the county are positively related to anti-detainer policy adoption in the Legal Aid Org model (Model 2) and is close to significant in Model 1.[27] The presence of BIA organizations, however, are not predictive of the existence of anti-detainer policies at the county level. In fact, the relationship between BIA organizations and anti-detainer policies is negative, although not significant.

With respect to factors of a sheriff's office, the only significant variable is the bilingual incentive variable, as offices with support for bilingual training are 4 times (in Model 1) and 5 times (Model 2) more likely to have adopted an anti-detainer policy, controlling for the other variables. Surprisingly, the percent of Hispanic and Black officers in the sheriff office does not predict the adoption of anti-detainer policies, and neither does the sheriff office budget nor does having an IGSA.

The county demographic factors yield largely expected results. Counties that vote heavily Republican, have higher unemployment, and are in border states are significantly less likely to have an anti-detainer policy. Counties with larger Hispanic populations are more likely to

Table 5. Negative Binomial Model Predicting Submissions

	Incident Rate Ratio (SD)	
County Variables	Model 3 All ISOs	Model 4 Legal Aid Orgs
ISO Factors		
# ISOs	1.14* (0.06)	-
# EOIR Orgs	-	0.74*** (0.10)
# BIA Orgs	-	1.22* (0.10)
ISO Budgets (per $50,000)	1.09 (0.00)	0.99 (0.00)
Sheriff Office Factors		
Bilingual Incentive	0.97 (0.14)	0.95 (0.14)
Sheriff Budget (per $5,000)	1.01** (0.00)	1.01** (0.00)
% Hispanic Officers	0.97*** (0.01)	0.97*** (0.01)
% Black Officers	0.98* (0.01)	0.98* (0.01)
IGSA	1.16 (0.17)	1.21 (0.19)
County Demographics		
Unemployment	1.09*** (0.03)	1.09*** (0.03)
Crime (per 1,000)	1.01* (0.00)	1.01* (0.00)
County pop (per 5,000)	1.02*** (0.00)	1.02*** (0.00)
Border State	1.70** (0.34)	1.68** (0.33)
Republican Vote	0.99* (0.00)	0.99* (0.00)
% Hispanic	1.04*** (0.01)	1.03*** (0.01)
% Hispanic Change	1.00*** (0.00)	1.00*** (0.00)
% Black	1.04*** (0.01)	1.03*** (0.01)
Exposure Ln(Days Active)	1	1
Constant	1.27 (0.51)	1.19 (0.50)
Pseudo R^2	0.046	0.046
LR chi^2	545.61***	548.85***
N	589	589

Notes: p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***. Cells contain the incident rate ratios with standard errors (in parentheses) predicting total sheriff office submissions to ICE for immigration background checks. Ratios above 1 indicate positive relationships.

have a policy; however, counties experiencing larger recent growths in the Hispanic population (% Hispanic change) are significantly less likely to have a policy, lending support to the old racial threat hypothesis (e.g., Key, 1949).

In Table 5, we present the same two theoretical models (All ISOs and Legal Aid Orgs), but this time we use negative binomials to predict the number of immigration background checks submissions to ICE, through S-Comm, as the dependent variable. We control for how long each county participated in S-Comm by creating an exposure time natural log offset variable, labeled 'days active.'[28] With respect to the ISO factors, the results are like the logit models, although the different effects based on the ISO models are starker. In Model 3 (All ISOs Model), we find that an increase in the number of ISOs in the county predicts significantly more immigration background checks by the county sheriff office. Each additional ISO in the county corresponds to a 14% increase in the likelihood of an additional immigration background check, holding all other variables constant. Model 2 (Legal Aid Orgs), however, again reveals that the effect is different depending on the type of ISO. The number of groups registered with the BIA does correspond to more background check submissions, with the likelihood of a submission increasing by 22% with each additional BIA organization in the county. Yet, each additional EOIR organization corresponds to a 26% *decrease* in the likelihood of a submission to ICE.

The negative binomial models also yield results more in line with what we would expect based on prior theory for the sheriff office variables. Increases in the percentages of Hispanic and Black officers correspond to fewer background check submissions in both models, supporting prior findings on representative bureaucracy and immigration enforcement (Chand, 2020). Increases in the sheriff office budget correspond to more background check submissions, which supports prior research on the relationship between agency resources and cooperation with ICE (Jaeger, 2016).

Discussion

Immigrant rights activists continue fighting for the protection and rights of immigrants, despite the United States witnessing extreme nativism sentiment in recent years. ISOs are one of the last lines of institutional protection for immigrants, especially undocumented individuals. Within this study, we explore the intersection between ISO advocacy and law enforcement cooperation with ICE. Here, we sought to determine if, and to what extent, the presence of ISOs predicts law enforcement cooperation with ICE. We have convincing evidence that the presence of immigration nonprofits predicts law enforcement cooperation with ICE; yet the relationship is not attributable to all ISOs. Notably, ISOs with the capacity to provide pro bono legal aid in removal hearings (the EOIR-registered groups) display the strongest relationship with whether sheriff offices adopt anti-detainer policies and submit background checks. Sheriff office cooperation with ICE is significantly weaker in counties with EOIR organizations. The presence of each additional EOIR organization in the county corresponds to an increase in the likelihood of an anti-detainer policy by more than 2-times, *ceteris paribus*.

