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Unpacking the Volunteer Experience: The Influence of Volunteer Management on Retention and Promotion of the Organization

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Volunteers play a vital role in nonprofit organizations. While considerable research examines volunteer recruitment and volunteer management, less is known about how to manage volunteers in such a way that inspires volunteers to continue to volunteer and to promote the organization. Using original survey data, we examine how volunteer experiences influence retention and volunteer promotion of the organization using the Net Promoter Score (NPS). The findings suggest that investing in training is paramount, along with making volunteers from diverse backgrounds feel welcome and included. Organizational support, very likely, plays a role too, in that interactions with paid staff and experience with the organization are positive predictors as well. These findings along with qualitative feedback from volunteers offer new insights on how to help nonprofit organizations bridge recruitment and retention efforts.

Keywords: Volunteer Management, Volunteer Retention, Volunteer Promotion

Volunteers help nonprofits and government organizations fulfill their missions. The Independent Sector (2023) values an hour of a volunteer's time at \$31.80. Volunteers can be thought of as a natural resource (Brudney & Meijs, 2009; Koolen-Maas et al., 2023), where there is a finite number of volunteers and volunteer hours so volunteer energy should be renewed. Since volunteers are a vital resource and volunteering is a voluntary action, organizations should focus on how to manage and engage volunteers, so they have a positive experience. Satisfied volunteers bring value not only through their volunteer efforts but also through their promotion of and support for the organization (Prince & Piatak, 2022). Therefore, research and the field of volunteer administration should move from a focus on volunteer motivation and recruitment to account for the experiences of volunteers.

Volunteers decide to volunteer for a multitude of reasons. People may volunteer to make friends or to learn a new skill or to serve a cause they find personally important. In addition to the more motivation-based functions volunteers might have, people's pathways to volunteering may greatly vary. People most often become engaged through invitations to volunteer, but some may be excluded from these opportunities like the unemployed and those without home internet access (Piatak, 2016; Piatak et al., 2019). We know people volunteer for different reasons and may become involved in different ways, but we know less about volunteer experiences. How can nonprofits engage and retain volunteers who continue to

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bring value to the organization? More specifically, we ask: How does training, inclusion, activities, interactions, and the overall experience with the organization correspond to volunteer satisfaction, measured as promotion and retention?

Organizations must move beyond recruitment to focus on volunteer satisfaction and retention. Since the supply of volunteers is limited (Brudney & Meijs, 2009; Koolen-Maas et al., 2023), scholars have turned their attention to volunteer satisfaction, intent to remain, and actual retention. Research on volunteer satisfaction has evolved from matching the functional motivation of volunteers (e.g., Clary et al., 1992) to research on volunteer management and satisfaction (e.g., Brudney & Sink, 2017; Henderson & Sowa, 2019). Some volunteer best practices that influence satisfaction include matching volunteers to their interests and skills, providing training, and formally recognizing volunteer efforts (Einolf & Yung, 2018; Hager & Brudney, 2004; Smith & Grove, 2017; Walk et al., 2019). However, some volunteer management practices have mixed results, such as communication that can improve satisfaction (Smith & Grove, 2017) or be seen as overbearing (Hager & Brudney, 2004). We build upon this work to examine how a volunteer's experience influences satisfaction, that is whether a volunteer promotes an organization and intends to remain a volunteer in the future. Volunteers are a vital resource for organizations both in their roles as volunteers and as promoters, supporters, and advocates for organizations.

We examine how the volunteer experience influences volunteer intent to remain and promote the organization. Drawing upon original survey data from volunteers of nonprofit organizations engaged with a national foundation, we find training and an inclusive organizational climate are critical volunteer management practices for volunteers to intend to remain with the organization and promote the organization based on the Net Promoter Score (NPS), a commonly used performance measure (e.g., Reichheld, 2003, 2011) that has been used to identify volunteers who are enthusiastic supporters (Prince & Piatak, 2022). In addition, we offer context to our findings by incorporating a qualitative analysis of open-ended responses from volunteers on how to improve their volunteer experience. Although our sample is not generalizable to all volunteers and volunteering is context specific, our findings have implications for research and practice. For theory, we contribute the role of volunteers' experience highlighting the influence of training and the need to examine diversity climate and inclusion. For practice, we offer volunteer managers actionable advice in ensuring volunteers feel welcomed and trained to not only continue volunteering but also be promoters for the organization more broadly.

Volunteer Management: Unpacking the Volunteer Experience

Volunteer management has evolved from a focus on a universal approach (e.g., Connors, 2011) similar to the human resource management (HRM) process offering best practices regardless of organizational context. Many of the volunteer management models offer a process similar to Figure 1 below. While scholars have called for a movement from the universal approach to a contingency approach (e.g., Brudney & Sink, 2017) tailoring practices based on organizational needs, the focus continues to be on the organization, but what about the volunteer experience?

Rather than universal HRM processes and organizational variations, we are interested in the volunteer experience and how that shapes intentions to volunteer again and volunteers being organizational promoters. In examining 28 motives drawing upon the literature on volunteer motivation, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glenn (1991) find the motives overlap and suggest volunteer motivation is unidimensional, where volunteer managers should focus on fostering a "rewarding experience" overall (p. 281). Managers must not only address volunteer motives for engagement, but also must address volunteer management (Farrell et al., 1998) as reasons people begin volunteering may differ from the reasons they continue to volunteer

Figure 1. Volunteer Management Process



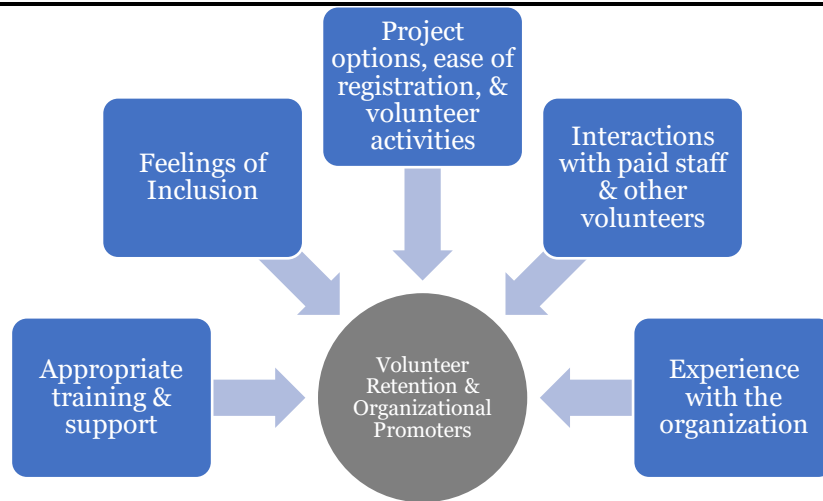
(Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008). Just as Studer and Von Schnurbein (2013) describe how volunteer management practices, organizational values and identity, and organizational context are all critical for volunteer coordination, we examine the role of the volunteer experience. Narrowing in on the volunteer experience, we examine how training, inclusion, activities, interactions, and the overall experience with the organization influence volunteers returning and promoting the organization. Our framework is below in Figure 2.

Our framework focuses on training, inclusion, and three key aspects of volunteer management—logistics, interactions with paid staff and other volunteers, and the organizational experience. In examining the adoption of management practices, Hager and Brudney (2021) find matching volunteers to appropriate tasks to be the most adopted practice along with communication, but only half support volunteers through regular supervision and few train staff to work with volunteers. Given the variation in adoption of best practices in volunteer management, we examine how the volunteer experience of onboarding and placement through interactions and engagement influence volunteer retention and being organizational promoters.

Volunteer Management: Logistics, Interactions, & Organizational Experience

Key aspects of volunteer management involve logistics, the administrative coordination of the volunteers. The volunteer experiences with the logistics or organizational rules, policies, and procedures, can be a burdensome, as much of the theory on red tape suggests (e.g., Bozeman & Feeney, 2014), or helpful, as green tape suggests (e.g., DeHart-Davis, 2017). Examples of logistics for volunteer administration include project options, ease of registering, and the activities, interactions with paid staff and other volunteers, and the organizational experience. Based on qualitative interviews, Englert et al. (2020) find eight factors enhance a volunteer's fit with an organization: "mission congruence, fulfilled need for organizational support, collegial commonalities and complementarity, appropriate supervision, competence-service matching, fulfilled need for autonomy and freedom compatibility with other spheres of life, and fulfilled need for recognition and appreciation" (p. 342). This illustrates the need for volunteer managers to ensure volunteers have a positive experience from logistics of onboarding and placement to interactions with others to experiences with the organization.

For logistics, organizations should ensure projects match volunteer interests and skills, clarify roles, and give volunteers autonomy in providing their service. Autonomy is a key aspect for volunteer satisfaction and retention. Much like paid employees (e.g., Onken-Menke et al., 2018), volunteers would like the flexibility and freedom to be able to take ownership for their service. Even among spontaneous volunteers, self-organization and coordination is needed for volunteer satisfaction, well-being, and commitment (Simsa et al., 2019). Drawing upon self-determination theory, Oostlander et al. (2014) find autonomy-supportive leadership, which addresses psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, has both a direct and indirect effect on volunteer satisfaction. Similarly, in an all-volunteer organization, transformational leadership increases the proactive behaviors of volunteers (do Nascimento et al., 2018). Through interviews with parks and recreation volunteers, Barnes and Sharpe (2009) highlight the need for flexibility, autonomy, and collaboration in volunteer management.

Figure 2. The Volunteer Experience Framework

For interactions, organizations should ensure volunteers have positive interactions with paid staff and other volunteers. Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley (2002) find participation efficacy and group integration correspond with both volunteer satisfaction and intent to continue volunteering. Among special event volunteers, communication with fellow volunteers and recognition predicted volunteer satisfaction (Farrell et al., 1998). Highlighting the importance of emotional support, relational organizational climate increases satisfaction and reduces turnover (Nencini et al., 2016).

Both task- and emotion-oriented organizational support increase volunteer organizational commitment (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2008) and volunteer engagement (Alfes et al., 2016), and reduce intent to leave the organization (Alfes et al., 2016). In addition, Lee (2021) finds both task and organizational fit improve volunteer retention. In examining 'super volunteers' or those that devote significant time to an organization, Einolf and Yung (2018) highlight the task-oriented support like flexibility in their responsibilities and clear, customized roles as well as emotion-oriented support like staff support influence time devoted to the organization. Much like Robichau and Sandberg (2022) find internal personal and external organizational factors influence the meaningfulness of work for employees, both task- and emotion-oriented support is needed for volunteers.

Yet few nonprofits follow best practices in volunteer management, especially those corresponding to volunteer satisfaction and retention. For example, many nonprofits pay insufficient attention to volunteer-staff relations. As Hager and Brudney (2021) found, only 19% of nonprofits surveyed trained paid staff on working with volunteers in 2003 and this fell to 15% in 2019 and was the least common volunteer management practice across surveys.

Drawing upon the literature on volunteer management, we expect volunteers who are more satisfied with logistics, interactions, and their experience with the organization supports and will be more likely to volunteer again and be promoters for the organization and intend to remain. As such, we hypothesize:

H1a: Volunteers who are satisfied with the logistics, their interactions with staff and volunteers, and their experience with the organization will be more likely to volunteer again.

H1b: Volunteers who are satisfied with the logistics, their interactions with staff and volunteers, and their experience with the organization will be more likely to be organizational promoters.

Inclusion

Diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) efforts for employees are on the rise, but we know less about efforts to foster diversity, equity, and inclusion among volunteers. Organizational diversity climates matter for employees and volunteers alike. Social identity theory and intergroup relations provide the foundation for the diversity climate of an organization (Mor Barak, 2016; Mor Barak et al., 1998). Diversity climate refers to “shared perceptions of the policies and practices that communicate the extent to which fostering diversity and eliminating discrimination is a priority in the organization” (Pugh et al., 2008, p. 1422). While diversity climate and DEI efforts are understudied in volunteer management, research has highlighted the role of leadership, organizational culture, and values. More than a decade ago, Howlett (2010) called for the need to develop volunteer management as a profession to ensure the diversity of volunteer involvement, but how does inclusion influence volunteer intent to remain and being an organizational promoter?

Related to diversity climate and inclusion, research highlights the need for a supportive organizational culture. Commitment to volunteers, role clarity, team spirit of paid staff, and respect enhance the recruitment and retention of volunteers (Studer, 2016). In examining leader-member exchange dimensions, professional respect corresponds to job satisfaction, especially among younger volunteers in sports organizations (Bang, 2015). In examining the creation of National Day of Service projects, Maas et al. (2021) find nonprofits can enhance volunteer satisfaction by ensuring projects create a sense of added value, productivity, and make volunteers feel comfortable. Chui and Chan (2019) highlight the role of organizational identity and the need to build rapport with volunteers. In a hospital setting, volunteers feeling empowered with opportunities for social interaction, reflections, and rewards were more satisfied (Wu et al., 2019). Research illustrates how volunteers need respect, support from leadership and staff, and to feel comfortable in their organizations and volunteer roles.

Relatedly, volunteers thrive when given a voice and a volunteer identity. Having a voice and role identity increase volunteer retention (Garner & Garner, 2011; Grube & Piliavin, 2000). In examining AmeriCorps data, McBride and Lee (2012) find members are more likely to complete their service terms if sites involve members in planning, foster mentoring relationships, and facilitate reflections. Among volunteer fire fighters, support among their social circles as well as autonomy and feelings of efficacy in their volunteer work enhance volunteer satisfaction (Henderson & Sowa, 2019).

Additionally, some scholars explore issues of social justice and fairness in volunteering more directly. Calling for an examination of aspects of volunteering beyond the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI), Jiranek et al. (2013) finds social justice functions predict intentions to volunteer above and beyond the VFI measures. Relatedly, like employees, volunteers care about distributive justice that significantly predicts volunteer turnover (Hurst et al., 2017). In all-female youth sports, the agency of volunteer coaches to overcome structural barriers increased retention (Zanin et al., 2021). Despite examining different aspects of volunteer management, each of these studies show the value of social justice, fairness, and equity for volunteers.

Drawing upon research on the importance of fostering a sense of belonging in terms of respect, rapport, and support as well as research on social justice and fairness, we hypothesize volunteers will be more likely to continue volunteering and be organizational promoters when they feel welcome and included in the organization. As such, we hypothesize:

H2a: Volunteers who feel welcome and included will be more likely to volunteer again.

H2b: Volunteers who feel welcome and included will be more likely to be organizational promoters.

Training

Examining a variety of volunteer management practices on volunteer retention, Hager and Brudney (2008) find training plays a critical role. Learning and development opportunities can help with volunteer retention (Newton et al., 2014) and orientation and training corresponded to recommending volunteering (Wu et al., 2019). In a study of volunteer fire fighters, Henderson and Sowa (2018) find training, performance management, and organizational commitment influence short- and long-term intent to remain. Fallon and Rice (2015) find perceived investment in development, support and recognition, and training to predict volunteer satisfaction that in turn predicts intention to stay. Walk et al. (2019) find men who received training were more likely to continue volunteering. Past research finds a link between training and retention.

Examining the integration of volunteers into an organization, Hidalgo and Moreno (2009) find social networks, organizational support, positive tasks, and training are significant predictors of intent to remain a volunteer. Similarly, Englert et al. (2020) find organizational support enhances one's fit with an organization, in particular, access to service-related resources, training that is helpful and needed to provide the service, and development opportunities. Integration into the organization, such as training, relationships with other organizational members, and role clarity, reduce volunteer burnout (Moreno-Jiménez & Villodres, 2010).

Based on studies highlighting training as a predictor of retention as well as the vital role of training in integrating volunteers into the organization, we expect training will increase volunteer retention and being organizational promoters. As such, we hypothesize:

H3a: Volunteers who receive appropriate training will be more likely to volunteer again.

H3b: Volunteers who receive appropriate training will be more likely to be organizational promoters.

Data and Methods

We created an online survey to capture information about volunteer experiences with nonprofit organizations. The recipients of the survey were people who volunteered for organizations that used volunteers as a critical part of their service delivery model. The survey was distributed by organizations affiliated with a national foundation, and the data were collected from January 14, 2020, to April 2, 2020. For this study, we used data from 323 survey respondents for whom there was complete data—meaning we used listwise deletion of missing data for the study variables—and excluded 11 outlier responses (323/459=65.25%).

Dependent Variables

We focus on two volunteer outcomes to capture volunteer satisfaction with their experiences: organizational promoters and volunteer retention or intention to volunteer again. To measure the first dependent variable of organizational promotion, we use the Net Promoter Score (NPS) question that asked how likely it was that the volunteer would recommend the volunteer opportunities at the organization to a friend, family member, or colleague. The NPS, a commonly used performance measure, is the percent of promoters minus the percent of detractors (Reichheld, 2003, 2011). The original response set for this question was a 10-point scale, with “1” corresponding to “not likely at all” and “10” corresponding to “extremely likely.” Those 1–6 are detractors, 7 or 8 are passively satisfied, and 9 or 10 are promoters. The NPS is an often-used feedback measure by businesses and nonprofits alike (e.g., Burnham & Wong,

2018). Many have likely been asked this question about whether they would recommend a given product, service, or experience. Prince and Piatak (2022) apply the NPS to volunteer management to find the most enthusiastic supporters are champions of the collective and a broader resource for nonprofits. Since we are most interested in examining what makes a volunteer a supporter of the organization or promoter, we transform this variable into an indicator variable that takes on a 1 if the response was a 9 or a 10 to signify the volunteer is a promoter and a 0 otherwise.

The second dependent variable is intent to remain, which is measured by a survey question that asked how likely it was that the volunteer would volunteer for the organization again in the next year. The original response set for this question was also a 10-point scale, with “1” corresponding to “not likely at all” and “10” corresponding to “extremely likely.” While some volunteer studies have used administrative data to examine actual retention (Hager & Brudney, 2008; Walk et al., 2019), many use intent to remain as a proxy for retention (e.g., Alfes et al., 2016; Fallon & Rice, 2015; Galindo-Kuhn & Guzley, 2002; Henderson & Sowa, 2018). Since we are most interested in the volunteer experience, intent to remain is an appropriate measure of volunteer satisfaction with an organization.

Independent Variables

The three hypotheses (relating to positive volunteer experiences, inclusion, and training) for the study are operationalized by eight variables. Positive volunteering experiences is operationalized by six questions on the survey where the respondents were asked to reflect on how satisfied they were with their volunteer experiences at the organization. The options reflect three key areas: logistics, such as ease of registering, project options, and volunteer activities, interactions with paid staff and with other volunteers, and the volunteer’s experience with the organization. The responses for these questions are coded as: “1” for very dissatisfied, “2” for dissatisfied, “3” for neutral, “4” for satisfied, and “5” for very satisfied. The six questions asked about satisfaction with respect to: a) The volunteer project options (mean=4.544, SD=0.780); b) The ease of registering for a project (mean=4.526, SD=0.804); c) The volunteer activities (mean=4.572, SD=0.778); d) The interactions with paid staff (mean=4.371, SD=0.964); e) The interactions with other volunteers (mean=4.421, SD=0.824); and f) Your experience with the organization (mean=4.622, SD=0.726).