Each additional EOIR organization also corresponds to a 24% decrease in the likelihood of an additional immigration background check to ICE. This supports the theory that professionalized nonprofits are more likely to engage in policy advocacy than other types of nonprofits (MacIndoe & Whalen, 2013). Along with professionalization, legal changes at the individual level could lead to advocacy for broader changes in detainer policy and shifts in advocacy tactics by addressing local law enforcement rather than advocacy at the state-level. Prior research also demonstrates that EOIR organizations are also associated with significant declines in the number of immigration removals by ICE via S-Comm (Chand et al., 2021). Finally, the finding, with respect to EOIR groups, lends strong support to the narrative feedback provided in our national survey of ISOs, in which ISO managers pointed out the importance of local law enforcement understanding that "trust with its residents is infinitely more important to have for general community safety" than detaining immigrants. [29]

Additionally, our research says a great deal about the factors related to the sheriff offices, themselves, and how much the agency chooses to cooperate with ICE. Sheriff offices with bilingual incentive policies, encouraging their officers to learn an additional language, were four to five times more likely to adopt an anti-detainer policy. This would seem to support prior research on language and cultural competencies, suggesting that agencies with multilingual staff more actively represent the values of the community they serve (Karliner et al., 2007; Sperling, 2009). None of the other sheriff factors were significant in the detainer models; however, several were significant at predicting county-level ICE submissions (Table 5). Most notably, sheriff offices with higher percentages of Hispanic and Black officers produced significantly fewer submissions. The sheriff office's budget, on the other hand, corresponded to significantly more submissions. These findings lend some support to prior public administration studies on representative bureaucracy and resource dependency in immigration policy (Chand, 2020; Jaeger, 2016).

The county demographic variables behave largely as anticipated. Conservative counties and those with higher unemployment were significantly less likely to adopt anti-detainer policies.

Unemployment rate also predicted the number of submissions. Communities with larger Hispanic populations (% Hispanic) were more likely to have an anti-detainer policy while communities with growing Hispanic populations (% Hispanic change) were significantly less likely to have one. All the racial demographic variables predicted significantly more submissions to ICE. We acknowledge our sample included LEMAS counties with slightly larger populations than the broader U.S. population. With larger populations, one might expect that there is higher likelihood of having ISOs and the passing of anti-detainer policies compared to smaller U.S. counties. In smaller counties, we might also expect that an increase in Hispanic or immigrant populations could cause an alarm and a call for increased immigration enforcement, especially during an era of increased attention on immigration crises at the border. Further research on law enforcement and immigration policies in rural counties could shed more light on the issue.

This is a cross-sectional study. We contend it presents compelling evidence of a strong *associative* relationship between ISOs and sheriff office cooperation with ICE—and maybe, but not necessarily, a causal one. Given the data available and the nature of our research question, a time-series analysis is not possible. One could reasonably assume there is an absent (confounding variable) that causes both ISOs to locate in a region and anti-detainer policies by sheriff offices. While we include a number of control variables, including local political ideology (Republican vote), which strongly correlates with attitudes toward immigration, we concede there is always the potential of an omitted variable bias. That said, even scholars in the natural sciences acknowledge that associative relationships are important, particularly as evidence for future research on a topic (Altman & Krzywinski, 2015). Additionally, the fact that temporal precedence is met, i.e., all of the ISOs in our data precede the establishment of the anti-detainer policies, indicates the study fulfills one of the elements of causation (Whalley, 2006).

While there is still much to learn about the role ISOs play in immigration policy and implementation, this paper adds to our understanding regarding the relationship between the presence of ISOs and law enforcement agencies' immigration-related decisions. Specifically, we find that their presence predicts an increase in the likelihood of adopting anti-detainer policies and a decline in background checks on detained immigrants. However, most important are the implications these findings hold for more professionalized ISOs (i.e., EOIR-registered ISOs). This suggests at least two possible causal explanations. The first is that ISOs engage in advocacy work which influences how law enforcement policy decisions are made. Alternatively, ISO work on behalf of immigrants may serve as a deterrent for agencies considering anti-immigration policies since ISOs—particularly highly professionalized ones—may increase the costs and lower the effectiveness of such policies through their work (e.g., pro bono legal aid may result in more appeals and legal action on behalf of immigrants). In either event, the evidence suggests that law enforcement policy decisions maybe influenced by the presence of ISOs. Once again, our research illustrates how ISOs can serve as one of the most proximate and final advocates for immigrants within their communities. Future work should continue to explore these causal pathways (and others) to better understand the important role ISOs play in policymaking and implementation.

Notes

1. The legal term, used by ICE, for removing an immigrant from the county is removal, not deportation. While the latter is used by the press, and even many immigration scholars, the unclear meaning of a 'deportation' has created some confusion as to how many people are removed by ICE (see Bennett, 2014).
2. ICE does not report on the exact number of detainers law enforcement agencies deny, but it states there was a significant increase in declined detainers from 2014 to 2019 (TRAC, 2019).