Inclusion is operationalized by using a scale variable comprised of four survey questions: a) [Organization Name] makes it easy for people from diverse backgrounds to fit in and be accepted; b) Volunteers are developed and advanced without regard to the gender or the racial, religious, or cultural background of the individual; c) [Organization Name] pays attention to the needs and concerns of everyone; and d) I [do not] feel a sense of belonging to my organization [reverse coded]. These questions were drawn from measures of diversity climate (Pugh et al., 2008), organizational commitment for sense of belonging (Meyer et al., 1993), and managerial support (Hatmaker & Hassan, 2021). The responses (coded as “1” for strongly disagree, “2” for disagree, “3” for neutral, “4” for agree, and “5” for strongly agree) were combined to create the inclusion scale. The values for the scale ranged from 6 to 20 (mean=17.671; SD=2.527). Reliability for the scale was good ($\alpha=0.751$) (Mohsen & Dennick, 2011).

Training is operationalized by using one question that asked respondents whether they had appropriate training and support to engage in volunteer activities at the organization. The response to this question is coded “1” for yes and “0” for no (mean=0.941, SD=0.235).

Control Variables

We control for both organizational level and volunteer level factors. First, data from the IRS Form 990 (Candid, 2021) were compiled to control for organizational characteristics. Larger

organizations, in terms of expense size and number of employees, have more volunteers (Lee, 2019) and may have better infrastructure for volunteer management, such as full-time volunteer coordinators (Handy & Srinivasan, 2005). For example, Hager and Brudney (2021) find larger organizations are more likely to regularly supervise and track volunteers, whereas smaller organizations are more likely to communicate the value of volunteers. Similarly, older organizations may have better infrastructure due to their experience and policy development over time, but organizational age was not significant in predicting volunteer use among human service organizations (Lee, 2019). We include four organizational characteristics: the number of organizational employees, ranging from 0 to 241 (mean=88.613, SD=61.287); the number of volunteers, ranging from 44 to 7,596 (mean=1,215.012, SD=2,055.769); age of the organization (in 2020), ranging from 10 to 114 years old (mean=43.136, SD=20.526), and total annual revenues, ranging from \$310,982 to \$7,630,737 (mean=3,992,867, SD=2,157,269). Total annual revenues were transformed using the natural log (base 10), and the new range was 5.493 to 6.883 (mean=6.477, SD=0.399).

Second, since many sociodemographic characteristics influence volunteering, the survey respondents were asked to report demographic information to control for individual volunteer characteristics, including: age, education, race, and gender. Age was calculated from the self-reported birth year, ranging from 20 to 90 years (mean=54.591, SD=17.646). Education is coded as three dummy variables: some college or less, coded as “1” or “0” (mean=0.219, SD=0.414); four-year college degree, coded as “1” or “0” (mean=0.386, SD=0.487), and professional degree or doctorate, coded as “1” or “0” (mean=0.393, SD=0.489). For race, the six-choice response set was recoded into a dichotomous variable (due to very little variation), where the value of “1” corresponded to respondents who described their race as Black, Indigenous, or People of Color (BIPOC) and the value of “0” corresponded to respondents who described their race as “Caucasian/White” (mean=0.055, SD=0.229). Gender is coded as a dichotomous variable, where the value of “1” corresponded to respondents who described their gender as female and “0” corresponded to respondents who described their gender as male (mean=0.798, SD=0.401). We also controlled for how frequently an individual volunteered for the organization. This ordinal variable was coded as, “1” quarterly or less, “2” for monthly, and “3” for weekly (mean=2.339, SD=0.779) (See Table 1).

In addition, open-ended follow up questions asked the respondents to describe what the organization could do to better support volunteers and how training could be improved. The responses to these questions help to provide context to the quantitative data.

Bivariate Correlations

Bivariate correlations were conducted to examine the relationships between the independent and the control variables and check for multicollinearity. The lowest statistically significant correlation was -0.110 between the number of employees (an organizational control) and having a professional degree or doctorate (demographics/education control). The largest statistically significant correlation was between the log of total annual revenues and the number of employees (0.800). Values from tests for the variance inflation factor (VIF) ranged from a low of 1.06 (for BIPOC) and a high of 3.94 (for Number of Organization Employees) (mean=1.97) (See Appendix A).

Regression Findings

Logistic regression with robust standard errors was used to predict the variation in the promotion of the volunteer activities to friends, family members, or colleagues. The first hypothesis about satisfaction with logistics, interactions with staff and volunteers, and experience with the organization was not supported. The second hypothesis was supported,

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics (n=323)

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Skewness	Kurtosis
<i>Dependent Variables</i>						
Organizational Promoters	0.811	0.392	0.000	1.000	-1.590	3.528
Volunteering Again	9.578	1.363	0.000	10.000	-4.163	21.424
<i>Independent Variables</i>						
Inclusion Scale	17.671	2.527	6.000	20.000	-1.306	5.024
Training	0.941	0.235	0.000	1.000	-3.750	15.063
<i>Logistics</i>						
Project Options	4.544	0.780	1.000	5.000	-2.034	7.691
Ease of Registration	4.526	0.804	1.000	5.000	-1.810	6.505
Volunteer Activities	4.572	0.778	1.000	5.000	-2.381	9.586
<i>Interactions</i>						
Interactions with Paid Staff	4.371	0.964	1.000	5.000	-1.652	5.252
Interactions with Volunteers	4.421	0.824	1.000	5.000	-1.580	5.726
Experience with the Organization	4.622	0.726	1.000	5.000	-2.451	10.243
<i>Control Variables—Organizational Level</i>						
Number of Employees	88.613	61.287	0.000	241.000	0.338	2.700
Number of Volunteers	1,215.012	2,055.769	44.000	7,596.000	2.593	8.069
Age of the Organization	43.136	20.525	10.000	114.000	0.525	4.135
Total Annual Revenues (Log)	6.477	0.399	5.493	6.883	-1.246	3.208
<i>Control Variables—Individual Level</i>						
Age of the Respondent	54.591	17.646	20.000	90.000	-0.417	1.986
Education—Some College or Less	0.219	0.414	0.000	1.000	1.353	2.831
Education—4 Year College Degree	0.386	0.487	0.000	1.000	0.464	1.215
Education—Professional Degree or Doctorate	0.393	0.489	0.000	1.000	0.437	1.911
Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC)	0.055	0.229	0.000	1.000	3.873	16.003
Gender (Female)	0.798	0.401	0.000	1.000	-1.490	3.221
Frequency of Volunteering	2.339	0.779	1.000	3.000	-0.827	2.136

with volunteers who reported having a sense of belonging and feeling welcome in their organizations having higher odds of promoting the nonprofit (1.361). The third hypothesis was also supported, with the odds of the volunteer being a promoter increasing by more than eight times (8.457) if the volunteer received appropriate training with the organization. The odds were also greater for female volunteers (2.534) and older organizations (1.033). The pseudo-R square (McFadden) was 0.358 (See Table 2).

Table 2. Logistic Regression Findings for Volunteer Promotion (n=323)

	Odds Ratio	Std. Err	z
<i>Inclusion Scale</i>	1.361***	0.113	3.700
<i>Training</i>	8.457**	6.143	2.939
<i>Logistics</i>			
Project Options	0.798	0.274	-0.659
Ease of Registration	1.141	0.354	0.427
Volunteer Activities	1.818	0.558	1.949
<i>Interactions</i>			
Interactions with Paid Staff	1.525	0.349	1.847
Interactions with Volunteers	0.543	0.178	-1.866
<i>Experience with the Organization</i>	2.009	0.743	1.887
<i>Control Variables—Organizational Level</i>			
Number of Employees	0.991	0.005	-1.688
Number of Volunteers	1.000	0.000	1.457
Age of the Organization	1.033*	0.015	2.274
Total Annual Revenues (Log)	1.444	1.252	0.424
<i>Control Variables—Individual Level</i>			
Age of the Respondent	1.018	0.012	1.525
Education—4 Year College Degree	1.476	0.756	0.761
Education—Professional Degree or Doctorate	0.770	0.393	-0.512
Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC)	0.670	0.452	-0.594
Gender (Female)	2.534*	1.071	2.199
Frequency of Volunteering	1.215	0.338	0.701
Constant	0.000	0.000	-2.595

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Linear regression with robust standard errors was used to predict the variation in the likelihood of volunteering again. The model accounted for 33.54% of the variance ($R^2=0.335$, $F(17, 305)=2.66$, $p<0.000$). For this model, inclusion ($\beta=0.243$) and training ($\beta=0.206$) were positive significant predictors, providing support for second and third hypotheses. However, no support was found for the first hypothesis on the role of logistics (See Table 3). Across models, these findings were found to be fairly robust, with similar results from OLS and negative binomial regressions. Additional analysis also revealed that mission area and focus (e.g., arts, environment and animals, human services) were not significant predictors.

Additional Findings

To help unpack the influence of the volunteer experience on volunteer retention and volunteers being organizational promoters, we examine the responses to two open-ended responses in the survey. The first asked volunteers how training could be improved and the second asked what the organization could do better to support volunteers.

Training

The comments on improving training coalesced around three themes. The first theme related to the lack of formal training, whereby respondents indicated the training was informal, self-directed, or consisted of on-the-job learning, and asking questions. The second most common

Table 3. Linear Regression Findings for Volunteering Again (n=323)

	B	Std. Err	β	t
<i>Inclusion Scale</i>	0.131	0.041	0.243**	3.180
<i>Training</i>	1.191	0.577	0.206*	2.060
<i>Logistics</i>				
Project Options	0.047	0.181	0.027	0.260
Ease of Registration	-0.046	0.149	-0.027	-0.310
Volunteer Activities	0.072	0.123	0.041	0.590
<i>Interactions</i>				
Interactions with Paid Staff	0.239	0.143	0.169	1.670
Interactions with Volunteers	-0.073	0.123	-0.044	-0.590
<i>Experience with the Organization</i>	0.289	0.262	0.154	1.110
<i>Control Variables—Organizational Level</i>				
Number of Employees	-0.001	0.002	-0.061	-0.720
Number of Volunteers	0.000	0.000	0.042	1.440
Age of the Organization	0.005	0.006	0.069	0.820
Total Annual Revenues (Log)	0.296	0.359	0.087	0.820
<i>Control Variables—Individual Level</i>				
Age of the Respondent	0.008	0.005	0.108	1.800
Education—4 Year College Degree	-0.015	0.187	-0.005	-0.080
Education—Professional Degree or Doctorate	-0.147	0.208	-0.053	-0.710
Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC)	-0.220	0.325	-0.037	-0.680
Gender (Female)	0.319	0.216	0.094	1.470
Frequency of Volunteering	-0.016	0.106	-0.009	-0.150
Constant	1.124	2.317	---	0.480

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

theme was related to the sheer lack of training and how this made them feel, with respondents who described that they had little training felt “ignored”, “not valued”, “apprehensive”, and “just thrown in.” One respondent stated that there was “a disconnect between the person doing the training and the people I was to work with.” Third, some respondents noted that while there was no training when they first started volunteering, training was now available, and finally, a few offered suggestions for how to improve the training (e.g., offer more training or refresher trainings).

Organizational Support

All of the respondents had the opportunity to respond to an additional open-ended question that asked about how the organization could improve the support of volunteers. Almost half (157/323 or 48.6%) of the respondents provided comments. Most (70/157) took the time to give positive feedback, writing comments like “all good,” “Nothing comes to mind,” or “They already do everything, can’t improve on excellence.” Others provided more constructive feedback that echo the findings from the regression analyses.

For example, some (21/157 or 13.4%) suggested the organizations and the staff needed to be more welcoming and inclusive to the volunteers, describing the need for staff to get to know

Table 4. Themes from the Qualitative Data

What can the organization do to better support volunteers?	(n)	(%)
No Comments	166	51.4%
Comments	157	48.6%
Total	323	100.0%
Comments		
Positive feedback	70	44.6%
Be more inclusive	21	13.4%
Create different opportunities to volunteer	15	9.6%
Better communication	11	7.0%
Better leadership and supervision	10	6.4%
More support from staff	9	5.7%
Improve training	9	5.7%
Show appreciation	4	2.5%
I don't know	8	5.1%
Total	157	100.0%

the volunteers (e.g., learn their name) and greet them. Respondents described the need for staff to be friendlier, make the volunteers feel valued, and interact more with them.

Some (15/157 or 9.6%) suggested that the organization create different opportunities for volunteers. For some, the suggestions were related to logistics, such as expanding the number of hours or days of the week they could volunteer, as well as being more mindful of accessibility issues. Others wanted more meaningful volunteer opportunities or opportunities to volunteer as a family.

Some (11/157 or 7.0%) described the need for better communication, especially as it relates to issues the organizations are facing, as well as changes in policies or procedures. Others (10/157 or 6.4%) described the need for better leadership and supervision, with clear tasks and greater clarity about to whom they should report. Some (9/157 or 5.7%) described how they would like better support from staff, who are visible, pay attention, and available to answer their questions. Some 9 (9/157 or 5.7%) described how training could be improved. One respondent, for example, suggested the organization develop “a rule book/manual available for volunteers to be able to check on certain procedures.” Others described how they wanted more training, better training, or training at different times.

A few (4/157 or 2.5%) respondents suggested ways of showing appreciation, such as having events for volunteers, and giving them t-shirts or jackets. Some (8/157 or 5.1%) indicated that they didn't know what to suggest despite expressing the need for improvement (See Table 4).

Discussion

Volunteer management focuses on the HRM process and has moved to a contingency approach to consider organizational context, but what about the volunteer experience? In this study, we examine how volunteer satisfaction with logistics, interactions, and experience with the organization as well as feelings of inclusion, and views of training influence intent to volunteer again and being organizational promoters. Drawing upon original survey data and controlling for individual and organizational level characteristics, we find training and inclusion increase volunteer retention and the odds of volunteers being organizational promoters, using the Net Promoter Score. Inclusion and training significantly influence retention and promotion above and beyond volunteer satisfaction with common volunteer

management best practices like logistics. Our findings have implications for volunteer management theory and practice as follows.

Building upon the growing literature on volunteer management, we find support for the existing literature, particularly on the role of training. Like previous work (Fallon & Rice, 2015; Hager & Brudney, 2008; Henderson & Sowa, 2018; Newton et al., 2014; Wu et al., 2019), we find adequate training significantly predicts volunteer retention and whether a volunteer will be a promoter, according to the Net Promoter Score (NPS), that is strongly recommend the organization to a friend, family member, or colleague. Prince and Piatak (2022) demonstrate how the NPS can be a useful tool for volunteer management in gauging volunteer satisfaction and identifying enthusiastic supporters, a vital resource for the organization. As some argue and find (Englert et al., 2020; Hidalgo & Moreno, 2009; Moreno-Jiménez & Villodres, 2010), training seems to help orient and integrate volunteers into the organization. Training also predicts the likelihood that volunteers will volunteer again, underscoring the importance of investing in volunteer training.

Our study also highlights the vital role of an inclusive culture and fostering a sense of belonging among volunteers. We find inclusion significantly predicts volunteer satisfaction, measured both as promoting the organization and intentions to volunteer again. In addition to calls for greater organizational support, being more inclusive was a top comment from volunteers. Volunteer management should catch up to employee management in examining diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts for volunteers. Volunteers provide vital services to and for nonprofit organizations but face a difficult situation of being a bit like outsiders for organizations that also have paid staff. Our findings on inclusion support past work on the need for support and respect from staff and leaders (Bang, 2015; Studer, 2016) and the importance of ensuring volunteers feel comfortable (Maas et al., 2021), but highlight the need for organizations to do more to foster a sense of belonging, a supportive organizational climate, and a culture where everyone has a voice.

Like any study, our work is not without its limitations. Our sample was a voluntary survey so may not be representative of all nonprofit organizations, nor could we calculate a response rate due to the way the survey was distributed. Relatedly, volunteers tend to be prosocial people and may perhaps be prone to social desirability bias or generally more positive volunteers may have been more likely to respond to the survey as most of our sample responded favorably to our dependent variables. However, this perhaps makes our findings, particularly on inclusion and training, even more compelling. Data collection began in January 2020, but the COVID-19 pandemic began shortly thereafter, perhaps influencing our findings.

Research is beginning to examine the role of the pandemic on volunteering (e.g., Dederichs, 2022). Future research should examine how the pandemic may have shifted volunteer management practices. Attention to the volunteer experience following the pandemic would be helpful as volunteers may have different motivations, expectations, and experiences. Our sample is positively skewed to include more women, higher levels of education, and an average age of 55 where findings might vary across different volunteer groups. Moreover, a majority of volunteers in our sample volunteer for nonprofits serving animals or the environment followed by human service nonprofits, where volunteer experiences likely vary across organizational types. Future research may want to examine how sociodemographic variables might moderate the relationship between the volunteer management practices and the experience of volunteers. Future work may consider how volunteers view the efficacy of different volunteer management practices and what their experience is with volunteering and the organization.

Conclusions

Our study contributes to research on volunteer management in several ways. First, we examine the NPS, a common performance tool, that provides valuable insights for research to incorporate this measure and practice for organizations to gain promoters. The NPS can be used to measure volunteer satisfaction and identify enthusiastic supporters (Prince & Piatak, 2022). We augment our original survey findings with a qualitative analysis of open-ended responses to provide greater context and understanding of the volunteer experience. Using both the NPS and intentions to volunteer again as well as qualitative insights, our study paints a more complete picture of volunteer satisfaction with their experiences.

Second, we examine training, inclusion, and organizational supports from the volunteer perspective. Moving beyond the organization-focused volunteer management models, our study centers the volunteer experience. Examining how volunteers view management practices and their level of satisfaction with them helps provide insights both into the different practices and how they shape volunteer outcomes. By focusing on the volunteer perspective, we find training and inclusion matter more than the logistics most volunteer management models and best practices highlight.

Lastly, we highlight the importance of training and inclusion that not only informs volunteer management research but also serves as practical guidance to nonprofits. Volunteers can be seen as a natural resource (Brudney & Meijs, 2009; Koolen-Maas et al., 2023), one that needs to be invested in and renewed. Organizations should invest in their volunteers by devoting time, energy, and resources to onboarding and training volunteers and fostering an inclusive organizational environment. We find training and inclusion play a vital role in the volunteer experience for volunteers to recommend and promote the organization as well as to want to continue volunteering. Scholars and practitioners should pay greater attention to the volunteer experience, training, and fostering a sense of belonging.

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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Author Biographies

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Appendix A. Bivariate Correlations between the Independent and Control Variables (n=323)

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
(1)	Inclusion Scale	1.000																		
(2)	Training	0.239**	1.000																	
(3)	Satis. - Project Options	0.313**	0.158**	1.000																
(4)	Satis. - Ease of Registration	0.175**	0.131*	0.571**	1.000															
(5)	Satis. - Volunteer Activities	0.260**	0.201**	0.671**	0.558**	1.000														
(6)	Satis. - Interactions with Paid Staff	0.494**	0.206**	0.407**	0.300**	0.378**	1.000													
(7)	Satis. - Interactions with Volunteers	0.308**	0.208**	0.458**	0.447**	0.514**	0.482**	1.000												
(8)	Satis. - Experience with	0.470**	0.251**	0.578**	0.479**	0.593**	0.627**	0.583**	1.000											
(9)	Number of Employees	-0.181**	0.059	0.000	-0.002	-0.029	-0.140*	0.031	-0.079	1.000										
(10)	Number of Volunteers	0.135*	-0.018	0.157**	0.150**	0.144**	0.138*	0.072	0.133*	-0.194**	1.000									
(11)	Age of the Organization	-0.091	0.033	0.055	0.043	0.005	-0.099	0.019	-0.041	0.539**	-0.139*	1.000								
(12)	Total Annual Revenues (Log)	-0.215**	0.030	0.009	0.072	-0.017	-0.224**	-0.029	-0.102	0.775**	-0.086	0.560**	1.000							
(13)	Age of the Respondent	-0.059	-0.054	-0.026	-0.124*	-0.105	0.056	0.064	-0.016	-0.039	0.115*	-0.237**	-0.103	1.000						
(14)	Some College or Less	0.113*	-0.026	-0.035	0.034	-0.035	-0.042	0.046	-0.033	0.139*	-0.091	0.152**	0.003	-0.212**	1.000					
(15)	4 Year College Degree	0.028	-0.044	0.032	-0.054	0.011	0.037	-0.074	-0.007	-0.008	0.034	0.050	0.070	-0.025	-0.422**	1.000				
(16)	Professional Degree or Doctorate	-0.124*	0.067	-0.002	0.025	0.018	-0.001	0.035	0.035	-0.110*	0.043	-0.179**	-0.072	0.204**	-0.427**	-0.640**	1.000			
(17)	BIPOC	-0.059	0.003	-0.014	0.076	-0.005	-0.038	-0.091	-0.004	0.007	-0.076	0.063	0.052	-0.163**	0.034	-0.027	-0.002	1.000		
(18)	Gender (Female)	0.014	-0.093	0.024	0.040	-0.008	0.001	0.022	0.005	0.055	-0.106	0.038	0.149**	-0.021	-0.032	-0.013	0.040	0.021	1.000	
(19)	Volunteering (How Often)	0.048	0.095	0.147**	-0.044	0.047	0.104	0.032	0.086	0.122*	-0.069	0.164**	-0.052	0.182**	0.083	0.009	-0.079	0.014	-0.090	1.000

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

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Does Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Explain Volunteer Time Allocations? An Exploration of Motivational Time Allowances Using the American Time Use Survey

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This study examines whether there is an optimal set point along Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs associated with disaggregated forms of volunteerism. Taniguchi's (2012) study examined major life domains (e.g., work, education, and religion) for associations with formal and informal volunteerism. An alternative approach is to include life domains with variables measuring motivational concerns to better identify time allocation patterns for disaggregated volunteerism. This study analyzed the results of 9,435 time diaries recorded on the 2019 American Time Use Survey (ATUS). The time allocated to formal and informal volunteerism associates with intermediate belongingness concerns. There is no association between time spent on self-esteem and self-actualization concerns and informal volunteering. Tertiary education as a baseline measure for self-actualization shares a weaker association than belonging with formal volunteering. The data suggest that research into maximizing formal volunteerism may be searching at the wrong point at self-actualization. Implications are discussed for motivating volunteerism.

Keywords: Maslow, USA, Human Needs, Volunteerism, American Time Use Survey

Introduction

This research focuses on associations between time allocations spent on pursuing human needs and volunteerism among a sample of Americans. The role of human motivation is critically important when examining the time spent on volunteerism. Wilson (2012) elaborated on the importance of this topic by stating, "Having the right motivation can mitigate stressful effects of volunteer work" (p. 22). Wilson (2012) also indicates that volunteers' experiences are less researched among social scientists than studying the antecedents and consequences of volunteerism. It follows that one way to identify one or more motivational levels associated with volunteerism is to see how people at certain motivational states spend their time volunteering. The ability to identify peak volunteer time allocations paralleling motivational development might help to prevent people from becoming overtaxed by volunteer activities while investigating methods to improve retention, satisfaction, and volunteer effectiveness.

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One of the earliest models to describe a sequence of human motivational development was defined by Maslow (1943), who posited that people develop by satisfying decreasing percentages of needs gratification along a hierarchy of needs. The original hierarchy comprised five needs: physiological (e.g., food, water, sex), security (e.g., shelter and protection from crime and economic insecurity), belongingness (e.g., friendship and companionship), self-esteem (e.g., competence, recognition, and confidence) and self-actualization (e.g., free expression, maximization of human potential, wisdom, and maximization of self-interest). Maslow's paradigm drew upon arousal theory in psychology to argue that once people's basic physiological and security needs are gratified, they search out higher states of arousal by pursuing social, self-esteem, and self-actualization concerns, and Inglehart (1977) referred to these as second tier (e.g., post-materialist) needs. In theory, the second tier of the hierarchy provides a useable motivational construct to examine possible set points for time spent volunteering.

The hierarchy model assumes that no one is a hundred percent satisfied with any one need at a time and that people are pursuing a combination of motivational pursuits, with the most pressing need creating a drive to satisfy it. Although an individual may pursue a combination of needs, a motivational concern, such as lacking friends or companionship, would capture most of the individual's attention and produce within the person the drive to meet that need pursuit before concentrating on other motivational concerns. This is related to volunteerism because Babula (2013) argues that different forms of altruism parallel the hierarchy of needs. For instance, if an individual wants to gain a larger social grouping, they may volunteer at a food bank to gain friends. Alternatively, suppose an individual seeks to obtain a raise at work to satisfy self-esteem needs. In that case, they may volunteer at a homeless shelter hoping their boss will read about their volunteerism and give them a salary increase.

The paradoxical theme of Maslow's (1943) paradigm was that as people developed to the maximization of self-interest at self-actualization, they would also become more prosocial. The reasons offered were that self-actualizers would derive pleasure from helping others and possess a big brotherly or sisterly attitude that they know what is best for others, having achieved a certain level of accomplishment in life. This is paradoxical owing to Maslow's (1987) observations that possessing a sense of accomplishment may cause self-actualizers to view others with a sense of condescension. Self-actualizers can also be quick to detach from people or organizations who displease them if they do not experience a deep sense of achievement. Under the descriptions given for self-actualizers, they would need to participate in volunteer activities that match their participation goals.

Notably, for this research study, the sequence of motivational development may link to volunteer time allocations. However, the paradoxical nature of self-actualization may have been misconstrued with assumptions about prosocial behavior, at least when it comes to planned activity such as volunteerism. Belongingness needs might enhance volunteerism at the intermediate stage along Maslow's (1943) needs hierarchy as people form and participate in social networks. Instead of searching for volunteers among self-actualizers with higher education who have free time to attend museums, cinema, and musical venues, a more fruitful approach may be to find and retain volunteers who are more limited on time but seek friendship and companionship and the comfort of others.

The American Time Use Survey (ATUS) is an excellent resource for identifying variables that measure motivational states along Maslow's (1943) model and volunteerism. This research examines variables associated with higher-order needs gratification, such as time spent on income-generating activities, financial services, leisure, and artistic engagement.

Motivation Theory Offers a Better Approach to Study Volunteerism

The use of motivation theory may discern peak volunteer time allocation patterns that were previously overlooked using other social science approaches. One approach taken by the Taniguchi (2012) study uses constraint and resource concepts to argue that people are limited on time, resources are scarce, and that the time spent on a life domain would come at a cost to the time available to volunteer. The use of life domains (e.g., education, work, and religion) alone to associate with volunteerism does not result in observing patterns to optimize volunteerism and does little to explain some of the counterintuitive observations Taniguchi discusses such as how those in the labor force are more likely to volunteer than the unemployed despite constraints on time due to employment. This is not to say that the life domains are not useful. Many life domains already measure aspects of human motivational concerns, as discussed in the literature below. It is contended in this study that a better approach is to use human motivation theory by incorporating major life domains along with a mix of key variables that measure social, self-esteem, or self-actualization concerns. In doing so, it becomes possible to build a more dynamic model to pinpoint observable constructs affecting forms of volunteering differently.

The Taniguchi (2012) study uses a bifurcated approach to explore disaggregated volunteerism: Informal volunteerism serves family and extended social networks (e.g., mentoring kids, cooking food for elderly neighbors, or, more recently, raising money for friends on crowdfunding websites) and contrasts with formal volunteerism for an organization (e.g., school, church, or women's shelter), although there may be some overlap between both forms. We agree that there is value in disaggregating volunteerism because understanding its different forms may help to recruit, train, and retain volunteers based on different requirements. However, we contend that life domain variables, when not viewed through the lens of human motivation theory, may misplace optimized volunteer time allocations.

For example, according to Taniguchi (2012), the major difference between informal and formal volunteering is that the latter form is "broader in scope" and gives rise to self-expression as individuals may volunteer at places such as non-governmental organizations for political purposes or to express the self via art, culture, or music (p. 922). We endeavor to test the assumption that self-expression is key to formal volunteering because those attempting to maximize individual self-interest, such as a retired famous musician with plenty of time to donate, may not be keen to allocate time to serve others at a local music school if the plan is for a career revival.

There are several important research questions arising from this study: Does human motivation theory that incorporates life domains represent a better approach to estimating optimized time allocations for volunteerism? Have previous models prematurely assumed that formal volunteerism would peak with self-expression interests? Does belongingness impact informal and formal volunteering differently, and why is this important to the potential recruitment of volunteers?

At intermediate belongingness needs, affiliation is assumed to constitute informal volunteerism because such individuals "want to help people and develop warm and friendly relationships" (Henderson, 1981, p. 63 as cited by Boz & Palaz, 2007, p. 646). A sense of belonging has also empirically underpinned specific alumni associations' formal volunteering activities. Drezner and Pizmony-Levy (2020) used multivariate analysis to report that, "Alumni with a higher Sense of Belonging are also more likely to engage with their graduate alma mater through helping students, participating in events, and volunteering time" (p. 17). However, similar to other studies on the topic, Drezner and Pizmony-Levy do not contrast the impact of belonging with higher needs such as self-esteem and self-actualization.

People pursuing self-esteem goals may undertake formal volunteering as “power motivates individuals to be concerned with their reputation or position, to establish authority and control over others, to give advice, and to make their ideas dominant” (Boz & Palaz, 2007, p. 646). Additional research on self-esteem, such as Crocker and Park (2004), suggests that high or low self-esteem is less of an issue than how one sets their self-esteem goals (e.g., to benefit the self, to help others, or a combination of both). As one progresses through greater self-esteem gratification and develops healthy self-esteem, that individual would set healthy self-esteem goals that benefit the self and others while developing to self-actualization. The privilege or power aspects of self-esteem are not necessarily present or needed as people advance to self-actualization, but other factors, such as self-preservation, may inhibit prosocial behavior at self-actualization, a point which we shall return to when discussing the literature.

The literature has also not formed a consensus on whether self-actualization fosters volunteering. The Boz and Palaz (2007) study supports Taniguchi (2012) on the potential association between self-actualization and volunteerism. They summarize McClelland (1992), who proposed that Maslow’s second-tier needs drive people to seek achievement and affiliation. From this perspective, formal volunteerism may facilitate achievers’ desires to set tasks and use their problem-solving ability at self-actualization to help others. Contrarily, self-actualizers are not perfect people, and they are capable of “surgical coldness” towards others and prefer individual self-expression as opposed to participating in organizations, raising questions as to how much time they may spend formally volunteering (Maslow, 1987, p. 146, as cited by Babula, 2022). The self-actualizer is a person who has built up a store of maximized individual self-interest and will be very much preoccupied with preserving individual ability as they age. Although some self-actualizers derive pleasure from volunteering, the paradoxical nature of this motivational state would suggest that other self-actualizers may turn inward for self-preservation, especially if individual ability and skills decline with age (see Babula, 2013).

While the Taniguchi (2012) study suggested that formal volunteerism would be necessary for social and liberal democratic countries that value self-expression, there appears to be more evidence that nations that value family and social belonging are more likely to facilitate informal and formal volunteering. Alexander et al. (2011) indicated that countries with a healthy democracy and the rule of law, such as the U.S., are further along the post-materialist continuum and, by extension, pursuing higher-order motivational concerns. Other large democracies with a weak rule of law, such as India, are closer to intermediate order needs gratification. Although greater self-expression may result from economic well-being, expansion of higher education, and participation in the arts, heightened volunteerism levels may not be one of the corresponding benefits of effective democracies.

Formal and informal volunteerism may be more critical to ineffective democracies such as India and countries that Alexander and colleagues (2011) label rational autocracies with less democracy but a fair legal system and the rule of law (e.g., wealthier Middle Eastern countries). These countries tend to place a heavy emphasis on belongingness. Ghose and Kassam (2012) reported the results on the motivations for college students volunteering in India and observed that, “Students volunteered more frequently in order to make social contacts. Mirroring these motivations to volunteer in order to expand social contacts, hybrid volunteers who reported wanting to make social contacts through volunteering were 38% more likely to volunteer” (p. 38). Jiang et al. (2017) examined motivations for volunteerism in Saudi Arabia, a traditional collectivist culture, and found individualistic reasons, noting that, “Participants motivated by the social function [meeting new friends] of volunteering are more likely to volunteer continuously” (p. 152).

Measurement Variables for Sequence of Needs Achievement and Volunteerism

To reiterate, our study contrasts with Taniguchi (2012), who speculated that self-expression underlies formal volunteering, and we suspect that a socialization hypothesis explains a peak level of motivation to optimize volunteer time allocations. Having expanded opportunities to express oneself, often touted in the U.S., does not necessarily facilitate cross-pollinating time resources to formal volunteerism. We built models of time allocations based on sequential motivational development and examine associations with corresponding formal and informal volunteerism. Hagerty (1999) established a precedent by identifying variables used to measure Maslow's sequence of needs achievement, and some of the variables which are similar to the ATUS and could be used in this study. That research used quality of life measures across 88 countries using Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs and found consistency with the order of needs achievement. This study builds models using variables for marital status, socializing, religion, financial services, income-generating activities, self-expression, and tertiary education to test the effects on formal and informal volunteerism with areas of conceptual convergence and divergence from Hagerty's methodology. To reiterate, no one is completely satisfied in any one motivational pursuit, and it is anticipated that there will be an overlap between close motivational pursuits. One could take the approach of Fleury et al. (2021) and interpret the results in our study by combining self-esteem and self-actualization under a category of 'personal mastery,' which would not impact the outcome of our research or a contrast between middle-order needs such as belonging and the upper echelon of the hierarchy at self-actualization in examining volunteerism.

Hagerty used tertiary educational achievement as a baseline measure for self-actualization. There is also precedent for placing heavy emphasis on educational achievement and volunteerism. Wilson (2012) reviews the literature by stating, "Educational achievement is perhaps the most important asset as far as volunteering is concerned" (p. 185). Although Wilson applies the literature to say that education produces increased cognitive competence, attention to current affairs, and more vital aspirations, the skills acquired during education are thought to contribute equally with a duty to help others (e.g., a well-educated dentist may volunteer to do pro bono work for poor communities because others do not possess the skill set to do the job).

The Hagerty (1999) study used political freedom to measure self-esteem, but such variables were unavailable via the ATUS. Turning to the economic literature, it has been observed that self-esteem is positively linked to higher earnings (see Drago, 2008; Girtz, 2014; Graham et al., 2004; Murnane et al., 2001; Waddell, 2006, as cited by Botea et al., 2021 as well as Drago, 2011). Thus, income-generating activities that contribute to higher earnings and engaging in financial services to increase earnings can serve as a proxy to measure self-esteem, although self-esteem itself may not associate with volunteerism. Wilson (2012) discusses this point: "Volunteering is a contribution of one's time and it is not obvious that income would have much effect on it" (p. 187). Nonetheless, Wilson refers to Lee and Brudney (2009) that the effect of income is not linear and that middle-class households are more likely to engage in volunteerism. This finding indirectly supports the notion that additive effects of higher motivational development on volunteer time allocations at self-esteem are not present and raises the need to test if volunteerism may peak at social needs gratification.

There are multiple ways to test the effects of social needs on volunteerism while controlling for confounding variables. Hagerty estimated that divorce rates are negatively associated with social needs. As a result, we can assume that marital status is associated somewhat with social needs and volunteering. People might become more committed to their community by electing to get married and raise a family. This finding conforms to Wilson's (2012) observations that volunteerism peaks in midlife and declines after retirement. While age varies across all age groups, it might play some residual role. For example, if midlife is when people concentrate

on the success of the family unit, aging may enhance the effects of socializing to help one's relatives.

Employment status is another variable that potentially affords larger social networks, which may encourage volunteering. Bandura's (1986) concept of social-cognitive theory suggests that having a group of co-workers who volunteer represents an environmental factor that could influence volunteer behavior from at least a formal perspective. It is possible that race and ethnicity may also play some role in volunteerism as a confounding variable. Lough (2006) indicated that respondents who identified as members of a racial/ethnic group other than White or Black were 1.5 times more likely than Whites and 2.53 times more likely than Blacks to volunteer. The race and ethnicity findings may relate to individuals of self-reported other races and ethnicities belonging to religious groups or engaged with religion that spurs formal and informal volunteering, respectively. Forbes and Zampelli (2014) examined whether social capital and religion predicted volunteerism, arguing that "estimates suggest strongly that greater diversity in friendships, more informal social networking, and more formal group involvement increase the likelihood that individuals will choose to engage in voluntary activity" (p. 239).

A further noted controversy in the literature on volunteering appears in the work of Galen et al. (2014). They argue that the difference in volunteerism between religious and non-religious individuals is reduced when controlling for confounding variables. The Galen et al. study's underlying theme is that people will be more likely to volunteer and help others similar to them (e.g., same gender, similar age range, or sports team affiliations). The literature further adds that taking care of children or having children attend the same school can increase volunteerism (see Gee, 2010; Einolf, 2010; as cited by Wilson, 2012). The presence of children might cause a parent, even constrained on time owing to work or childcare duties, to volunteer in activities that promote their children's well-being. The demographic research generally contrasted with Forbes and Zampelli (2014), who emphasize the role of religion in volunteerism, as follows: "intriguingly, there is now evidence to suggest that the importance of religion in one's life is a positive and significant influence on a person's decision about how much to volunteer" (p. 243).