3. Enhancing Public Safety of the Interior United States, Jan. 25, https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-enhancing-public-safety-interior-united-states/.
4. Survey results: (https://drive.google.com/file/d/1OVeA0oUXlWLEKphYF-GUug2SVia2wBmc/view). Text of the question: "Has your organization ever requested that state or local law enforcement agencies (e.g., county sheriff's offices) not honor ICE detainers?"
5. Also see ICE's discussion of S-Comm for more on ICE's priorities for removing immigrants: http://www.ice.gov/secure_communities/.
6. The latter method is a noncustodial or 'community arrest.'
7. ICE testimony to the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Oct. 28, 2010, http://www.illinoispeoplesaction.org/uploads/1/2/6/2/12620849/ice-holds-are-voluntary.pdf. A federal District Court has also ruled that county jails cannot be forced to comply with detainers (see Buquer v. City of Indianapolis, 797 F. Supp. 2nd 905 (S.D. Ind. 2011)). Further, the U.S. Supreme Court has frequently ruled that state and local governments cannot be compelled to help administer federal law enforcement programs (see Printz v. U.S. (1997)).
8. Obama replaced S-Comm with a program called PEP (see https://www.ice.gov/pep).
9. ICE stopped issuing these reports after a U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals struck down part of Trump's EO (see City of San Francisco v. Trump No. 17–17480, 2018). We use the first report from February 2017, identifying counties with anti-detainer policies. All of these are officially adopted policies, either administrative or municipal, each of which can individually be verified separate from ICE's report. Additionally, all the policies use here (pre-January 1, 2015) existed before Trump's EO.
10. See *Your Immigration Case While in Prison* by Stanford Law School for more information: https://www-cdn.law.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/19-11-14-IHP-Handbook-English-FINAL.pdf.
11. Two counties, Lebanon, Pennsylvania and Clarion, Pennsylvania, had policies that pre-date S-Comm that ICE identifies as anti-detainer because they limit cooperation with federal immigration agents.
12. Within our sample of 630 counties, nearly 93% (51 out of 55) of anti-detainer policies were adopted by the county sheriff office. See ICE (2017) for descriptions of policies.
13. ICE issued monthly reports on S-Comm but stopped after Obama suspended the program at the end of 2014. Although Trump reactivated S-Comm in 2017, the agency has not, at this point, begun reissuing the reports.
14. For consistency's sake, we only entered the anti-detain data through December 31, 2014.
15. Although the BJS released the report a couple years later.
16. There were 717 county sheriff offices that responded to the LEMAS. However, we excluded 27 counties in California because the state's Trust Act (2014) limits cooperation with detainers for the entire state, thus eliminating the need for local policies (see American Civil Liberties Union, Northern California 2014). Additionally, some sheriff offices did not provide the ethnicity and budgetary information necessary for this study (see the section on Sheriff Office Variables).
17. Information on EOIR groups can be found here: https://www.justice.gov/eoir/list-pro-bono-legal-service-providers (Board of Immigration Appeals, 2015). BIA's list is also updated periodically (see list: https://www.justice.gov/eoir/recognition-accreditation-roster-reports).
18. We searched for each organization's 990 first in NCCS, following up in Guide Star if the initial search was unsuccessful. For the majority of organizations, the most recently available 990 was for 2013 or 2014. NCCS: https://nccs.urban.org/.
19. We determined whether the organization existed prior to 2015 by looking up their prior 990s.
20. The average of the revenue and expense values was necessary for multicollinearity purposes, as both values naturally highly correlated. We did not add them together because

this would create an inflated perception of group resources, as the amount a group spends (expenses) is obviously a result of what it raises (revenue).
21. List of ICE contracted detention facilities: http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/detention/exit.shtml.
22. Exact texts of questions from the LEMAS are provided in the Appendix.
23. See ACS here: https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/.
24. This is the same way the FBI calculates the local crime rate. See the following link for the crime data collected: https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-theus/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012.
25. County data for both elections is available at Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections: https://uselectionatlas.org/.
26. Nationally, 85% of ISOs are registered with the BIA. Thus, we do not include a model with all three nonprofit variables (ISOs, BIA Orgs, and EOIR Orgs) for multicollinearity reasons.
27. P=0.091 for ISO Budgets in Model 1.
28. Number of days the county participated in S-Comm is obtained from U.S. ICE (2014). Hilbe (2014) advises using the exposure time offset procedure when controlling for how long a subject is exposed to a program.
29. Survey response ID 1,332.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Questions Used from Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) 2013

As of January 1, 2013, how many FULL-TIME SWORN personnel were there in each of the following racial/ethnic categories? b. Black or African American, not of Hispanic Origin c. Hispanic or Latino
What was your agency's TOTAL OPERATING BUDGET for the 12-month period that included January 1, 2013? Do not include construction costs, major equipment expenditures, or other capital expenditures.
As of January 1, 2013, which of the following include INCENTIVES for FULL-TIME SWORN personnel? Check either 'yes' or 'no' for each item. Incentives include either increased salary or additional paid leave. c. Bi-lingual or Multi-lingual ability

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Game On, Washington! Examining American Sport's Response to the Uvalde Massacre

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On May 24, 2022, a gunman killed 19 students and two teachers at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas. In the aftermath, stakeholders within and across sports came together to call for political action around gun control. These included individual athletes (e.g., Natasha Cloud of the Washington Mystics and DeMarcus Lawrence of the Dallas Cowboys), as well as coaches (e.g., Gregg Popovich of the San Antonio Spurs and Steve Kerr of the Golden State Warriors). In addition, the Tampa Bay Rays and New York Yankees coordinated their Twitter feeds to focus on gun violence statistics during a game, and the Miami Heat's public address announcer, on behalf of the team, encouraged fans to call their state senators. In this essay, we examine the factors contributing to this coalescence. We build on relevant public administration scholarship that has examined the roles of athletes as social constructors and their impact on the administrative state. We contextualize this scholarship alongside the widespread public support for some measure of gun control. We also discuss future research avenues to examine the ongoing impacts of athlete protests.