Although various sources may motivate volunteerism, there is a distinction between in-group and out-group factors. Religious factors may differ in motivating each of these. Religious factors may motivate formal volunteerism (i.e., out-group) differently from informal volunteerism (i.e., in-group). The Galen et al. (2014) study may indicate that religion plays less of a role in formal volunteering, where people are less likely to identify with others. Other scholars (Graham & Haidt, 2010; Pepper et al., 2010; Saroglou, 2006) agree that religious participation has an in-group increase in voluntarism, not observed among out-groups. To point, Galen et al. (2014) state, "The contrast between the simple correlations between prosociality and belief in God versus the regression analysis is instructive regarding explanations for the apparent prosocial advantages for the religious. These advantages were best-predicted by demographic and group-related aspects, with religious belief itself playing an ancillary role, depending on the type of prosociality" (p. 422). The Galen et al. (2014) study used a single numerical variable for volunteer hours without disaggregating volunteerism, and it is entirely possible that the group aspects of religion may be more relevant to the mechanizations of an organization and formal volunteerism compared with informal volunteerism.

Given the lack of consensus in the literature, there is a need to examine socializing and religion's interaction associated with volunteerism. While intrinsic religiosity may sometimes be considered self-actualizing or even transpersonal, many people may use religion extrinsically to satisfy social needs. In studies on happiness, Yorulmaz (2016) agreed with the Okulicz-Kozaryn (2010) study that religion may increase well-being due to the social setting it offers. By parity of reasoning, testing is required to examine if religion may associate with

volunteerism owing to the need to belong at an intermediate stage of motivational development.

Compared to earlier studies, the present study provides an underlying psychological theory to explain the time allocations for informal and formal volunteerism. This analysis of the ATUS indicates that socialization, whether via friends, family, and religion, has the most substantial effect on all volunteerism forms. There also emerges support in the analysis that self-esteem goals and self-expression do not associate with informal volunteering behavior. At self-actualization, tertiary education provides some additive effect on religious activities and formal volunteerism. The findings will highlight that the clusters of human need associations with formal volunteering also reside at belongingness.

Method

One of the best ways to address the questions raised about time allocations between pursuing human needs and volunteerism is to use the American Time Use Survey (ATUS). The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics conducts the ATUS. A stratified, three-stage sample of respondents describe their use time, with subjects contacted via computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). ATUS respondents produce a diary of their time use for the previous 24-hour period.

Participants

Time diaries reflect the time use patterns of a sample of 9,435 participants, with subjects contacted via computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). The sample comprised more females (54.3%) than males (45.7%). More participants were unmarried (51.2%) than married (48.8%). The age range for the sample was 15 to 85 years of age.

Procedure

The 2019 ATUS draws a sample from all residents living in the USA, excluding active military personnel and residents of institutions like nursing homes and prisons. In the first sampling stage, the ATUS oversamples in less-populated states to produce reliable estimates at the state and national levels. In the second stage, households are stratified based on race/ethnicity, presence and age of children, and the number of adults in adult-only homes. In the third stage, an eligible person from each household was randomly chosen to be the second stage.

Dependent Variables

Based on Taniguchi's (2012) research on disaggregating volunteerism, formal and informal volunteerism were assessed as dichotomous variables and coded as follows: volunteer=1, non-volunteer=0. This study uses the same dependent variable definitions that Taniguchi defined:

The ATUS defines formal volunteering as being carried out for or through an organization (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Specifically, it includes providing administrative support, social service, indoor/outdoor maintenance, building, and clean-up operations, participating in performance and cultural activities, attending meetings, conferences, and training, and working in the areas of public health and safety. In this study, informal volunteering is defined as caring for and providing help to non-household members including both children and adults (p. 927).

Independent Variables

We assessed Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs by examining the time allocated by participants to three measures: (a) belongingness (e.g., marital status, socializing, religious attendance, and participation), (b) self-esteem (e.g., wealth-generating activities, and financial services), and (c) self-actualization (e.g., tertiary education, arts, and entertainment).

Socialization activities include socializing and communicating with others, attending or hosting parties, receptions, and ceremonies, attending meetings for personal interest, and attending or hosting social events classified elsewhere. Religious activities include attending religious services, participation in religious practices, religious education activities, and religious and spiritual activities not elsewhere classified. Income-generating activities focus on items associated with pursuing self-esteem goals and include income-generating hobbies, arts, crafts, and foods, performances, services, rental property activities, or other activities not elsewhere classified. Self-expression was assessed by using arts and crafts as a hobby, attending performing arts, attending museums, and attending movies. Similarly, financial services were examined by using the item for other financial services (e.g., meeting with an accountant, stockbroker, and insurance agent). The independent time variables were originally continuous, but because these variables are non-normally distributed, a decision was made to code as binary outcome variables: 0=no engagement with the activity, 1=engagement with the activity.

Demographic Characteristics

On the ATUS, participants reported their gender (1=male, 2=female); marital status (1=unmarried, 2=married); tertiary educational achievement (0=secondary educational attainment and below, 1=post-secondary educational attainment); race (0=White, 1=Black, and 2=other); ethnicity (0=Hispanic, 1=Non-Hispanic); presence of children under 18 (0=no children, 1=children), employment status (0=unemployed, 1=employed); and age which was coded as a numerical variable. The SPSS data file contains one record per household member for all households where an individual participated, and the file also contains the ATUS case identification number per household. There is also a weighted variable of the number of person-days the respondent represents where weekdays and weekend days are added up to the number of person-days weekdays and weekend days for subpopulations and the general population.

Data Analysis Plan

The outcome variables, before indexing, for formal and informal volunteering were non-normally distributed. Only 5.4% and 11.6% of participants reported formal and informal volunteer time allocations, respectively. In addition, a lot of the data generally on the ATUS is categorical, and for this reason, the study needed to use non-parametric tests such as chi-square and logistic regression to analyze socioeconomic and sociodemographic variables. Two four-block logistic regression models were run to examine the independent variables' influence on formal and informal volunteering. For the first model predicting formal volunteerism, confounding variables such as gender, age, race, ethnicity, and children under 18 in the household were added to the first block, employment status, marital status, time spent socializing, and religious attendance and participation were added to the second block, income-generating activities and planning for financial services were added to the third block, and tertiary education and the self-expression were added to the fourth block. The confounding and independent variables appear in the same order for the second model predicting informal volunteerism.

Table 1. 2019 American Time Use Survey (ATUS) Demographic Characteristics of Participants Who Engage in Volunteerism

	Formal Volunteering			Informal Volunteering		
	Yes No. (%) or Mean	No No. (%), or Mean	P^a	Yes No. (%) or Mean	No No. (%), or Mean	P^a
Total Number, no. (%)	514 (5.4)	8,921 (94.6)		1,095 (11.6)	8,340 (88.4)	
Gender, no. (%)			0.000***			0.000***
Male	189 (36.8)	4,122 (46.2)		412 (37.6)	3,899 (46.8)	
Female	325 (63.2)	4,799 (53.8)		683 (62.4)	4,441 (53.2)	
Age, y, mean	56.96	50.75	0.000***	54.49	50.64	0.000***
Education Level, no. (%)			0.000***			0.139
Tertiary Education Achieved	412 (80.2)	5,850 (65.6)		705 (64.4)	5,557 (66.6)	
Secondary Education and Below	102 (19.8)	3,071 (34.4)		390 (35.6)	2,783 (34.4)	
Race, no. (%)			0.102			0.175
White	431 (83.9)	7,149 (80.1)		877 (80.1)	6,703 (80.4)	
Black	53 (10.3)	1,189 (13.3)		158 (14.4)	1,084 (13.0)	
Other	30 (5.8)	583 (6.5)		60 (5.5)	553 (6.6)	
Ethnicity			0.000***			0.017*
Hispanic	38 (7.4)	1,250 (14.0)		124 (11.3)	1,164 (14.0)	
Non-Hispanic	476 (92.6)	7,671 (86.0)		971 (88.7)	7,176 (86.0)	
Marital Status, no. (%)			0.000***			0.000***
Married	314 (61.1)	4,291 (48.1)		480 (43.8)	4,115 (49.5)	
Unmarried	200 (38.9)	4,630 (51.9)		615 (56.2)	4,215 (50.5)	
Children<18 in household, no. (%)			0.261			0.000***
Yes	175 (34.0)	3,256 (36.5)		293 (26.8)	3,138 (37.6)	
No	339 (66.0)	5,665 (63.5)		802 (73.2)	5,202 (62.4)	
Employment Status, no. (%)			0.043			0.000
Employed	290 (56.4)	5,433 (60.9)		598 (54.6)	5,125 (61.5)	
Unemployed	224 (43.6)	3,488 (39.1)		497 (45.4)	3,215 (38.5)	

^a Significance for the χ^2 test for categorical variables examining significant differences between participants who volunteer and those who do not volunteer, t-test was used for the continuous variable (age). * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Table 2. Unstandardized Regression Weights of the Determinants of Volunteerism

Variable	Formal Volunteerism	Informal Volunteerism
Age	−0.021 (0.005)***	−0.009 (0.003)***
Socializing	0.256 (0.120)*	0.841 (0.087)***
Religious Activity	1.049 (0.132)***	0.252 (0.121)*
Gender	0.313 (0.123)**	0.335 (0.089)***
Marital Status	−0.415 (0.135)**	0.110 (0.090)
Employment	0.022 (0.145)	−0.086 (0.096)
Tertiary Education	0.573 (0.147)***	−0.210 (0.094)*
Children<18 in Household	0.255 (0.156)	−0.353 (0.113)**
Ethnicity (Hispanic)	−0.183 (0.234)	−0.312 (0.147)*
Race		
White		
Black	0.159 (0.264)*	0.061 (0.185)
Other	0.615 (0.319)	−0.019 (0.212)
Self-Expression	−0.035 (0.271)	0.325 (0.213)
Income Generating	0.337 (0.406)	−0.130 (0.354)
Activities		
Financial Services	0.257 (1.005)	−0.976 (0.985)
Nagelkerke R ²	0.081	0.062

Notes. Nagelkerke R² is reported for effect size. Standard errors are reported in parentheses. *p≤0.05, **p≤0.01, ***p≤0.001.

Results

Demographic Differences in Volunteerism

The results indicate that more respondents engaged in informal volunteerism (11.6%) than those who participated in formal volunteerism (5.4%). Table 1 provides the averages and frequencies for all demographic variables used in the analysis.

Chi-square tests were used to explore significant associations between participants who volunteered versus those who did not volunteer. A t-test was used to examine for an association between volunteering and the continuous variable (age). The cross-tabulations showed that participants who engaged in formal volunteering tended to be female, older, more educated, employed, non-Hispanic, and married. The comparisons revealed the same for informal volunteering, except that participants were more likely to engage if unmarried and did not have children under 18 in the household.

Participants' Formal and Informal Volunteering

Adam et al. (2021) proposed that logistic regression is used in research for clustering when examining associations between binary outcome variables of covariates, and by extension, our study used complex samples logistic regression in SPSS to estimate clustering at the household level for covariates and binary predictor factors. Table 2 shows the unstandardized regression weights of predictors associated with volunteerism. The weights represent the number of person-days each respondent represents. The standard errors provided in the table account for clustering at the household level.

The key variables, such as religious activity, tertiary education, and socializing, are significantly associated with formal volunteerism. Comparatively, the statistical significance of socializing, religious activity, and to a milder yet noteworthy extent, tertiary education is presented associating with informal volunteerism. These initial results support the block logistic regression results reported below.

Table 3. Hierarchical Logistic Regression Analysis of Maslow's Higher Order Needs' Associations with Formal Volunteerism

Step	NGS ^a	R ^b	Scale	B	SE	Sig	exp b ^c (95% CI)
1. Demographics	0.032	0.026	Age	0.024	0.003	0.000	1.024 (1.018, 1.031)***
			Gender	0.351	0.095	0.000	1.421 (1.180, 1.711)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	-0.363	0.150	0.016	0.696 (0.518, 0.934)*
			Other Race	-0.052	0.196	0.790	0.949 (0.646, 1.395)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.663	0.173	0.000	0.515 (0.367, 0.723)***
			Children<18 in Household	0.404	0.121	0.001	1.497 (1.182, 1.897)***
			Constant	-4.370	0.224	0.000	0.013***
2. Belongingness	0.073	0.061	Age	0.022	0.004	0.000	1.022 (1.014, 1.029)***
			Gender	0.314	0.098	0.001	1.369 (1.130, 1.658)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	-0.372	0.154	0.016	0.689 (0.509, 0.933)*
			Other Race	-0.028	0.198	0.886	0.972 (0.659, 1.434)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.675	0.175	0.000	0.509 (0.362, 0.717)***
			Children<18 in Household	0.200	0.126	0.113	1.222 (0.954, 1.565)
			Employment Status	0.199	0.109	0.069	1.220 (0.984, 1.511)
			Marital Status	0.456	0.100	0.000	1.579 (1.297, 1.920)***
			Socialization	0.339	0.094	0.000	1.404 (1.168, 1.688)***
			Religious Activity	1.037	0.107	0.000	2.822 (2.289, 3.478)***
			Constant	-4.870	0.287	0.000	0.008***
3. Self-Esteem	0.074	0.062	Age	0.022	0.004	0.000	1.022 (1.014, 1.029)***
			Gender	0.317	0.098	0.001	1.373 (1.134, 1.663)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	-0.368	0.155	0.017	0.692 (0.511, 0.937)*
			Other Race	-0.021	0.198	0.915	0.979 (0.664, 1.444)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.672	0.175	0.000	0.511 (0.363, 0.719)***
			Children<18 in Household	0.201	0.126	0.112	1.223 (0.954, 1.566)
			Employment Status	0.197	0.109	0.072	1.217 (0.983, 1.508)
			Marital Status	0.458	0.100	0.000	1.581 (1.299, 1.924)***
			Socialization	0.339	0.094	0.000	1.403 (1.167, 1.687)***

			Religious Activity	1.042	0.107	0.000	2.834 (2.999, 3.495)***
			Income Generating Activities	0.664	0.360	0.065	1.943 (0.960, 3.932)
			Financial Services	0.115	1.039	0.912	1.122 (0.146, 8.600)
			Constant	-4.887	0.287	0.000	0.008***
4. Self-Actualization	0.086	0.072	Age	0.022	0.004	0.000	1.022 (1.015, 1.030)***
			Gender	0.302	0.098	0.002	1.353 (1.116, 1.639)**
			Marital Status	0.394	0.101	0.000	1.483 (1.216, 1.809)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	-0.313	0.155	0.044	0.731 (0.539, 0.991)*
			Other Race	-0.058	0.199	0.771	0.944 (0.639, 1.393)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.496	0.177	0.005	0.609 (0.430, 0.861)**
			Children<18 in Household	0.209	0.126	0.097	1.233 (0.963, 1.579)
			Employment Status	0.098	0.111	0.379	1.103 (0.887, 1.371)
			Socialization	0.327	0.094	0.001	1.387 (1.153, 1.668)***
			Religious Activity	1.067	0.107	0.000	2.908 (2.355, 3.590)***
			Income Generating Activities	0.655	0.360	0.069	1.926 (0.951, 3.901)
			Financial Services	0.063	1.043	0.952	1.065 (0.138, 8.229)
			Self-Expression	0.172	0.236	0.465	1.188 (0.748, 1.886)
			Tertiary Education	0.695	0.119	0.000	2.004 (1.589, 2.528)***
			Constant	-5.355	0.305	0.000	0.005***

Notes. ^aNagelkerke R² is reported for effect size. ^bR_L²=−2LL(Model)/−2LL(Original) (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989). ^cThe predicted change in the odds ratio.

*p≤0.05, **p≤0.01, ***p≤0.001.

Table 3 shows how the independent variables interact with each other and associate with formal volunteerism. The confounding demographic variables in the first logistic model are significantly related to formal volunteerism. Female participants show a noticeably increased likelihood of spending time on this form of volunteerism.

The second logistic regression model in Table 3 shows that marital status, socialization, and religious activity significantly increase the likelihood of formal volunteerism. Table 3 shows some mildly detectable significant observations for race and ethnicity, although the size effects for these variables are low and do not overall impact the importance of belongingness generally. Having children under 18 in the household and employment status did not significantly associate with formal volunteerism. The effects of gender are weakened in the second logistic regression model, and there is a clustering of increased odds around items believed to associate with belongingness. Engaging in income-generating activities has a minor ancillary additive effect on marital status and religious activity in predicting formal volunteerism in the third logistic regression

Table 4. Hierarchical Logistic Regression Analysis of Maslow's Higher Order Needs' Associations with Informal Volunteerism

Step	NGS ^a	R ^b	Scale	B	SE	Sig	exp b ^c (95% CI)
1. Demographics	0.020	0.015	Age	0.006	0.002	0.009	1.006 (1.001, 1.010)**
			Gender	0.372	0.067	0.000	1.451 (1.273, 1.654)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	0.036	0.094	0.703	1.036 (0.863, 1.245)
			Other	-0.084	0.142	0.557	0.920 (0.696, 1.216)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.175	0.102	0.088	0.840 (0.687, 1.026)
			Children<18 in Household	-0.387	0.084	0.000	0.679 (0.576, 0.800)***
			Constant	-2.389	0.137	0.000	0.092***
2. Belongingness	0.062	0.045	Age	0.005	0.002	0.046	1.005 (1.000, 1.009)*
			Gender	0.283	0.069	0.000	1.327 (1.160, 1.517)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	0.015	0.096	0.874	1.015 (0.841, 1.227)
			Other	-0.013	0.144	0.926	0.987 (0.744, 1.308)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.190	0.104	0.066	0.827 (0.675, 1.013)
			Children<18 in Household	-0.384	0.088	0.000	0.681 (0.573, 0.810)***
			Employment Status	-0.022	0.075	0.764	0.978 (0.845, 1.132)
			Marital Status	-0.187	0.070	0.008	0.830 (0.723, 0.952)**
			Socialization	0.910	0.066	0.000	2.484 (2.181, 2.830)***
			Religion Attendance/Participation	0.205	0.091	0.024	1.228 (1.027, 1.468)*
			Constant	-2.631	0.170	0.000	0.072***
3. Self-Esteem	0.062	0.045	Age	0.005	0.002	0.045	1.005 (1.000, 1.009)*
			Gender	0.283	0.069	0.000	1.328 (1.161, 1.518)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	0.015	0.096	0.875	1.015 (0.840, 1.227)
			Other	-0.014	0.144	0.925	0.987 (0.744, 1.308)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.191	0.104	0.065	0.826 (0.674, 1.012)
			Children<18 in Household	-0.384	0.088	0.000	0.681 (0.573, 0.810)***
			Employment Status	-0.023	0.075	0.762	0.978 (0.844, 1.132)
			Marital Status	-0.187	0.070	0.008	0.830 (0.723, 0.952)**
			Socialization	0.909	0.066	0.000	2.483 (2.179, 2.282)***

			Religion Attendance/Participation	0.205	0.091	0.025	1.227 (1.026, 1.467)*
			Income Generating Activities	0.055	0.314	0.860	1.057 (0.571, 1.955)
			Financial Services	-0.719	1.040	0.489	0.487 (0.063, 3.739)
			Constant	-2.632	0.170	0.000	0.072***
4. Self-Actualization	0.063	0.046	Age	0.005	0.002	0.040	1.005 (1.000, 1.009)*
			Gender	0.283	0.069	0.000	1.327 (1.160, 1.518)***
			Race				
			White				
			Black	0.009	0.097	0.923	1.009 (0.835, 1.220)
			Other	-0.004	0.144	0.980	0.996 (0.751, 1.322)
			Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.214	0.105	0.042	0.808 (0.657, 0.992)*
			Children<18 in Household	-0.389	0.088	0.000	0.678 (0.570, 0.806)***
			Employment Status	-0.002	0.076	0.984	0.998 (0.860, 1.159)
			Marital Status	-0.178	0.071	0.012	0.837 (0.729, 0.962)*
			Socialization	0.908	0.067	0.000	2.479 (2.175, 2.824)***
			Religion Attendance/Participation	0.206	0.091	0.024	1.229 (1.028, 1.470)*
			Income Generating Activities	0.054	0.314	0.863	1.056 (0.571, 1.953)
			Financial Services	-0.700	1.039	0.501	0.497 (0.065, 3.808)
			Self-Expression	0.244	0.166	0.140	1.277 (0.923, 1.767)
			Tertiary Education	-0.106	0.072	0.139	0.899 (0.781, 1.035)
			Constant	-2.588	0.174	0.000	0.075***

Notes. ^aNagelkerke R² is reported for effect size. ^bR_L²=-2LL(Model)/-2LL(Original) (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989). ^cThe predicted change in the odds ratio.

*p≤0.05, **p≤0.01, ***p≤0.001.

model. Tertiary education has an additive impact on religious activity in predicting formal volunteerism in the fourth logistic regression model. The odds ratio for tertiary education is lower than religious activity overall in predicting formal volunteerism.

Table 4 provides the results of the interaction and associations of the independent variables with informal volunteerism.

The confounding demographic variables in the first logistic regression model show association with informal volunteerism, and female participants also indicate a noticeably increased likelihood to engage in informal volunteerism. The effect of gender weakens in the second logistic regression model, and socialization overtakes religion in the probability of associating with informal volunteerism. Married people with children in the household are less likely to volunteer informally, although the size effects are relatively small. The items such as race, ethnicity, and employment status showed insignificant associations with informal volunteerism. The third logistic regression model demonstrates no significant

associations between self-esteem objectives and informal volunteerism. The fourth logistic regression model has no significant associations between variables measuring self-actualization and informal volunteerism.

Discussion

One enduring assumption in the study of volunteerism is the importance of self-expression to the time spent volunteering. For example, Bonjean et al. (1994) related self-expression to women's volunteer organizations' time allocations. The current analysis did not find associations between self-expression and the time spent on formal and informal volunteering, even when exploring possible interactions between self-expression and gender. The role of higher education is also often associated with higher time allocations for volunteerism. Wilson's (2012) review of volunteer research highlighted that education was the strongest predictor of volunteerism. Contrastingly, tertiary education shared no association with informal volunteerism, and it had a mild additive effect on the time allocated to religion associated with formal volunteerism. A study by Son and Wilson (2012) gave some indication that education and religion can create a sense of obligation to volunteer, which conforms to Maslow's (1943) idea that self-actualizers have a sense of duty to help others.

Critically, this study reported the absence of a cluster with self-expression in forming an association with formal volunteerism. The results also show no significant association between time spent on income-generating and financial services activities and informal and formal altruism. Contrarily, human motivations cluster and associate with formal and informal volunteerism for social needs. There are also detectable variations between the two types of disaggregated volunteerism, and the results demonstrate noteworthy differences between social needs and association with formal and informal volunteering.

There is an explanation of why time spent on religious activities plays a substantial role in predicting formal volunteerism. Parboteeah et al. (2004) indicated that religion was one of the most important forms of cultural capital that predict formal volunteerism as it offers a community setting that encourages organized volunteering. There is a similar theme that marriage relates to formal volunteering because it builds up a buy-in to support the larger community (see Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Wilson, 2012). More aptly, most traditional religions tend to have clear rules, hierarchy, and discipline, which broadly transfer to volunteering for other formal organizations. It follows that more volunteer organizations may want to consider partnering with religious organizations to recruit volunteers. The findings also indicate that socializing plays a more significant role in increasing the likelihood of time spent on informal volunteerism. Research has indicated that this is motivated by the reciprocity norm, as informal volunteering entails helping family and friends rather than others outside one's social orbit (see Amato, 1990; Butcher & Einolf, 2016).

One way to improve motivation for informal volunteering among extended social networks wildly proliferating online is to establish reciprocity systems (e.g., one might agree to tutor friends at university if the university provided award recognition). Although the odds of allocating time to informal volunteering are significantly increased by being female and spending time on religious activity, each of these variables alone has an ancillary effect. Religion offers a sense of community where reciprocity also emerges for informal volunteering (e.g., a local religious organization gives a scholarship in exchange for students who volunteer at charity events). It is also apparent that society produces much stress from routine hassles such as long working hours, debt, divorce, and many other issues. Taylor et al. (2009) indicate that women under stress produce more of the bonding neuropeptide oxytocin and seek out others to friend and help, which may explain why this variable increases the odds of time spent on formal and informal volunteering at belonging needs.

It is not evident that people climb Maslow's (1943) hierarchy and simultaneously make time available for volunteerism beyond social needs. Americans in the sample have focused attention on social needs gratification, supporting Osborne's (1999) findings, indicating that formal volunteers seek affiliation. Should America continue to witness high economic growth, we should not expect increased volunteer time allocations among those who reach the self-esteem and self-actualization stages of development.

However, self-actualization may not be the pinnacle of human motivational development, and effective democracies or other forms of government that meet their populations' needs may witness some self-actualizers turn to the negation of self-interest. It is essential to mention here that there have been revisions to Maslow's (1943) model that indicates psychological development beyond self-actualization. Maslow (1962) was the first to revise the hierarchy of needs to include transpersonal motivational states believed to surpass self-actualization. Babula (2013) disagreed that Maslow's revision constitutes an actual addition to the hierarchy as transcendental states at self-actualization fold back into the original concept of self-actualization. Rather, Babula depicted human motivation using a hyperbolic model.

In Babula's (2013) model, and highlighted in the Babula et al. (2020) study, people follow a linear trajectory along Maslow's (1943) original paradigm until they have maximized self-interest at self-actualization. The Babula paradigm agrees with Maslow that people satisfy human needs all along the hierarchy based on decreasing satisfaction percentages. Babula also identifies different endocentric forms (i.e., self-interested altruism) that parallel Maslow's needs hierarchy. Once people reach self-actualization and have maximized self-interest, Babula believes there is an opportunity to negate self-interest to help others out of purely altruistic motivation. Smith (1759/1976) defined pure altruism as exocentric altruism. According to Smith's early cognitive theory, the exocentric altruist would use the imagination to step outside the first station of the self and the second station of the other to help a person from a third imagined spectator position. While Babula says exocentric altruists are very much in the minority in the American population, he gives a case example of people such as real estate tycoon Zell Kravinsky who gave much of his \$45 million to charity as well as donated a kidney to an unknown recipient. The hyperbolic model indicates that people can become stuck at self-actualization. With declining ability and age, some self-actualizers turn inward. For reasons only now being investigated, other self-actualizers select to negate the built-up store of self-interest and advance to endless exocentric altruistic motivational pursuits that can take the form of volunteerism.

Babula (2013) provides a series of political values that measure the exocentric personality (i.e., redistribute U.S. wealth, declare Swiss-like military neutrality, and give free treatment to people with HIV in Africa). Nevertheless, the ATUS does not capture variables associated with possible exocentric altruistic motivation. Exocentric altruistic motivation is considered separate from the self-interested motivations traditionally associated with social needs and volunteerism. In theory, future research should explore whether exocentric altruistic motivation leads to a resurgence of volunteerism beyond the point of self-actualization. Given the possibility of greater volunteer participation motivated beyond self-expression, the pursuit of national goals that increases the number of self-actualizers would theoretically result in a brief pause to volunteerism, which would return stronger once self-interest is maximized. One only has to look at the 9/11 attacks in the U.S. to see a generation that came out of the 1990s with many needs provided by strong economic growth. When the terrorist attacks occurred, a massive uptick in spontaneous volunteerism followed (see Steffen & Fothergill, 2009). In the future, double-blind psychological experiments combined with the data drawn from naturalistic observations of volunteering activities might provide a superior methodological framework to understand if there emerges a latent motivational drive stronger than belonging to motivate formal and informal volunteerism.

Limitations and Future Research

Despite the strength of the present investigation, this study is not without limitations. Notably, the ATUS uses time diaries based on self-reports, and human memory can sometimes be inaccurate. As this is an exploratory study based on survey research, causation and directionality (e.g., the motivation to belong produces volunteer time allocations or vice versa) cannot be entirely ascertained. Additional follow-up experiments are needed to examine causality.

It is also important to mention that motivational pursuits such as self-esteem and self-actualization can overlap. For example, an entrepreneur may simultaneously pursue higher income to develop self-worth and maximize creative potential and self-expression (e.g., self-actualization). In this study, the final logistic regression blocks could be viewed through the lens that the variables measuring self-esteem and self-actualization be combined under the Fleury et al. (2021) concept of 'personal mastery' and contrasting this combined category with belongingness does not alter the results that optimal level for volunteerism associates at intermediate order needs rather than the upper end of the hierarchy. Nevertheless, it would be preferential that future research endeavor to disaggregate finer detail between higher level motivational levels and provide improved operational definitions for variables measuring self-esteem and self-actualization to provide an even greater understanding of how these variables impact volunteerism.

Disclosure Statement

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

Ethical Approval and Informed Consent

The American Time Use Survey User's Guide (2020) states that: ATUS data are collected by the Census Bureau under the authority of Title 13, United States Code, Section 8. Section 9 of the law requires that all information about respondents be kept strictly confidential and that the information be used only for statistical purposes. Designated persons are informed of their right to confidentiality under Title 13 in the ATUS advance letter and brochure, mailed approximately 10 days before the interview date. The ATUS advance letter also advises designated persons that this is a voluntary survey.

Data Availability

The datasets generated during this research are available from the ATUS repository, <https://www.bls.gov/tus/datafiles-2019.htm>.

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Mediation Effect of Job Satisfaction: Work Motivation and E-Government on Service Quality in the Government of Aceh Singkil, Indonesia

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Many studies have shown that public criticism of the low quality of public services has occurred everywhere, from top-level to lower-level government services. This circumstance is also possible in the regional Government of Aceh Singkil Regency. The Indonesian government, including Aceh Singkil Regency, used e-government—the use of technology for information and communication in government administration—to address the problem of poor public service. This article examines the effect of work motivation and quality of e-government on service quality by considering the mediating effects of employee satisfaction on employees. This type of research is quantitative associative by using a convenience sampling technique from a sample of 103 Civil Servants in the Government of Aceh Singkil Regency. Data was collected using a reliable and validated Likert scale questionnaire. The classical assumption test was then analyzed by The classical assumption test was subsequently examined through the statistical Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) analysis using Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS), and the Sobel test was applied to analyzing the acquired data—additionally, reviews of the literature assisted in gathering the data process. The study's results demonstrate a positive and significant influence on the work motivation variable, the partial effect of e-government quality on job satisfaction and service quality. There is no effect of job satisfaction on service quality. The job satisfaction variable, either directly or as a mediating variable, has yet to be able to contribute to service quality.

Keywords: Work Motivation, E-Government Quality, Job Satisfaction, Service Quality

Introduction

The public often demands change to continue improving the community's quality of public services regarding its agility toward change, both from the process input side to the service output (Lanin, et al., 2023; Osborne & Brown, 2013). Despite the pressure to create better public service, empirically, the public service process still needs to be bettered, as it is

ineffective, expensive, and uncertain. The service provider perspective regards the community as the party serving, not the party being served. Services aimed at the community have yet to become a top priority for public services (Dwiyanto, 2022; Pradana, 2019).

Service quality is the primary key to public services received and felt by the community (Pebriyanti, et al., 2017). The poor image of the bureaucracy should be improved through efforts to enhance the quality of government apparatus services. Empirically assessed poor quality service personnel have a negative impact and cause a bad image for the community.

Unsatisfaction due to receiving unsatisfactory service can lead to negative experiences and disappointment for some individuals (Lanin et al., 2023; Saputra & Suripto, 2016). Supplying valuable public services to the populace is a duty of the government. Thus, every piece of state machinery is mandated to provide services to the public ideally. Essentially, it is fundamental for every governmental body to facilitate superior service to the community.

The services provided still need to be closer to the community's expectations. Employees or public institutions still need to fulfil these expectations. On the other hand, the community has no choice in the public services the government provides, even though differences in quality can differentiate the quality of institutions. The service quality perceived by consumers is an indicator to measure customer satisfaction which lies in the five service quality indicators (Parasuraman, et al., 1988; Rustinsyah, 2019). In addition, 1) *reliability* is defined as providing precise, correct, and reliable services; 2) *tangibles*, meaning the availability of adequate facilities, administration, information systems, waiting rooms, computerization, etc.; 3) *responsiveness* is providing services quickly, precisely, and responsively; 4) *assurance* is defined as professionalism, friendliness, courtesy, and consumer trust; 5) *empathy* is assertiveness and concern for consumers (Kotler & Keller, 2014).

Based on In-Law No. 25 of 2009 on Public Services, the community has the right to access quality services based on existing provisions and the aim of the service (Pasal 18). According to the Minister for Administrative Reform's Decree of 2003 on General Guidelines for the Implementation of Public Services, public service is an activity that provides public services in the context of providing and performing public services. It can provide benefits for meeting community needs through the provisions of applicable laws (Prabowo, 2018).

The Regional Government of Aceh Singkil is obliged to provide quality services to its citizens. However, public service providers have not met public expectations. Several conditions showed that the public still expresses many complaints through various media, including mass media, social media, and other public communication media. Most people complain of outdated, transparent, uninformed, unyielding, and fluctuating methods. They do not assure reliability in terms of cost, time, and legal adherence, nor do they prevent instances of extortion (such as retribution), leading to an unfavorable perception of the service (Pradana, 2015, 2019). Dwiyanto (2022) argued that public services in districts and cities in Indonesia still needed to be improved to meet public expectations. Similar conditions can also occur in every government agency, including the government agency of Aceh Singkil Regency, Indonesia.

This condition makes users of public services feel dissatisfied, and their level of trust in the Government is getting lower. The representative of the Indonesian Ombudsman for West Sumatra (2013) stated that the efforts made by local governments enhance the quality of public services had yet to be seen as significant. The focus of local government should aim at power and authority for the public interest, not deviate from it. This phenomenon indicates a need for the reconstruction of public services in the local government sector to meet the needs and satisfaction of the community.

The issues mentioned above define the goal of this study, which is to evaluate the effect of job satisfaction features and the quality of e-government on service quality in the Aceh Singkil District Government, Indonesia. The research setting and subject, civil officials in the regional government of Aceh Singkil Regency, Indonesia, demonstrate the originality of the research. The model developed for the research uses two exogenous variables, namely, work motivation with indicators: persistence level, the direction of behavior, as well as effort level (George & Jones, 2012) and quality of e-government with indicators: citizen support, reliability, trust, efficiency, (Papadomichelaki & Mentzas, 2012), and consists of two endogenous variables, namely job satisfaction with indicators: the job itself, salary and wages, promotion, work colleagues (Robbin, et al., 2015), and service quality variable with indicators: empathy, assurance, tangibles, reliability, and responsiveness (Kotler & Keller, 2012). This research explores the influence of job satisfaction interventions on the relationship between work motivation, e-government quality, and service quality by employing structural equation modeling (SEM) and analysis of moment structures (AMOS) statistical methods, adjusted through the application of the Sobel test.

Numerous earlier research discovered the following partial relationships between variables: the impact of work motivation to job satisfaction (Anggara & Yadnyana, 2019; Liu, et al., 2016; Poniasih & Dewi, 2015); the impact of work motivation on service quality (Mistian, 2018; Nainggolan, 2013; Pebriyanti et al., 2017); the impact of e-government quality on job satisfaction (Kim, et al., 2005; Nugroho, 2021; Utomo, et al., 2020); job satisfaction effect on service quality (Jossuha, et al., 2014; Lanin & Hermanto, 2019; Sukotjo, 2011). However, previous research has yet to comprehensively review the causal relationship between work motivation and e-government quality on service quality by making job satisfaction an intervening variable. Thus, the variables used differ between this research and previous research.

Literature Review

Work Motivation

Al-Aufi and Al-Kalbani (Al-Aufi & Al-Kalbani, 2014) define *motivation* as the unique emotions, beliefs, and experiences that are part of the organization's internal and external relationships. The literature indicates numerous hypotheses developed to explain human motivation (Maslow, 1970). Maslow (Maslow, 1954, 1970) suggested that motivation results from a person's endeavour at fulfilling five fundamental demands: self-actualization, safety, social, esteem, and physiological. According to Maslow, these necessities can form internal forces influencing a person's behavior. Another definition of motivation was proposed by Pinder (Pinder, 2008), describing *motivation* as, "a set of energetic forces that originate within and beyond an individual's being, to initiate work-related behaviour, and to determine its form, direction, intensity, and duration" (p. 11). Pinder's explanation is considered one that thoroughly echoes the history of research and theorization of motivation (Latham, 2007). Also, work motivation can be interpreted as the enthusiasm for work that exists in employees, which influences these employees to carry out their work to achieve specific goals (George & Jones, 2012). The process of work motivation itself consists of three critical elements, namely needs, encouragement and incentives (Luthans, 2006). Work motivation in this study will be measured by the indicators of: level of persistence, level of effort and behavioural direction (George & Jones, 2012).

E-Government Quality

The World Bank defines *e-government* as the government's use of information and communication technology. Meanwhile, according to the Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2003, e-government is an endeavour to acquire electronic-

based government administration to enhance public service quality efficiently and effectively (Azmi & Asmarianti, 2019; Frinaldi, et al., 2023). Three main characteristics of e-government are based on its benefits. The first is to satisfy the community's need to obtain information, then provide services to enable transactions for government goods and services online, and the last is to encourage public participation in the decision-making process. There are three e-government classifications: G2C-government to the citizen, G2B-government to business enterprise, and G2G-inter agency relationship (Anthopoulos, et al., 2016; Holle, 2011; Ku & Leroy, 2014). E-government will significantly improve the quality of government services to the community. E-government value is a dimensional framework for assessing the quality of e-government services. E-government has six dimensions: functionality of the interaction environment, content and information display, trust, reliability, and ease of use and citizen support (Papadomichelaki & Mentzas, 2012). Implementing e-government in developing countries is infeasible given the features of socio-economic context, technological infrastructure, local administration, and the suspicion of marketization if the state is embedded in e-government (Habibie, 2019).