Keywords: Activism, Athletes, Gun Violence, Social Construction, Social Equity

Across the world, sports and the people that participate in sports activities have influenced culture and public identity (Houlihan, 1997; Reid, 2017; Tomlinson & Young, 2006). In this regard, athletes emerge as 'super citizens' (Pope, 1997; Thomas & Levine Daniel, 2022) who command respect from different corners of society as they represent the values of their communities at a particular moment. They capitalize on this respect by using their position as a metaphorical bullhorn that amplifies both their voices and those of their non-athlete contemporaries that would otherwise go unheard.

Cooper et al. (2019) reminds us that "sport serves as a site where societal inequalities such as racism, sexism, economic stratification, and other forms of oppression are reproduced, exacerbated, and/or ignored" (p. 151). At the same time, the language of gun violence is woven into sports. Vibrant voices and notable figures within American sport have taken on names often associated with gun violence. For decades, Major League Baseball's (MLB) New York Yankees have been dubbed as the 'Bronx Bombers,' a metaphor for the Bronx-based team's ability to hit homeruns. Across football and baseball, when an athlete has the ability to throw a ball with superior strength, many will describe their arm as a 'cannon' or 'rocket launcher.' When we think of 'long-range shooters' or 'snipers,' the names of basketball players such as Stephen Curry, Sue Bird, and Kevin Durant come to mind. Catchphrases of sports announcers

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are eponymous with related words such as ABC/Madison Square Garden play-by-play announcer Mike Breen (shouting 'bang' to describe a three-point shot made in basketball) and CBS/TNT play-by-play announcer Kevin Harlan ('right between the eyes' to describe a basketball shot made that has a perceived major impact on a game). It is so pervasive, many of us do not even notice the original reference points. With sport woven deep into the fabric of Americana, its lexicon serves as the threads that tie pockets of our country together by using broadly understood language.

It is against this backdrop that athletes in the United States are using their platforms to speak up against gun violence, headlined by the May 2022 shooting in Uvalde, Texas, that left 21 dead at Robb Elementary School. At a subsequent shooting that led to seven deaths during an Independence Day parade in Highland Park, Illinois, led MLB's Chicago White Sox pitcher Liam Hendriks, a native Australian to claim:

> *That's what America is known for. …I can walk into a store as a non-American and buy a handgun in certain states. That baffles me. I had to take a driving test when I was over here. I won't have to take a test if I want to get a gun. That's stupid. Whoever thought that was a great idea is an idiot* (Sullivan, 2022, para. 8).

Statistics illustrate that U.S. denizens should not be surprised by the seemingly daily occurrences of these events as the United States ranks first in gun deaths among high-income nations with a population size that exceeds 10 million people (Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation, 2022). From 2012 through May 2022, there were 540 school shootings in the United States in which at least one individual was killed or wounded. In 2021, 193 people fell into this category, not including the alleged shooter(s) (Center for Homeland Defense and Security, 2022; Lurye, 2022). In a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center from April 25–May 1, 2022, 76% of respondents characterized gun violence as either a very big problem or a moderately big problem (Doherty & Gomez, 2022), ranking fourth among the 'top problems' that the United States is facing this year. Gun violence is becoming more personal for many people in this country, and athletes are no exception.

Recent public administration literature has described the recent impacts that athletes from marginalized communities have had on the administrative state, with a particular focus on social justice issues (Thomas & Levine Daniel, 2022; Thomas & Wright, 2021; Wright & Thomas, 2022). In prior years, athletes and sports franchises from the National Basketball Association (NBA) have faced calls to 'shut up and dribble' (Niven, 2021). Sentiment appears to have shifted, though. A September 2019 survey by the Pew Research Center found that 62% of individuals surveyed thought that it is 'somewhat acceptable' or 'very acceptable' for professional athletes to engage and discuss a political issue in a public forum (Gramlich, 2019).

The way that athletes are intentionally drawing attention to gun reform is related to equity. James et al. (2021) found that exposure rates to gun violence were lower for White adolescents than for Black and Hispanic adolescents across multiple income levels, which provides evidence that gun violence can be a social and health equity issue. Scholars have identified that there is a broader relationship between gun violence and equity in other settings as well (Bailey et al., 2021; Johnson et al., 2019; Zakrison et al., 2017). For example, equity impacts not only the communities that athletes grow up in, but also the areas that they represent professionally, especially within a team sport context. As a result, when athletes speak, an intersection of populations and areas listen. This essay provides context to the conversations started by athletes and the impact it is having on the policy discussions across the United States.

We start by connecting social equity to the concept of social construction. We then highlight our contribution to public affairs literature in establishing the relationship between social equity, athlete conversation, and how their voices impact policy through the lens of social construction theory. Next, we discuss how gun violence and the response to Uvalde represent a notable shift in response by sport and how calls for policy changes became embedded within new policy proposals put forth by lawmakers. We break down how this has occurred at different levels, including by professional club, franchise ownership, coach input, and player input. Finally, our article concludes with a brief commentary of why we expect athletes to continue impacting policy and provide suggestions about future avenues for scholars and practitioners to examine in this growing field.

Athletes as Social Constructors of Social Equity

Scholars have attempted to properly define what social equity is and how to measure whether it exists. For this article, we use Guy and McCandless (2020) definition of the concept, describing social equity as a reference that "refers to distribution of fairness for all groups and emphasizes the need to design public goods—policies, interventions, programs—to combat historic inequities" and must be "woven throughout public processes and actions" (p. 3). Through this perspective, social equity is acknowledged to be a social concept, as opposed to one at the individual level, that can impact groups differently.

Athletes using their voices to speak up for relevant societal causes pertaining to social equity has recent and cultural precedence. For example, former professional basketball player Earvin 'Magic' Johnson directly impacted the social perception of HIV/AIDS.[1] When Johnson announced his retirement from the NBA's Los Angeles Lakers in November 1991, he cited his newly discovered HIV-positive status as the reason for being forced to walk away from professional sports. Scholars have documented how Johnson's announcement affected public perception of fear associated with HIV risk within the United States, especially among African American men (Casey et al., 2003; Langer et al., 1992; Pollock, 1994). Johnson's existence as a HIV-positive Black man representing the Los Angeles Lakers in nationally televised basketball games illustrates that athletes often serve as a cross-section of various populations that represent a variety of communities, depending on the context and the situation in which they are viewed. Kalichman (1994) highlights studies that found that the public interest in HIV/AIDS improved and that information pertaining to the disease increased in reach. Johnson's continued activism has led to a change in the previous perceptions of the disease.

The somewhat unified scale of athlete activism to address gun violence is what is new, and social construction theory can help us understand what we are seeing today. Social construction theory has roots in political science with application in public administration. Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that the theory contends that "social constructions influence the policy agenda and the selection of policy tools, as well as the rationales that legitimate policy choices" (p. 334). These 'constructions' eventually become rooted within policies related to the subject. Citizens ultimately soak up these messages and their thinking and behaviors are affected as a result. Hafer and Ran (2016) argue that by connecting citizen participation to an approach focusing on social identity, value exists to better understand how public administrators and citizens can work together. Another example of the connection between social construction and public administration actors relates to negative social constructions. These constructions alter how public stakeholders and relevant institutions behave to the degree that both contribute to systemic and institutional injustices as sources and promoters of their behaviors (Gaynor, 2018).

For example, recent legislation passed in June 2022 led to more stringent background checks, funding for mental health services, and preventing gun purchases by convicted domestic abusers for five years among other elements (Knox, 2022). Many citizens feel that the

legislation is not enough, however. According to a Pew Research Center (2022) survey taken shortly before the Highland Park incident, over three-quarters of people surveyed (78%) in the United States believe the new law will have little or no effect. Given the combination of societal acceptance for athletes speaking up on issues and the perception of a lack of progress on social equity issues such as gun violence, it is not a surprise that athletes are more emboldened to speak out against issues that affect their personal and professional communities.

Calls for Post-Uvalde Legislative Action

Discussion of gun violence within professional sports has occurred in recent memory, with professional athletes taking to social media in light of the July 2013 verdict in the George Zimmerman murder trial in which he was found not guilty in the death of teenager Trayvon Martin (Schmittel & Sanderson, 2015). However, the May 2022 shooting in Uvalde, Texas, marks a shift in the relative uniformity of professional sport engagement on a particular issue. Statements on Uvalde came from stakeholders across multiple levels within sport (e.g., franchise level, coaches, and athletes) and were delivered through multiple mechanisms including formal letters, in-arena statements, personal social media handles, and press conferences which emphasized direct calls for political action in various forms on the issue of gun control (see Table 1). It arguably marks the first moment since the beginning of the social media era in which a multi-tiered response from the sports world occurred calling for direct action from lawmakers and/or voting practices.

Franchise

For starters, during the broadcast of MLB's New York Yankees and Tampa Bay Rays, the official social media accounts run by both teams decided to focus on providing gun violence facts and statistics instead of reporting on the events pertaining to the game. Before announcing the starting lineups of a playoff game between the NBA's Miami Heat and Boston Celtics, the Heat public address announcer encouraged action in the following statement to the fans in attendance: "The Heat urges you to contact your state senators by calling 202–224–3121 to leave a message demanding their support for common sense gun laws. You can also make change at the ballot box" (D'Angelo, 2022, para. 3). Furthermore, before their June 5th matchup in the NBA Finals with the Boston Celtics, Golden State Warriors players wore orange t-shirts emblazoned with the phrase 'end gun violence' during their warmup period. Likewise, at a pregame press conference, the head coaches of both teams (i.e., Ime Udoka of Boston and Steve Kerr of Golden State) wore them as well, which arguably are reflective of a team directive. Both teams also featured statements on their Twitter handles containing resources related to ending gun violence in the United States.

Coaches

In the aftermath of Uvalde with seemingly little policy traction taking place, coaches not only wore t-shirts, but also spoke out regarding an appearance of failure of lawmakers to step up in passing laws, which arguably contributed to the Uvalde tragedy. Coach Steve Kerr of the Golden State Warriors called out politicians by name in a pre-game press conference, pleading politicians to do more on Capitol Hill:

> *I ask you, Mitch McConnell, I ask all of you senators who refuse to do anything about the violence and school shootings and supermarket shootings—I ask you, are you going to put your own desire for power ahead of the lives of our children and our elderly and our churchgoers? he said. Because that's what it looks like* (Calia, 2022, para. 3).

Table 1. Sample of Commentary by Sport Stakeholders

Level	Statements / Commentary Examples
Franchise	Miami Heat calls for action at the ballot box before the start of a playoff game with the Boston Celtics; The Golden State Warriors and Boston Celtics released statements on Twitter informing followers of resources to help end gun violence in the United States. Rays/Yankees Twitter account reporting gun violence statistics instead of commentary of a game between both teams. Rays/Yankees Twitter account reporting gun violence statistics instead of commentary of a game between both teams.
Coach	Steve Kerr (press conference) and Gregg Popovich (Uvalde fundraiser) made poignant remarks that directly call out lawmakers for inaction on gun control.
Athlete	DeMarcus Lawrence (via Twitter), Natasha Cloud (via press conference), Briana Turner (Twitter), and Sean Doolittle (interview with local newspaper) among others made statements asking for politicians to step up and work towards solution.