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction refers to the positive and joyful reactions expressed by the service recipient, which the service provider perceives as a form of acknowledgment for the quality of work and outstanding experience provided (Luthans, 2006). Satisfaction can also be interpreted as a form of feeling happy about the work one does or a work situation that supports employees to enjoy their work (Megawati, et al., 2022). García-Bernal et al. (García-Bernal, et al., 2005) assert that job satisfaction is a multi-layered concept, encompassing a series of either discouraging or uplifting perceptions through which employees make sense of their responsibilities. Job satisfaction is a common problem in every work unit, whether it is the relationship between motivation, loyalty, work ethic, or discipline (Ziegler, et al., 2012). Leaders are faced with the problem of creating a situation so that subordinates can get reasonable individual satisfaction and how to motivate them to want to work based on their desire and motivation for high achievement. Indicators will measure job satisfaction here: the work, salary and wages, promotions, and co-workers (Robbin et al., 2015).

Service Quality

The intention of service is to deliver services value and satisfy the public. To realize these conditions, fulfilling the excellent service quality indicators of balance of rights and obligations, participation, transparency, equality of rights, and accountability is necessary. According to Levitats and Vigoda-Gadot (Levitats & Vigoda-Gadot, 2020), public services has community satisfaction rate for the indicator of excellent service. Service quality is the primary key to public services delivered to the community (Pebriyanti et al., 2017). Service quality is the main issue of researchers and is recognized as one aspect to achieving atonement (Khatab, et al., 2019; Sitompul, et al., 2020). Service is customers' value impression and what they anticipated (Fadillah & Haryanti, 2021). The indicators of service quality in this study are empathy, assurance, responsiveness, tangibles, and reliability (Kotler & Keller, 2012).

Work Motivation and Job Satisfaction

High work motivation can increase employee job satisfaction. Herzberg's theory of motivation suggests that motivation drives job satisfaction, leading employees to actively pursue and achieve set goals, resulting in their contentment. (Robbin et al., 2015). Also, employee job satisfaction is the primary driver of discipline, employee performance, and work enthusiasm, aiming to realize company goals (Bedarkar & Pandita, 2014; Ziegler et al., 2012). High or satisfactory job satisfaction will manifest the attitude of employees more loyal to the company (Prasetyo & Wahyuddin, 2016). Therefore, each agency has an essential assignment to continue motivating employees by giving good attention to the interests of employees to

maintain organizational stability. Various factors influence job satisfaction, one of which is work motivation which, according to results of previous research conducted, (Astuti, et al., 2020; Natta, et al., 2017; Rahmawati & Rumita, 2015) concluded that work motivation affects job satisfaction. Thus, the following hypothesis in this investigation is:

H1: There is an effect of work motivation on job satisfaction.

E-Government Quality and Job Satisfaction

Every government agency is currently required to implement electronic-based services to make it more accessible for the public to access and obtain information, thus impacting public trust and satisfaction with the Government (Nugroho, 2021). E-government is required to realize a transparent, effective, efficient, and accountable government. Such implementation can boost charitable trust in the figure of government services, particularly the bureaucracy and government employees. DeLone and McLean's (DeLone & McLean, 2014; William & Ephraim, 2003) systems quality theory explains that higher-quality systems can lead to higher user satisfaction (DeLone & McLean, 2014; William & Ephraim, 2003). It is because every individual has a hope or desire to obtain affordable, easy, and quick services. When these expectations are met, a sense of satisfaction with the service will be achieved (Weerakkody, et al., 2016).

Study results by Kim et al. (2005) concluded that applying e-government in government agencies by using attractive and informative features and layout features can increase customer satisfaction. Meanwhile, several studies showed that there is a positive influence of e-government customer value satisfaction (Nugroho, 2021; Sachan, et al., 2018; Santa, et al., 2019; Utomo et al., 2020). Thus, the following hypothesis in this article is:

H2: There is an effect of e-government quality on job satisfaction.

Work Motivation and Service Quality

Annamdevula and Bellamkonda (Annamdevula & Bellamkonda, 2016) argue that most service quality changes are contributed by employees' work motivations who provide services. Novel (2018) revealed that changes in work motivation could affect service quality. With high work motivation, it can provide quality services and vice versa. This phenomenon is elucidated by Maslow's 'Hierarchy of Needs,' a theory of motivation, suggesting that every individual has five levels of needs, including social needs, which can serve as a motivator for people to elevate their work performance and offer quality services (Abbas, 2020; Gaki, et al., 2013). Thus, work motivation must be considered when developing a strategy to improve service quality. Previous research discusses work motivation's effect on service quality (Papadomichelaki & Mentzas, 2012; Sirajuddin & Atrianingsi, 2020; Sufianti, 2007). Thus, the research hypothesis as follows:

H3: There is an influence on work motivation and service quality.

E-Government Quality and Service Quality

E-government is one of the technological innovations in government activities that is useful for enhancing the value of public services in government (Harahap, 2018; Pradana, et al., 2022b, 2022a). Through e-government as a public sector innovation, the government can apply information and communication technology to improve service quality (Pradana, et al., 2023; Riesta et al., 2021). The 'New Public Management' theory argues that reforms and innovation to output-oriented public management systems by focusing on maximizing productivity and increasing efficiency will ultimately produce quality public services because public services are one of the outputs of the bureaucracy (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992; Yang &

Rho, 2007). The results of previous research (Papadomichelaki & Mentzas, 2012; Sirajuddin & Atrianingsi, 2020; Sufianti, 2007) showed that e-government has improved the value of public services and public trust in the government. Thus, the following assertion in this examination is:

H4: There is an effect of e-government on service quality.

Job Satisfaction and Service Quality

Ziegler et al. (Ziegler et al., 2012) argued that a person tends to work enthusiastically if satisfaction can be obtained from work. According to social exchange theory, when employees are satisfied with the conditions and results of work, then in return, satisfied employees tend to make additional endeavors to fulfill various customer requests. Thus, high employee job satisfaction will affect work productivity and service quality (Clark, 2016; Malek, et al., 2020). Job satisfaction can significantly improve civil servants' effectiveness by stimulating maximum service quality (Subari, 2011). Reasonable job satisfaction for each employee will foster good service quality in the organization. Previous studies that discussed the effect of job satisfaction on service quality include: (Jossuha et al., 2014; Lanin & Hermanto, 2019; Subari, 2011; Sukotjo, 2011). From some of the scholars' opinions above, it is assumed that job satisfaction contributes to service quality. Thus, the following hypothesis in this analysis is:

H5: There is an effect of job satisfaction on service quality.

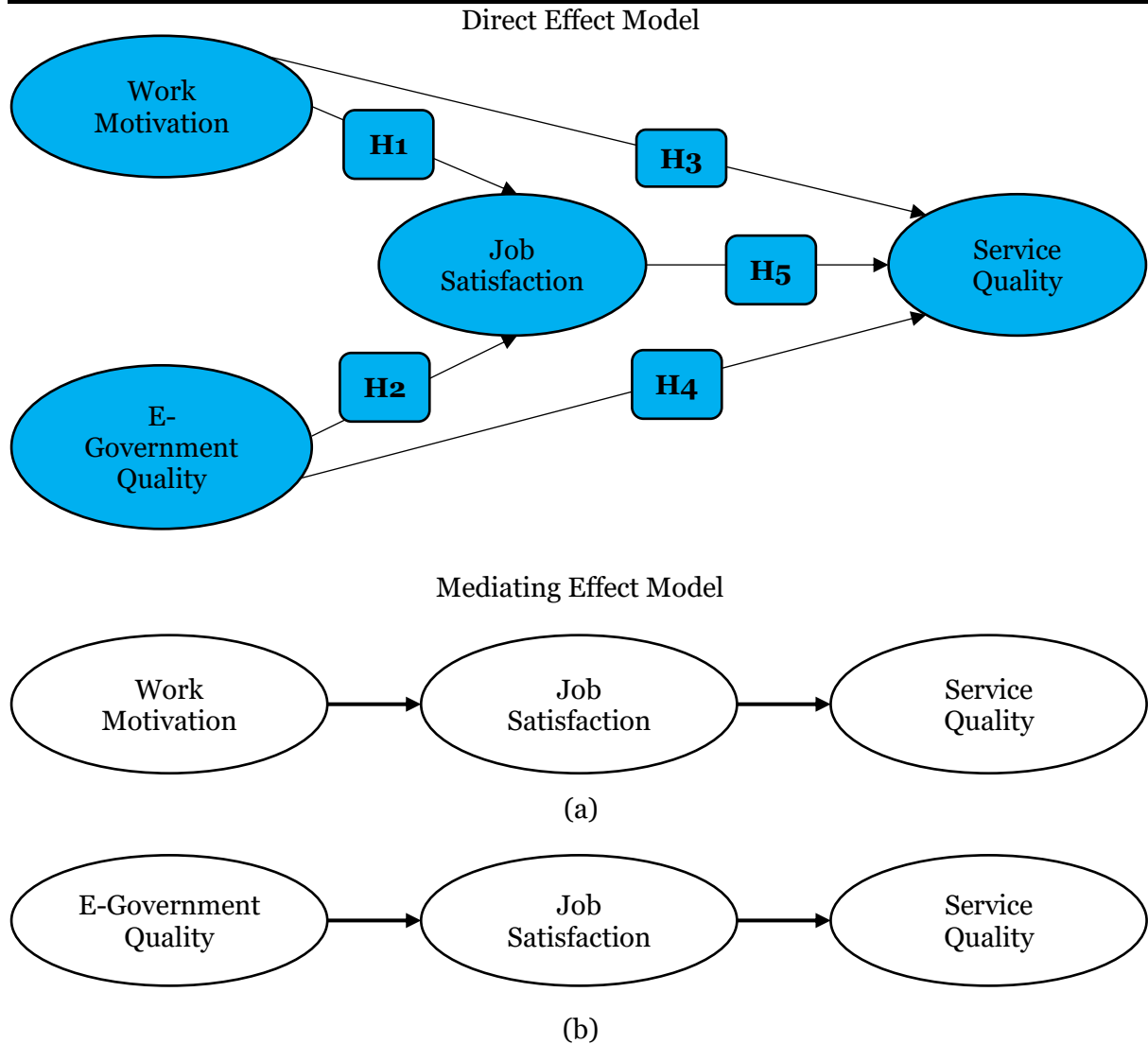
From the descriptions and theoretical studies above, here is the research's philosophical paradigm model to be projected.

Method

The purpose of this study will be achieved by using quantitative approaches with associative type. Researchers need hypotheses from the start to compare to the final research results and a guide for researchers during research in terms of determining populations, samples, test equipment, theoretical basis, and others (Sugiyono, 2016). The associative type is employed because the research relates more variables than two (Saputra, Fajri, & Eprilianto, 2020). This study consists of two exogenous variables: work motivation (George & Jones, 2012) and quality of e-government (Papadomichelaki & Mentzas, 2012). It consists of two endogenous variables: job satisfaction (Robbin et al., 2015), and service quality variable (Kotler & Keller, 2012). The research was undertaken in Aceh Singkil Regency, Indonesia, with the study subjects being local government employees.

The population in this analysis were active staff of the Aceh Singkil Regency Government. A stratified method was chosen for sampling the study. The first stage is to apply the Cluster Random Sampling technique by determining six agencies from 46 regional apparatus organizations in Aceh Singkil, including the Regional Secretariat, Investment Office and One Stop Integrated Services, Communication, and Information Office, Population and Civil Registry Office, Regional Disaster Management Agency, National Unity Agency, and Politics. In the same process, researchers used Convenience Sampling (sample availability being considered) as a second sampling technique by determining a sample of 103 respondents from a total population of 3,317 employees.

Data were collected using closed questionnaires tested as valid and highly reliable. This research instrument is designed based on the indicators and variables presented and decomposed in the form of questions in the questionnaire. The respondent can choose alternative answers that have been provided. The study of documentation utilizing primary and secondary data is another technique used. The data were assessed using simple and

Figure 1. Theoretical Models

multivariate regressions. The model was created using a previously created conceptual framework (Figure 1). This study has three types of variables, namely exogenous, mediated, and endogenous (Solimun, Fernandes, & Nurjannah, 2017). The data were analyzed using descriptive analysis and statistical analysis Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) Moment of Structural Analysis (AMOS). The Sobel test tests whether a relationship through mediated variables can act as a mediator. *Mediation variables* intervene between endogenous and exogenous variables (Ghazali, 2011; Sobel, 1982). The model is put into a conceptual framework that has already been created. All unobservable variables are produced by indicators (as observable variables) utilizing first-order factor analysis using reflecting indicators (common factors rarely found in indicators in each variable). This research shows that a variable is a mediating variable (Sobel test), but this is not always the case. More than 1.96 (critical ratio value) and the p-value is less than 0.05 means hypothesis is accepted (Solimun et al., 2017).

Findings

Descriptive Analysis of Respondent's Demographic Characteristics

Table 1. Respondent's Characteristics

Respondent of Characteristics		Frequency	Percent
Sex	Male	54	52.4%
	Female	49	47.6%
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>100%</i>
Age	<20 Years	1	1%
	21–30 Years	33	32%
	31–40 Years	33	32%
	41–50 Years	26	25.2%
	>50 Years	10	9.7%
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>100%</i>
Level of Education	High School Equivalent	22	21.4%
	Diploma	14	13.6%
	Bachelor	65	63.1%
	Master	2	1.9%
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>100%</i>
Type of Work	Civil Servant	68	66%
	Civil Servants with Work Agreement	2	2%
	Regional Contract Employee	33	32%
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>100%</i>

Source: Data Analysis, 2022

The outcome of the research data analysis in the beginning part that will be presented in the findings are descriptive analyses of the characteristics of the respondents. Characteristics of respondents mainly describe the identity of respondents based on a predetermined research sample. One of the purposes of the description of the characteristics of the respondents is to show a general picture and related information about the sample of research. Questionnaires were distributed to the people of Kota Pariaman to collect descriptive data respondents' characteristics. Based on the distributed questionnaires, the respondents' characteristics are as follows.

Table 1 shows information regarding the socioeconomic characteristics of the research that can be sorted into four categories, namely occupation type, level of education, gender, and age. Judging from gender, this survey has mostly male participants, accounting for 52.4% of all respondents. The answers of men and women continue to differ but fall into proportional categories. Most participants (64%) are between the ages of 21 and 40 and actively engaged in various activities, making them qualified respondents to share insights on current realities. The third group's evaluation is based on the highest education level achieved. Respondents have a bachelor's education, dominated by 63.1%. It is understandable because the target respondents are civil servants, where one of the requirements to become a civil servant is a minimum of a bachelor's degree. In comparison, the category of employee types is dominated by respondents who work as civil servants, as many as 68 people or 66%.

Validity and Reliability Test

The analysis includes data verified using a convergent validity test, which determines whether each measurement has a large amount of difference that meets a 'loading factor' or 'standardized loading estimate' of >0.5. The feasibility test model of endogenous and exogenous variables in this study can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Validity Test Results

Standardized Regression Weights			Loading Factor Limit	Estimate	Label
Direction of Behavior	←	Work Motivation	>0.5	0.824	Valid
Level of Effort	←	Work Motivation	>0.5	0.707	Valid
Level of Persistence	←	Work Motivation	>0.5	0.850	Valid
Efficiency	←	E-Government	>0.5	0.590	Valid
Trust	←	E-Government	>0.5	0.781	Valid
Reliability	←	E-Government	>0.5	0.483	Invalid
Citizen Support	←	E-Government	>0.5	0.479	Invalid
Job Itself	←	Job Satisfaction	>0.5	0.633	Valid
Salary and Wages	←	Job Satisfaction	>0.5	0.642	Valid
Promotion	←	Job Satisfaction	>0.5	0.893	Valid
Work Colleague	←	Job Satisfaction	>0.5	0.814	Valid
Reliability	←	Service Quality	>0.5	0.503	Valid
Responsiveness	←	Service Quality	>0.5	0.533	Valid
Assurance	←	Service Quality	>0.5	0.530	Valid
Empathy	←	Service Quality	>0.5	0.577	Valid
Tangibles	←	Service Quality	>0.5	0.669	Valid

Source: Data Analysis, 2022

The outcome summary presented in Table 2 showed that two points of the question were declared invalid: the question on the reliability indicator of 0.483 and the indicator of citizen support of 0.479. The value of the loading factor is known to be less than 0.5. At the same time, items other than that are asserted valid and converted validity because the loading factor value is >0.5. Even if an invalid item is removed and declared invalid advanced analysis will use the declared valid item.

Construct reliability >0.7 converged the criteria as an outcome of reliability test, between 0.6 to 0.7 value are acceptable; it proved the measurement is good. The outcome is summarized in Table 3.

Value of construct reliability from the reliability test indicate to be 'reliable', alongside >0.7 and between 0.6 to 0.7 of construct reliability value. Thus, the study can be followed for continuing examination.

Structural Model Analysis

The full model Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) study follows examining the validity and reliability of the indicators composing the latent variables. A causality significance test and a model feasibility test were performed to examine the data processing outcomes at the final step of the SEM model. The following is a path diagram presentation for a comprehensive model analysis that has excluded invalid indicators.