Likewise, in a June 2022 fundraiser held for victims of Uvalde, NBA's San Antonio Spurs Coach Gregg Popovich echoed a similar sentiment of Kerr when speaking to attendees questioning what politicians will need to act: "How many will it take?" he asked. "A massacre a month? Two massacres a week? Fifteen kids? Twenty-four kids? When we kill 74 sometimes, then maybe you'll do something. Get off your ass. Do something" (Suggs, 2022, para. 6). In addition to coaches feeling empowered to call out politicians directly, players also pleaded for action in response to Uvalde.

Athletes

In response to Uvalde, the United States Men's National Team (soccer) released a formal letter addressed specifically to members of Congress on behalf of 'players and staff' (USMNT, 2022, para. 6). The letter pleads for lawmakers to work pass any legislation that calls for stricter gun control:

> *To members of the United States Senate—a small group of your colleagues from both parties are working to craft a legislative proposal that will need the support of 60 out of 100 Senators to pass. Please stand up and say you will vote yes on gun legislation, so that a bill can go to the Senate floor, and the House and Senate can then work together to finalize legislation that does more than the bare minimum and will bring about a meaningful reduction in gun violence.*

Twitter emerged as an observed platform for athletes to express their frustration over Uvalde and to directly make pleas to lawmakers for stronger gun laws. In the same state as where the shooting took place, DeMarcus Lawrence of the NFL's Dallas Cowboys posted a series of tweets on Twitter on the day of the tragedy, with one written directly to Texas Governor Greg Abbott: "@GregAbbott_TX Who is going to stand up and DEMAND we have better security at all these schools that can't afford it???? How are our tax dollars not going to those who need the most protection??!! OUR CHILDREN! ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!" (Lawrence, 2022).

Athletes within the women's professional sports landscape also expressed pleas for lawmakers to step up as well. For example, Briana Turner of the Women's National Basketball Association's (WNBA) Phoenix Mercury utilized Twitter to call out politicians, specifically members of Congress: "We have a serious issue. There's 535 people in congress. There's 330 million people in the US. It's (sic) shouldn't be left or right. This shouldn't be normalized…WE NEED HELP!" (Turner, 2022). Likewise, Natasha Cloud of the WNBA's Washington Mystics made comments to the press two days after Uvalde: "Being in D.C., we're in the most powerful city in the world," she said. "We're in spitting distance of the Capitol, of all these representatives who need to do their jobs, so a lot falls on our shoulders here to be the voice of the voiceless" (Azzi, 2022, para. 4).

Finally, in an interview with *The Washington Post*, Sean Doolittle of MLB's Washington Nationals supported the sentiments expressed by Cloud and encouraged politicians in their professional hometown to engage in making progress towards solutions:

> *I think it's important to say that Natasha [Cloud] was right, Doolittle said. I think she is a really important leader in the D.C. community, and whenever she talks, I listen. I think she was right to essentially call for backup, especially here in D.C., where Congress is in our backyard. We might not have representation ourselves as D.C. residents, but maybe we can force some change and at least some conversations* (Dougherty, 2022, para. 3).

Across all levels of sport in the United States, there is increasing evidence that stakeholders are willing to speak up without fear of repercussion. Angela Ferrell-Zabala of Everytown for Gun Safety, an organization that advocates for gun control, observes that there was a shift in athlete response in terms of Uvalde. "We see this as a major tipping point," Ferrell-Zabala said. "These athletes and teams, they're meeting the moment" (Sheinin, 2022, para. 10).

Future Research

As the population demographics change within the United States with Whites declining in terms of overall percentage of the country's population in the most recent U.S. Census (Schneider, 2021), is reasonable to expect an increase of non-White athletes to continue to speak up on various equity issues, including gun violence. The changing landscape of media coverage and the ability for athletes to directly communicate the sentiments that they would like to express on various social issues deters misconstrued quotations filtered through a journalist's opinion. The way that franchises are expressing how their athletes should respond to social issues is shifting as well.

There is much to consider moving forward in terms of research. An expectation exists that athletes will continue to speak up and speak out as more leeway and support is provided by professional sports franchises. Athletes and teams are increasingly appearing to share similar sentiments regarding social issues. It is a topic that sports franchises have discussed with players, and there are examples of them offering their support to athletes that want to speak up, as noted in 2022 by Jerry DiPoto, the general manager of MLB's Seattle Mariners:

> *We've urged all of our players to speak what's in their heart, Dipoto said. They have a unique platform. Believe me, I've been doing this long enough to know that [critics] will say: These are baseball players. These are baseball executives.*

> *Mind your own business. But really, this is our business. We're all just human beings trying to do the right thing (Sheinin, 2022, para. 16).*

Athletes can be described in many ways, but to portray them as a monolith is inaccurate. What is worth observing in the coming years as athletes speak out is what occurs when declared differences of opinions exist within a team. Similar to the notion that Americans are not a monolith, athletes are not one either. While the majority of Americans support some measure of gun control, other issues engender less consensus. For example, there are examples of individuals choosing not to engage in team-based initiatives with social causes, such as game nights dedicated to promoting LGBTQIA+ inclusion. Players representing MLB's Tampa Bay Rays and National Women's Soccer League's (NWSL) North Carolina Courage engaged in a form of counter-protests in their own ways with two Rays players choosing not to wear a rainbow-colored patch on their game issued jersey (Kepner, 2022) and one Courage player choosing not to play in the game given the rainbow-colored game issued jersey (ESPN, 2022). This divergence from consensus and dissension among teams/leagues, with potentially differentiated effects on the pursuit of social equity, provide additional avenues for research.

There is also an opportunity to consider the veracity in volume of voices between athletes in team sports compared to athletes playing in an individual sport (such as tennis or golf). For athletes not playing under the banner of a sports franchise, will we see more forceful calls for change? Or less forceful, without the safety net of a federation or team? If so, will the causes be based on social equity? And how will sponsors impact athlete frequency and intensity of such causes? Companies such as Nike are known to support some athlete endeavors, but not others. Can we anticipate what causes will be deemed worth defending and which will be condemned? These are all elements worth considering as athletes continue to speak on social equity causes and seek change within the administrative and policy landscapes.

Notes

1. It is fundamentally inaccurate to say that HIV/AIDS are the same entities; however, the two are associated with each other in nearly every peer-reviewed study associated with Johnson and HIV, so they are described together in this article.

Disclosure Statement

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Book Review: Thinking Like an Economist: How Efficiency Replaced Equality in U.S. Public Policy

Cynthia Golembeski – The New School

Berman, E. P. (2022). Thinking like an economist: How efficiency replaced equality in U.S. public policy. Princeton University Press. $35 (hardcover). ISBN 9780691167381.

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Thinking Like an Economist: How Efficiency Replaced Equality in U.S. Public Policy is critical reading for policymakers, practitioners, and scholars interested in governance, political economy, ethics, equity, and the origins and influence of the 'economic style of reasoning' on federal policymaking and corresponding values and priorities. Elizabeth Popp Berman (2022) meticulously draws on over 3,000 primary and secondary resources and archival sources to elucidate how this 'economic style of reasoning' was legitimated and institutionalized through multiple pathways, including government offices, law and policy schools, and policy research organizations. This engaging, accessible book covers contemporary concerns, including student loan debates, and concludes with proposing what values, thoughts, and actions may facilitate ambitious reform efforts, in such areas as health and the environment.

Drawing on Ian Hacking (1992) and his 'style of reasoning' concept, Berman (2022) delineates how particular expertise and values, including efficiency, trade-offs, and incentives, predominated and shaped policy discussions in Washington DC between the 1960s and 1980s across nearly all governance sectors. A growing contingency of Democrats, particularly the center-left, embraced 'thinking like an economist' and cost-benefit analysis, while distancing themselves from populist antitrust. Within the healthcare context, for instance, cost-sharing and means-testing in service of efficiency crowded out "liberal arguments based on rights, universalism, and inequality" (Berman, 2022, p. 196). RAND (short for Research ANd Development) was awarded $80 million to supervise analysis and testing of the economic theory of moral hazard, which suggests fully insured constituents would overuse healthcare. Consequently, President Nixon thwarted universal Medicare coverage expansion after insisting policy plan adoption centering cost sharing, employer mandates, and market competition would avert moral hazard.

A sociologist by training, Berman has significantly published on knowledge production and use within various organizational contexts. In this vein, her 2015 book systematically analyzes shifting political contexts and alliances and ideological and behavioral responses involving universities and science policy, which positioned academic science closer to the market. Of note, Berman's balanced, empirically informed and critical perspectives in *Thinking Like an*

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Economist refrain from outright dismissing potential merits of economics in various governance domains. So too, Berman's latest work resonates with heterodox scholarship on technocratic policymaking and economic ideas, including political economist Clara Mattei's 2022 book, *The Capital Order: How Economists Invented Austerity and Paved the Way to Fascism*.[1] Whereas Mattei (2017; 2022) primarily focuses on the "technocratic project of austerity" in Europe, Berman (2022) traces the solidification of the economic style of reasoning to the 1950s within contexts of disciplinary knowledge and diffusion at elite U.S. universities including Harvard, MIT, and Chicago. Additionally, the interdisciplinary RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, with its share of economists guided by systems analysis, was closely allied with academic elites and critical to this enterprise. Markedly, Berman (2022, p. 49) cites Herbert Simon (1991, p. 116) suggesting RAND was a place "to see and be seen…in the postwar quantitative social sciences."

We learn the consolidated academic version of this new economic style framework was initially applied to discrimination and crime policy in the 1950s. Berman (2022) extensively references Alice O'Connor's (2001) historical analysis of ideological shifts surrounding the 'poverty research industry' and 'poverty problem' within reform friendly contexts and overly technical accounting of demographic, moral, and psychological features of the 'underclass' and 'culture of poverty.' In many ways, Berman (2022) and O'Connor's (1998, 2001) concerns with policy origins and development within certain institutions complements Löic Wacquant (2022) and Saidiya Hartman's (2008; 2019) critical scholarship on racialized politics of knowledge production and epistemic erasure that reify highly criminalized concepts of the 'underclass.' To illustrate, amidst the 1960s race rebellions, the Office of Economic Opportunity's (OEO) established its Office of Research, Plans, Programs, and Evaluation, for which Berman's (2022, p. 103) in-depth analysis provides evidence of its role as "a beachhead for recapturing control over the War on Poverty from community action advocates." Following the Department of Defense's use of the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPBS), incoming OEO staff trained in PPBS' new efficiency focused systems-level government decision-making method subsequently displaced existing colleagues trained mainly in sociology or social work.