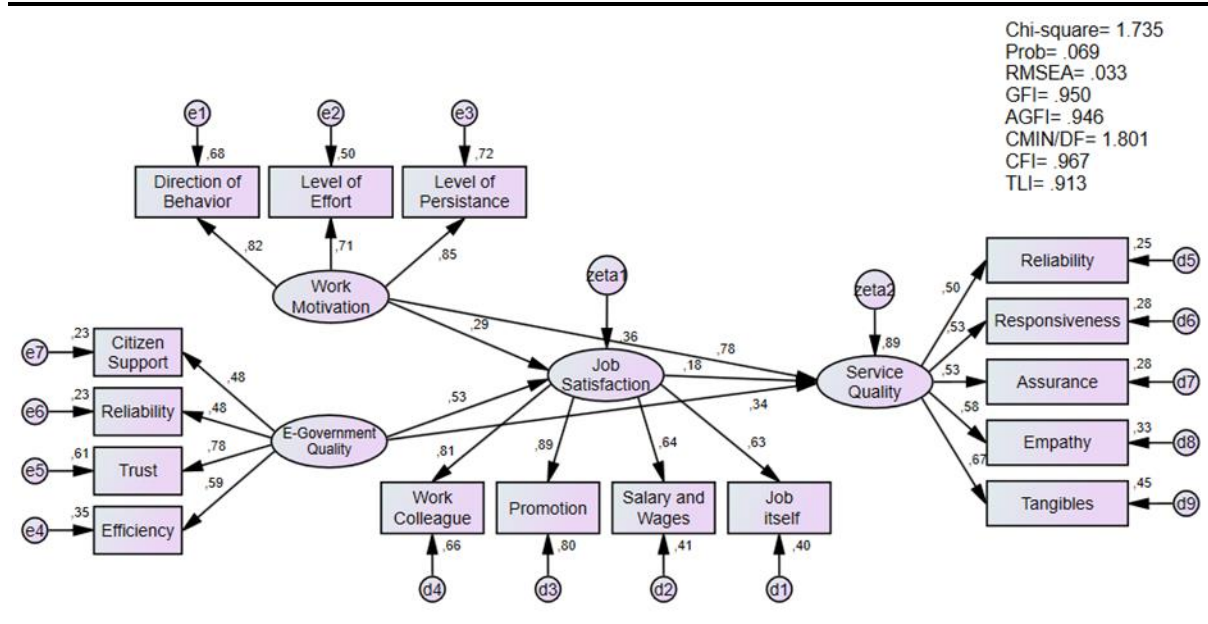
The model feasibility test revealed an acceptable model based on the above Figure 2.

Modification and evaluation have been executed on this model, and upon evaluation using the fit criteria index, it demonstrated positive outcomes (JR, et al., 2010). The test results affirm that the model is aptly suited for the research, with the updated Goodness of Fit (GOF) model revealing pertinent findings, delineated in Table 4.

Table 3. Reliable Test Results

Variable	Construct Reliability	Label
Work Motivation	0.79367	Reliable
E-Government	0.68550	Reliable
Job Satisfaction	0.74550	Reliable
Service Quality	0.62300	Reliable

Source: Data Analysis, 2022

Figure 2. Structural Model Indices**Table 4.** Model Fit Indices

The Goodness of Fit Index	Cut-off Value	Analysis Results	Model
X ² /df	Minimum/<3.00	1.735	Fit
Significant Probability	≥0.05	0.069	Fit
RMSEA	≤0.08	0.033	Fit
GFI	≥0.90	0.950	Fit
AGFI	≥0.90	0.946	Fit
CMIN/DF	≤2.00	1.801	Fit
TLI	≥0.90	0.913	Fit
CFI	≥0.90	0.967	Fit

Source: Data Analysis, 2022

Based on the results of the goodness of fit test, Table 4 shows that the values of the Probability index enforce the requisite of fit index criteria. These results show that the model can be accepted for the study.

Hypothesis Test

The research hypothesis test is the next test. Significance level at 0.05 for hypothesis testing with t-value and 1.967 for Critical Ratio (CR). H₀ is rejected while probability value or P is 0.05. Table 5 is the outcomes of AMOS processing model.

Table 5. Hypothesis Test Results

Variable	Direct Effect Coefficients (Standardized)	Indirect Effect	C.R.	Sig<0.05
Work Motivation → Job Satisfaction	0.290	-	2.157	0.031 (Sig)
E-government → Job Satisfaction	0.530	-	3.012	0.003 (Sig)
Work Motivation → Service Quality	0.777	-	4.702	0.000 (Sig)
E-Government → Service Quality	0.335	-	2.006	0.045 (Sig)
Job satisfaction → Service Quality	0.178	-	1.369	0.171 (Not Sig)
Work Motivation → Job Satisfaction → Service Quality*	-	0,052	1.441	0.149 (Not Sig)
E-government → Job Satisfaction → Service Quality*	-	0,094	1.330	0.183 (Not Sig)

*Sobel Test Partial Mediated. Source: Data Analysis, 2022

Significant influence also means that X variable has contributed significantly to the Y variable. Thus, below summarizes the interpretation from the data examination:

The predicted effect of work motivation on job satisfaction is positive at 0.290. The better the employee's work motivation, the more job satisfaction will grow by 0.290 or 29%. The CR value is $2.157 > 1.96$, and p-value is $0.050 < 0.050$ define that there is considerable effect of work motivation to job satisfaction. Thus, work motivation has contributed significantly to job satisfaction.

The predicted value of the impact of e-government quality on job satisfaction is at 0.530 (positive). The higher quality of implementation of the value of e-government in government agencies, the more employees' job satisfaction will grow 53%. The CR value is $3.012 > 1.96$ and p-value is $0.003 < 0.050$ showing there is significant impact of implementing the quality of e-government toward job satisfaction. It means e-government's quality has contributed significantly to job satisfaction.

The predicted value of the effect of work motivation on service quality is positive at 0.777. That is, the better the level of work motivation working in an agency, and the service quality will also grow 77.7%. The CR value is $4.702 > 1.96$ and p-value $0.000 < 0.050$ defines that the effect of work motivation on service quality is significant. Hence, work motivation has contributed significantly to service quality.

The predicted value of the effect of e-government quality on service quality is positive at 0.335. The better the e-government quality is implemented in government agencies, the more service quality will grow 33.5%. The CR value is $2.006 > 1.96$ and p-value is $0.04 < 0.050$ define that the effect of e-government quality on service quality is significant. Hence, it means that the quality of e-government has contributed significantly to service quality.

The projected influence of job satisfaction on service quality is a positive 0.178, indicating that a rise in job satisfaction could lead to a 17.8% enhancement in service quality. However, with a C.R. value of 1.369 (less than 1.96) and a p-value of 0.171 (greater than 0.050), job satisfaction does not significantly impact service quality. Therefore, job satisfaction has a minimal contribution to the quality of service.

The indirect impact of work motivation on service quality through job satisfaction has a path coefficient value of 0.052, suggesting that improved work motivation can lead to a 5.2% increase in job satisfaction and, consequently, enhanced service quality. However, according to the Sobel test, this influence is insignificant, with a statistical value of 1.441 (less than 1.96) and a p-value of 0.149 (greater than 0.050). Thus, job satisfaction is not crucial in bridging work motivation and service quality.

The path coefficient value of the indirect effect of the quality of e-government on service quality through job satisfaction is positive at 0.094. That is, the better the quality of e-government initiated in an agency. The service quality will also increase so that job satisfaction will grow 9.4%. Based on the results of the Sobel test (Sobel 1982) using the online Sobel calculator, the Sobel test statistic value <1.96 (1.330 <1.96) and P-Value> 0.050 (0.183> 0.050), the effect of quality e-government on service quality through job satisfaction is not significant. Thus, job satisfaction as a mediating variable does not contribute significantly to the quality of e-government.

Discussion

Influence of Work Motivation on Job Satisfaction and Service Quality

The research outcome shows that work motivation has a positive impact toward job satisfaction, at 0.031 for the significance value at 29% for predicted value. It means that the effect of work motivation on job satisfaction is significant. The outcome of this study strengthens the results of research from prior studies (Astuti et al., 2020; Kartika & Kaihatu, 2010; Pancasila, et al., 2020), which say work motivation has a remarkable impact on staff job satisfaction. Other studies also conclude that motivation can increase employee job satisfaction (Natta et al., 2017; Rahmawati & Rumita, 2015). Meanwhile, prior research studies (Anggara & Yadnyana, 2019; Poniasih & Dewi, 2015; Saleem, et al., 2010) show that motivation has a positive effect on job satisfaction.

In increasing service quality, the organization must provide encouragement or enthusiasm (motivation) to subordinates to achieve optimal organizational performance (Pancasila et al., 2020; Setiono & Kwanda, 2016). Conditional motivation is the self-moving energy employees are orientated to or pressured to attain the corporate's purpose. Pro-employee mentality and positivity towards the work situation strengthens work motivation to attain high execution (Prasetyo & Wahyuddin, 2016). Those with lofty dreams will continue being motivated to live better lives until finally, they can achieve their dreams and desires (Saputra & Suropto, 2016). Also, motivation does not always come from a desire to attain 'goals' but includes 'living for the other'. Babula (Babula, 2013) and Babula et al. (Babula, et al., 2020) claimed that pure altruism exists beyond self-actualization. Therefore, one of the fundamental problems for management and leaders in an organization is how to motivate employees to high achievement (Vo, et al., 2022).

With a notable value score of 0.000 and a predicted score of 77.7%, there is a significant favorable influence of work motivation on service quality. This study's findings align with prior research (Mistiani, 2018; Pebriyanti et al., 2017) that also emphasizes the substantial effect of work motivation on the quality of employee services. Meanwhile, Novel (2018) and Nainggolan (2013) said work motivation positively and significantly affects service quality. Employees expect to get satisfaction from his or her place of work. According to Hasibuan (2003), a person tends to work enthusiastically if satisfied. High employee job satisfaction will have an impact on work productivity and service quality. Ismayanti (2010) states that most of the changes in service quality contribute to the work motivation of employees who provide services. Novel (2018) said that changes in work motivation could affect service quality. Work motivation must be considered when formulating a strategy to improve service quality.

Work motivation is measured using three indicators: tenaciousness, effort level and behavior path (George & Jones, 2012). The peak loading factor is the level of persistence indicator at 85%, indicating that the level of persistence is the most desired work motivation by the respondents studied. The level of persistence is how hard employees will continue to try to carry out the behaviour that has been chosen (Lusri & Siagian, 2017), while according to Setiono and Kwanda (2016), persistence is an attitude of continuing to try and never give up that is taken by someone when faced with a problem, obstacle or obstacle—alternatively, obstacles to work. People who have persistence will view or perceive an achievement as a challenge and a reference (Culin, et al., 2014). Individuals with high persistence will remain committed to their goals, strive for what they have chosen, and can overcome their emotions (Peterson & Seligman, 2004; Riyanti, 2019).

Influence of E-Government Quality on Job Satisfaction and Service Quality

This study showed a positive correlation between job satisfaction and e-government quality; a remarkable score is 0.003, then the predicted value is 53%. That is, the impact of e-government quality on job satisfaction is very significant. The study results conducted by Kim et al. (2005) concluded that applying e-government in government agencies by using attractive and informative features and layouts could increase customer satisfaction. Meanwhile, previous research by Utomo et al. (2020) showed the e-government's quality has a positive effect on customer satisfaction. Other studies also conclude that the application of e-government services can contribute a positive influence on community satisfaction. This research used the E-SQUAL method (Nugroho, 2021). Public demand for quality services and information is increasing day by day. Electronic-based public services are also unavoidable. Every government agency is currently required to implement electronic-based services so that information obtained by the public is easier to access. Of course, this will affect trust and satisfaction with the government (Nugroho, 2021).

The public's ability to access government services with more simplicity, convenience, and efficiency are the main advantages of e-government. In summary, e-government offers chances to raise the standard of public and private sector services provided by the government by increasing accountability and transparency for governance (Harahap, 2018). Government e-government can make modern changes in government administration. E-government is a problem solving formulation for organizing communication between government and society, improving services to the community, and creating good relations between government and society. E-government quality was likewise shown to favorably impact service quality in this study, a remarkable value is 0.045 and 33.5% for predicted score. It indicates a strong impact of e-government performance on service quality. The findings of this study support those of earlier studies (Papadomichelaki & Mentzas, 2012; Sirajuddin & Atrianingsi, 2020; Sufianti, 2007), which shown that e-government is capable of enhancing the standard of public services and boosting public confidence in the government. The public's need for the government's quality services and information is increasing. The government is encouraged to continue to strive to meet public needs optimally. One of the steps the government can implement is to use electronic-based services or e-government. One innovation in government operations that helps raise the standard of public services in government is e-government (Harahap, 2018). Government organizations can use technology for communication and information to offer the public the best services available. Through e-government, the government can apply the technology of communication and information in order to enhance service quality (Riesta et al., 2021).

E-government quality is measured using four indicators: citizen support, reliability, trust and efficiency (Papadomichelaki & Mentzas, 2012). The highest loading factor is the trust indicator, 0.780 or 78%, meaning e-government quality. Based on participants researched, trust became their high demand factor. The respondents surveyed stated that trust is the thing they want the most. Public trust drives the significance role in the governance of e-government

implementation (Horsburgh, et al., 2011; Pérez-Morote, et al., 2020). Trust is a complex interpersonal relationship and organizational concept (Azmi & Asmarianti, 2019). The confidence level in e-government quality here is that government-owned sites are free from interference and can protect personal information. Trust is also used to assess e-government services regarding autonomy of the threat of harm or distrust during the online service process (Riesta et al., 2021).

Influence of Job Satisfaction on Service Quality

The study determined that job satisfaction does not influence service quality, as the significance value stands at 0.171, exceeding the threshold of 0.05, with an estimated value of 0.178 or 17.8%. This outcome contrasts with prior research by Lanin and Hermanto (Lanin & Hermanto, 2019) and Sukotjo (2011), who found that job satisfaction enhances service quality and customer contentment. Similarly, studies by Jossuha et al. (2014) and Subari (2011) identified a positive and meaningful relationship between job satisfaction and service quality.

Someone gratified by their task will certainly deliver feedback to the organization. In this case, it can be in the form of quality services to the community. Job satisfaction can significantly improve civil servants' effectiveness by stimulating maximum service quality (Subari, 2011). Job satisfaction concentrates on how employees perceive their jobs, while organizational commitment pertains to their perspectives toward the entire organization. While each individual can exhibit positive and negative attitudes toward colleagues, a single person can embody numerous attitudes. Nonetheless, the study of organizational behavior prioritizes exploring numerous work-related attitudes. Attitude associated with this work is a positive or negative evaluation of their work environment. Reasonable job satisfaction for each employee will foster good service quality in the organization. Satisfied employees will provide high service values, creating customer satisfaction (Kotler & Keller, 2012).

Job satisfaction is measured using four indicators: the job, salary and wages, promotion, and work colleagues (Robbin et al., 2015). The biggest loading factor is the trust indication, which is 0.89 or 89%, indicating that promotion is the most important thing to the respondents investigated. One of the steps that the management must take in the organization to achieve exemplary service quality is to create job satisfaction for its employees. One way employee job satisfaction can be achieved is by giving promotions to the employee for their performance achievements. Bode et al. (Bode, et al., 2022) describe promotion as transitioning from one role to a more elevated one, often in recognition of commendable job performance, extended service tenure, and other factors." The provision of promotions is to provide more excellent suitability and responsibility for the promotion to run well. The employee's work performance must also be improved. Giving employee promotions is part of human resource management activities that are very important to increase employee performance (Fajri, et al., 2015). Promotion is one way of motivating employees to show their outstanding achievements. Giving promotions to employees will increase employee enthusiasm for work, morale and efficiency and can also mean bringing the right people to the correct positions. Promotion is essential for every employee because, with promotion, employees feel there is trust and recognition regarding the abilities and skills of the employee concerned to occupy a higher position.

According to Kotler and Keller (Kotler & Keller, 2012) identified five measures to determine service quality: tangibles, empathy, assurance, reliability, and responsiveness. From the survey results, participants value service quality highly, with the tangibles aspect having the highest weighting at 0.67 or 67%. For those surveyed, the most crucial factor is tangibles, which represent a company's ability to validate its presence to outsiders through physical or tangible proof (Parasuraman et al., 1988). Consumers here cannot touch or see tangibles directly, but the impact can be felt directly from what the organization has done. Tangibles are in the form of physical evidence services. Customer needs in physical form (tangible) are those

that center on tangible amenities such as buildings and rooms, open parking spaces, the cleanliness, tidiness, and comfort of the room, the completeness of the equipment, as well as the employees' look. Today, the demands of organizations to serve consumers as well as possible have become the subject of intense discussion everywhere, so every public organization must be able to respond to this. Consumers who believe they receive poor service might share their negative experiences with others, potentially resulting in dissatisfaction and affecting loyalty (Irma & Saputra, 2020).

According to this study's examination of the data analysis, the research discovered the effect of work motivation and e-government quality has significantly contributed to increasing job satisfaction and service quality. However, job satisfaction cannot contribute to the influence of service quality (influence is not significant). The outcomes' analysis indicates empirically that not all the research hypotheses can be tested. Hence, field-related issues can be examined using relevant theory, which the researcher believes to be accurate. It has been confirmed in the study, concluding that, in the researcher's view, the theory remains reasonably valid and relevant; therefore, this research does not generate new theories or negate existing ones but can reinforce the current theory. However, concerning the variable of job satisfaction on service quality, the research results are in contradiction with the employed theory due to the insignificant effect.

Conclusion

Work motivation and the quality of e-government have a beneficial and significant impact on job satisfaction as well as quality of service. There is no influence of job satisfaction toward service quality. The job satisfaction variable, either directly or as a mediating variable, has yet to be able to contribute to service quality. The contribution of work motivation to job satisfaction is 29%, e-government quality is 53%, work motivation is 77.7%, and e-government quality is 33.5%. The analysis found the most highly scoring loading factors from the indicators of each variable. For work motivation, the highest loading factor is the level of persistence indicator. Subsequently, according to the respondents studied, trust is what they want the most for e-government quality. While, for job satisfaction, according to respondents, what they want the most is a promotion. Lastly, for service quality, according to respondents, the highest loading factor is tangibles. Thus, this study has practical and theoretical ramifications; specifically, the presented hypothesis paradigm implemented as an innovative framework for public services to grow the quality of public services, especially in local government organizations in Indonesia.

Moreover, the research has three limitations. First, this research was conducted in developing countries with a Malay country/society background context; thus, it is possible to generalize to the countries' context with a similar background as Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. However, the research findings cannot be applied in the developed countries context and non-Malay society. Second, this study has shortcomings in that the design of the model used is very limited. Thus, it is recommended for further researchers to see the effect of service quality more broadly and use other variables outside of the variables that have been used in this model. Third, since civil servants are not paid as much as private sector employees, they could be partially motivated to help others and achieve job satisfaction via altruism. However, altruism is not included, given the available variables. Thus, we suggest that altruism, as a form of motivation, be explored in future research as a factor contributing to/associating with job satisfaction.

Disclosure Statement

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

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Cash Rules Everything Around Me: The Expansion of NCAA Name, Image, and Likeness Policy Among the States

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Name, image, and likeness (NIL) policies have expanded rapidly in the United States in the past three years. Since the state of California passed a law allowing college student athletes to profit off their NIL, 41 states have either adopted or proposed similar legislation. Politics, the presence of high-level football programs, revenue, and geography have shaped this rapid expansion that has significant effects on higher education administration. Using survival analysis, this article explains the expansion of NIL policy and finds the key factors leading to its rapid diffusion. We find that the significant drivers of NIL adoption include high level NCAA football and the political motives of the state adopting that contributes to civic pride. The major findings suggest that this focus on football and its connection to civic pride and resulting political decisions creates opportunities and challenges for higher education.