Soon thereafter, President Lyndon Johnson announces implementation of PPBS and a value-free science of policy throughout the entire executive branch. Berman (p. 57) recounts how "observers like political scientist Aaron Wildavsky criticized PPBS for promising rational, neutral decision-making that it could never achieve." Despite various failures and negative effects outlined in the book, PPBS proved largely successful in "link[ing] the economics discipline to the world of policy in lasting ways and creating permanent homes in Washington for the new economic style of reasoning" (p. 44). PPBS also fueled a burgeoning policy research ecosystem, including RAND, Mathematica, Brookings Institute, and Urban Institute, as well as a cadre of elite public policy schools. In fact, a 1968 RAND discussion paper informed proposals for the University of Michigan's policy school and its curriculum based on cost-effectiveness, macroeconomics, and 'RAND Lite' formal modeling and analysis. With captivating rigor, Berman traces how the economic style of reasoning's elevation in law and policy schools, which sought to supplant public administration, facilitated demands for not only RAND-style policy analysis, but also for analysts and training.

Berman's (2022, p.14) scholarly treatment of policy shifts clarifies the left's eagerness to apply technocratic policy-making and governmental solutions to social problems. Thus, "institutionalizing the economic style through organizational change, legal frameworks, and administrative rules" initiated "a positive feedback loop"—"a constituency of enthusiasts for the economic style who would promote its further expansion." Covering much ground, featured cases include: welfare, healthcare, housing, and education policy within the social policy domain; market governance inclusive of antitrust policy and transportation deregulation; and social regulation with a primary focus on environmental policy. By the time the reader reaches chapter nine on the Reagan administration, one grasps the limitations of

prioritizing efficiency as a core value in assessing how governments make decisions and govern markets. Curious readers may further consider, for example, how this economic reasoning style informs philanthropy or public management associated with narrower public health and safety categories, such as those related to substance use or firearm policies and politics, which receive lesser attention in this richly developed book.[2]

Related literature on political choices and policy effects include Gil Eyal's (2019) book, *The Crisis of Expertise*, underscoring the need for more effective regulatory institutions. Daniel Carpenter's (2002; 2010) research on regulation and government organizations; Pam Herd, Don Moynihan, (2019) and Carolyn Heinrich's (2016; 2018) research agenda setting work on administrative burdens as policymaking by other means; and David Michaels' (2008; 2020) work on regulatory capture and manufacturing doubt constitute further kindred research on governance and the administrative state. Dorothy Brown's (2021) examination of the racial biases of the taxation system and tax code, plus Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor's (2019) study of structural discrimination in 1970s housing policy and banking and real estate practices, also align as valuable scholarly contributions on policy, expertise, and inequality within democratic societies.

Likewise, Berman (2022) highlights contemporary efforts to mitigate inequality undertaken by scholars within the economics discipline, think tanks such as the Roosevelt Institute, and policies like baby bonds.[3] Towards that end, Jabbar and Menashy (2022, p. 279) encourage interdisciplinary use of economic theory absent of "the phenomenon of a single discipline's power over so many facets of social life and policy." Amidst the current reckoning, the *Journal of Economic Perspectives* Spring 2022 'Economics of Slavery' symposium features work on "the cumulative costs of racism and the Bill for Black Reparations" (Darity et al., 2022). Meanwhile the *Journal of Economic Literature's* 2022 'Race and Economic Literature' symposium (Logan & Myers, 2022) features critical, heterodox scholars Grieve Chelwa, Darrick Hamilton, and James Stewart (2022) explicating stratification economics' core constructs and policy implications. Another symposium article discusses Black economists' work in applied policy (Francis et al., 2022). Akin to Berman (2015; 2022), O'Connor (1998, 2001), Hartman (2008; 2019), and Wacquant's (2022) works, Nina Banks and Warren Whatley (2022) review the history of race laws as distinct from the rule of law, and poignantly convey the intellectual thought and legacy of Sadie T. M. Alexander, the first Black PhD in economics.

Berman's (2022) book is essential reading for anyone with an interest in justice, fairness, and rights within the context of policy design and implementation and how efficiency replaced equality. Individual chapters prove helpful to students and advanced scholars alike in political science, public policy, law, public and nonprofit affairs, sociology, social work, and public health. This book is invaluable to better understanding the role of economists in shaping policy discourse and the institutionalization, political influence, and limitations of the economic style of reasoning as a conduit to governance.

Notes

1. Heterodox economists propose alternative frameworks to neoclassical models and integrate historical and context-specific analysis into examining how economies function (Ballestin, 2017; 'Ippoliti, 2021).
2. Berman's (2022) book is helpful in considering narrower health and crime policy areas, such as violence prevention and sentencing. Particularly so in consultation with substantive scholarship on the political economic antecedents of the contemporary carceral state (e.g., Garland, 1985, 2023; Gottschalk, 2015; Hinton, 2016; Muhammad, 2019; Wacquant, 2009). Complementary critical philanthropy and governance literature also exists (e.g., Collings-Wells, 2022; Eikenberry, 2006; Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018; Francis, 2019; Goss, 2016; Wacquant, 2022) as does critical work on substance use and

firearm policies and politics (Case & Deaton, 2021; Currie & Schwandt, 2021; Goss, 2006; Metzl, 2019).

3. Simon Torracinta (2022) also provides a riveting comparative review of Berman's (2022) book alongside two books on microeconomics by Diane Coyle (2021) and Robert Skidelsky (2020).

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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