Keywords: NIL Policy, Policy Diffusion, Political Decision Making, Civic Pride and Sports

Name, image, and likeness (NIL) is a burgeoning topic for higher education administrators, athletes, and fans. The acronym has become as hot a topic in college athletic circles as a national championship matchup. It signifies the ability for a student athlete to profit off their name, image, or likeness. In June 2021, a Supreme Court ruling (*NCAA v. Alston*, 2021) was delivered unanimously that college athletes' education-related compensation could not be restricted by any governing body. The court's ruling enabled the logical next step of allowing athletes to profit from their NIL without compromising their amateur status. Since that ruling, states and institutions, including the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), have scrambled to pass and administer NIL policies that benefit a host of actors in the policy arena. A year after the Supreme Court's ruling, all involved are still trying to get a grasp on how this policy has evolved.

This paper seeks to understand the rapid path of NIL policy diffusion among the American states. By the spring of 2022, 41 states had introduced some type of NIL policy and 30 states passed a law. These policies range from very detailed bills with specific mandates regarding agent activity, reporting, and oversight to states that simply made NIL for college athletes allowable with little to no guidance on administration. We aim to understand the administrative, political, and athletic conditions that led to states' decisions to pass NIL laws.

Within the sport policy literature, decision-making is discussed primarily regarding nation-states and how they connect to sports (Grix, 2010, 2016; Grix & Houlihan, 2014; Houlihan, 1997). Within this research there is a connection between how individuals view their sports teams and how they view their connection to their location or city. There is evidence in this research that sports can increase a community's public profile and perception of worth, while the lack of sports or being seen as something less than professional or successful can have a negative impact on these views.

We argue that the approval of NIL policy seeks to bolster civic pride and activity from college sports. In this paper we are applying these same concepts of connection and decision-making to U.S. states as they have the autonomy to make decisions related to NCAA athletics and NIL policy. To this point, there is no research on how NIL policy pertaining to college athletes expanded in the United States. This gap in knowledge exists due to the relative newness of this policy and needs to be examined to identify what factors are influencing its expansion. Understanding what is impacting state legislative decisions in this area will also bring researchers closer to assessing the policy ramifications on higher education administration and student-athletes.

It is our intent to provide context on the path of NIL expansion and to provide an analysis of the factors that led to its diffusion. It is our hypothesis that the traditional factors of diffusion do not apply to this innovation. This is at least in part due to its rapid adoption (Boushey, 2010) over the course of just four years. This left little time for policy learning, at least in the initial adoption stage. It also means that commonly identified regional and ideological patterns of adoption are less likely. Instead, NIL spread in a rapid and scattershot manner. Additionally, NIL policy is different from many innovations studied by diffusion scholars in that, while it has significant economic ramifications, there are also considerable social externalities. It is thus neither neatly an economic nor a social policy, whereas many policies previously included in diffusion studies fit more neatly into these categories (Mallinson, 2021a). In fact, we argue that the social benefits of civic pride are central to this policy innovation's diffusion, and we consider both social and economic determinants in modeling its spread.

Accordingly, we have selected a set of factors that blend common diffusion indicators such as politics and geography with unique indicators such as the number of Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) institutions, athletic revenue, percentage of athletes among undergraduates, and football revenue. Also unusual in diffusion research, we model both NIL bill introduction in state legislatures and adoption. Bill introduction is included because states have been working on NIL policies since 2019, two years before the Supreme Court's ruling. The NCAA's passive post-*Alston* approach to NIL, and states' power to regulate education has led to a hodgepodge of NIL rules. We find evidence of a linkage between college sports, namely football, and political decisions, but not through revenues. The connection to football increases as the level of competition rises. We argue that this is because of the connection football has to civic pride and its effect on policy making, in this case, NIL adoption. The impact of this factor is distinct from common causes of diffusion like geography and political ideology. We believe this is a significant finding as it offers evidence that diffusion can happen rapidly for unique reasons that connect to policy salience and public opinion.

There is a deep literature showing that sports and civic pride are connected. We build on that literature by examining how this connection can impact policy diffusion and potentially speed up the process. By understanding how policies such as NIL can spread rapidly, we add an understanding of how sports and politics interact within this policy arena and build a foundation for future research regarding the administrative impacts of policies with such rapid diffusion.

The Current Landscape of NIL

NIL is not new. Individuals have been able to profit from their NIL for decades. This has been the avenue that social media influencers, athletes, and artists, among others, have used to sign endorsement deals with corporations and other sponsors. This paper focuses on the application of this avenue of compensation to college athletes. Prior to 2019, the NCAA had classified college athletes as amateurs unable to profit beyond educational compensation received in terms of tuition, books, and support (Eckenrod & Nam, 2021). While student-athletes could not be compensated for their role in sports, *institutions* have turned college athletics into a multi-billion-dollar industry, which prompts cries of exploitation and ethical concerns (Beech, 2021; Miller, 2012). This led to arguments that universities were exploiting athletes for financial gain.

NIL in the Courts

The argued exploitation of college athletes was challenged for the first time in earnest in 2013 when Ed O'Bannon, a former basketball player at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), won a U.S. Supreme Court case regarding compensation for use of NIL or other personal product (*O'Bannon vs NCAA*, 2015). In the O'Bannon case, the court found that the NCAA could not restrict athletic compensation, but then profit from their NIL for products such as video games and claim that educational compensation was enough. *O'Bannon vs NCAA* set the stage for NIL policies as it questioned the ability of the NCAA to restrict the right of athletes to engage their NIL profitability.

In 2019, California was the first state to adopt an NIL law, the *Fair Pay for Fair Play Act*, which restricted the NCAA's ability to inhibit an athlete's capitalization of their NIL. Since California's policy passed, 29 states have passed similar legislation or executive orders and 12 others have introduced legislation. NIL reached a critical point in 2020 when a Supreme Court case, *Alston vs. NCAA*, was accepted in October and heard in March 2021. The case originated, however, in 2014 when players contended that NCAA rules limiting educational compensation violated antitrust laws. The challenge asserted that the rule of reason in antitrust legislation that leads to procompetitive effects—which can be used to restrict compensation to adjust for a market failure (Newman, 2019)—was a violation of antitrust law. This ruling came in spite of the fact that the NCAA has long used procompetitive effects to restrict compensation for athletes.

The Supreme Court found that the NCAA must adhere to the *Sherman Antitrust Act*, which restricts antitrust activity, despite the NCAA's claim that they functioned like professional sports and do not adhere to antitrust laws in totality. The court ruled the NCAA is not the same as a professional sports league, as those entities collectively bargain with players associations to provide compensation for use of likeness and create anti-competitive pay rules that govern player movement and contracts. The NCAA does not collectively bargain with its players, meaning that the anti-competitive pay rules that professional sports leagues follow do not apply to college (Editors, 2021). In June 2021, the Court gave a unanimous decision, 9–0, removing the NCAA's ability to restrict educational compensation. In response to the Court's ruling, the NCAA passed a policy soon after opening NIL up to being governed under state law, to coincide with several state laws that were already in effect or passed shortly after *Alston*.

While a narrow decision, *Alston* opened the door for a redefinition of student-athletes. One of the results was allowing for athletes to be compensated for their likeness. A second result was the space created for state laws to govern student-athlete compensation, which is magnified by the absence of a federal law. States were actively pursuing laws that allowed for athlete compensation beyond educational benefits prior to the *Alston* decision, so the case simply accelerated the expansion of those laws. While the *Alston* decision expanded the landscape, it was not the only influence on NIL policy expansion. It should be noted that five states passed

laws granting NIL rights to athletes before October 2020, three more passed laws prior to the March 2021 oral arguments, and 17 states passed laws within 45 days of the decision with one additional law passed in 2022.

The NCAA adopted a loose policy regarding NIL and clearly stated that according to the *Alston* ruling, their policy does not supersede that of the states. The NCAA has four criteria for NIL agreements:

- Individuals can engage in NIL activities that are consistent with the law of the state where the school is located. Colleges and universities may be a resource for state law questions.
- College athletes who attend a school in a state without an NIL law can engage in this type of activity without violating NCAA rules related to name, image, and likeness.
- Individuals can use a professional services provider for NIL activities.
- Student-athletes should report NIL activities consistent with state law or school and conference requirements to their school (Hosick, 2021).

The NCAA's open policy took criticism as it offered little in the way of oversight (Dellenger, 2021a). The original regulation left compliance officers with little guidance on how to address potential issues with violations and reporting that is customary within NCAA rules. Instead of direct solutions or penalties for actions, the NCAA abdicated to state laws and only offered minimal guidance, which left administrators without the rulemaking cover necessary to carry out the policy (Lovell & Mallinson, in press). The ramifications of this approach remain unclear. In October 2022, the NCAA increased their role by allowing school officials to engage with collectives, for example allowing a coach to speak at an event or promote donations to a collective, as well as promoting NIL activities (Durham, 2022). Again, the ramifications of this stance still need to be researched, but it offers context to the original intentions of NIL policy adoption.

NIL in the States

State NIL laws vary in depth and complexity. Some states target competing sponsorship deals that the athlete's institution already has while others provide little to no guidance. Based on various state laws, athletes have opportunities to engage an agent, previously banned by the NCAA, but only for purposes of NIL deals. Most states have provisions that an athlete's NIL must clearly be written to provide compensation only for sponsorship and not for play. States have been murky on the oversight and administrative mandates that institutions must follow, leading institutions to have different procedures regarding certifying and overseeing athlete deals. Some argue that NIL deals are a 'new currency' (Brandley, 2022) for college sports and will drive student decisions and create a professional system where 'collectives,' which are groups of alumni, can pool money and reach deals with players without the consent of the institution (Carrasco, 2021; Vertuno, 2021).

NIL in Institutions of Higher Education

The disparity in approaches among institutions of higher education is presently difficult to capture as some institutions take active roles to court NIL deals while others are taking a strict construction view and removing themselves from these dealings (Bromberg, 2021). The University of Texas, for example, has set up a program, Leverage, that provides guidance on branding, financial and opportunity management, and what athletes can do according to Texas law (University of Texas at Austin, 2022). Brigham Young University's (BYU) football team receives full tuition for all players, including walk-ons, in return for wearing a sponsor's patch for Built Brands on practice helmets and having athletes participate in sponsor events. This deal was developed under the guidance of the university (Jackson, 2021). BYU also struck

a deal for all female athletes to earn up to \$6,000 for promoting SmartyStreets (Carrasco, 2021). BYU and the University of Texas acted quickly and have developed specific roles in advancing opportunities for their athletes. Other schools, especially those at lower levels of competition, do not have this infrastructure.

On the national level, individual deals were quickly struck for athletes who were able to capitalize on their social media platforms (Cocco & Moorman, 2022; Kunkel et al., 2021), as these athletes were adept at branding themselves. Early deals saw women players, such as University of Connecticut basketball player Paige Bueckers, capitalize on their Instagram, Twitter, and other social media profiles. According to Cocco and Moorman (2022), a woman athlete has a higher average earning potential (\$51 per post) than a man (\$47 per post) on social media. Notably, 69.3% of the activities compensated for by NIL deals are social media related (Opendorse, 2022). Athletes at bigger universities with higher profiles have more earning potential (Kunkel et al., 2021). Further, the top earners by conference are mostly powerful programs with large profiles: Big 10, Big 12, Big East, SEC, and PAC-12 (Opendorse, 2022). The average Division I athlete makes \$3,711 in NIL money while Division II and III athletes average \$204 and \$309 annually, respectively (Opendorse, 2022).

Real time data on NIL deals offer a mixed picture regarding gender equity. While women have a better social media earning potential, they are far behind in NIL compensation. As of 2022, 73.5% of NIL money was going to men athletes (Opendorse, 2022). There is concern that Title IX standards will not be upheld for NIL; however, related challenges to NIL policies are difficult as the compensation is not paid by universities (Jessop & Sabin, 2021). There is also a significant disparity between football earnings and other sports. Football accounts for 49.9% of total NIL compensation and 29.3% of NIL activities. The next closest to football in these categories are men's basketball (17%) and baseball (8%) respectively.

Sports, Civic Pride, and College Athletics

Sports has traditionally been used as a political platform, whether by cities, states, or nations (Abrams, 2013; Houlihan, 1997). From U.S. Olympians protesting the Nazi regime (1932) and civil rights (1968) through Mohammed Ali using his platform as a boxer to advocate in the 1960s and 1970s to Colin Kaepernick kneeling during the national anthem to recognize social injustice, there are many connections between sports and politics. These examples show the individual side of sports and politics. Also important is how politicians react to these politics. Politicians from presidents to mayors have used sports to connect to the public, raise money, show strength, and align with local, state, or national civic identity (Abrams, 2013; Nathan, 2013). As Abrams (2013) suggests, sport is such a significant political tool because it has become one of the best avenues for communal activity and social cohesion. Managing cultural identities through sport is useful as it can overcome differences between groups with different heritages as society builds cohesion through integrating sports into formal education and politics (Houlihan, 1997). Much of the discussion of sports and politics revolves around the concepts of civic pride and economic benefit; usually with the focus being on professional sports.

Civic Pride

Civic pride is a term used by urban geographers to encompass how emotions and connections to local identity are formed and impact decisions on policy, sociology, culture, and politics (Armstrong & Hognestad, 2003; Collins, 2016, 2019). The term civic pride is nebulous as it can include several factors. In this manuscript, we focus on the concept that civic pride is the product of social connection to common foundations and views that manifest in civic action and can result in political activity on policy in ways that support the community and civic

mission as well as use comparative or competitive feelings to enhance local political gain (Collins, 2016).

Civic pride consists of social identity, civic bonds such as connecting via sports, and political motives and the connection and inclusion of these concepts provides a foundation for understanding how sports influences politics. Individuals with common goals for sports invest in the perception of their community and location, in college affiliation, and seek to be seen positively and avoid being seen as ‘minor league’ or ‘middle of the road’ (Delaney & Eckstein, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010; Kim & Manoli, 2022). Applying this example, a state such as Alabama, where the University of Alabama is a college football superpower, reacts to regulatory decisions by the NCAA to relax NIL statutes and repeals their law to keep from being at a disadvantage against rival schools in states with fewer policy restrictions or no NIL policy. This example shows that policies can be dictated by regional competitors to maintain status or positioning. The overall assumption is that sport, especially college sports in some areas of the country, has a significant impact in how communities and states form their identity. This is a needed framework to understand how NIL is being discussed and approved by state legislatures. College sports bonds and local pride are directly connected to politicians’ policy decisions.

Individuals have several influences that construct their social identity. Social learning theory suggests that these identities can be a result of the groups and influences that a person seeks out (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Enticed by inclusion and belonging, individuals seek acceptance and identification within a group that has shared interests. Sports serves as a common medium for this identification as it provides a group of connected and committed individuals who find acceptance and support. These groups become stronger because of their shared connection and their comparison to other groups.

We apply Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) social identity theory to civic pride and its connection to sports in the area of NIL. Social identity theory argues that individuals define their identity in part by the groups and connections that they make. Sports are a prime example of that happening as the team gives individuals a central focus and shared support system to coalesce around. We expand this into college athletics and apply the same concepts to higher education due to the enhanced connection that alumni behavior and connections to university affiliations provide individuals seeking group acceptance (Drezner, 2018; Stephenson & Bell, 2014) with an additional connection to how students and alumni feel about college sports (Boyle & Magnusson, 2007). Sport fans connect their identity to their team based on history or position (Boyle & Magnusson, 2007; Gilal et al., 2022), behavior of the athletes (Fink et al., 2009), and branding (Watkins, 2014).

Rees and colleagues (2015) suggest that four factors emerge from social identity in sports. For our work, the concepts of leadership and behavior are most integral. Leadership and behavior are influenced by sport connections and bring out central focuses of connection and decision-making. We extend that to the behavior of politicians who seek to continue their connections to their self-selected sport and alumni groups and use those bonds to build political favor with their decisions to pass NIL legislation. We argue that this connects to the concept of civic pride as NIL offers perceived competitive advantages that can improve the view and position in the college sports landscape of certain programs. It also allows for an increase in perception of how the public supports college athletes. We acknowledge that this is not the only way that politicians can support college athletics; however, it is a popular and notable one that offers a significant amount of cache with the sports related public.

Sports can be used by governments to foster political identity by capitalizing on connections between citizens they expect to participate, and the teams they root for (Green & Houlihan, 2016; Grix, 2010, 2016; Houlihan, 1997). Such an identity can be very strong when talking about college sports involving alumni who have an inherent connection to their institutions.

The social connection of sports in rural towns is driven by high school teams or by colleges such as the University of Iowa in Iowa City, Iowa or the University of Texas in Austin, Texas (Nathan, 2013). Notably, Republicans and Democrats tend to prefer different sports, with the former preferring dominant sports such as football, baseball, and basketball while the latter are open to sports that are specialized such as soccer (Woods, 2022). The types of civic bonds that develop are debatable, considering there is no guarantee that the sport bond will translate beyond supporting the team (Grix, 2016; Harris & Houlihan, 2016). However, when connecting sport bonds and civic connection to politics, the soft power that emerges can be significant if it builds on that support for policies, like NIL, that connect to them directly (Grix, 2016).

Civic pride is the general term used to address the emotional or social impact that unifying events and local symbols, like a sports franchise, have on a local community (Burns, 2014; Groothuis et al., 2004; Groothuis & Rotthoff, 2016; Kalich, 1998). Part of the local pride or social identity of a community is the pride and attachment shown to the sports team (Burns, 2014). The study of sport policy is mostly associated with nations and suggests that civic pride or political connections with sport are determined by local or state factors instead of there being a set of generalizable effects (Haut et al., 2017). Burns (2014) identifies the connection between sports and social identity in a case study about the impact that the 2010 Super Bowl winning season for the New Orleans Saints had in the recovery from Hurricane Katrina that was still going four-and-a-half years after the storm. Whether a professional team or college team, these entities foster a sense of communal belonging and connection.

Where college teams are concerned, there is a significant connection to alumni who are among the public and among government officials (Heere & Katz, 2014). Football culture and history have a direct connection to how the university is viewed and how current students and alumni feel about their institution's quality (Roy et al., 2008; Smith, 2009). Alumni fealty becomes a source of pride and connection that can manifest itself into accepting the rivalrous/excludable nature of sports and supporting public funding despite it. This sense of connection to the institution through sports produces a sense of belonging and can play a role in sport-related policy decisions. Thus, we expect that states with more NCAA Football Bowl Series (FBS) teams were likely to adopt NIL policies more quickly.

Another important connection we make from this literature is that these connections to sports and college continue for legislators. This is an underexplored area of research, but there is evidence that political advocacy is connected to policy (Dar, 2012; Weerts et al., 2010), evidenced by legislative behavior. In Louisiana, state representative John Stefanski (Republican) noted that keeping up with NIL was imperative if 'they' wanted to see Alabama college football head coach Nick Saban upset on the sideline (Johnson, 2022). In Alabama, the impetus of passing, and then repealing, an NIL law from the legislator's standpoint was to make sure the University of Alabama and Auburn University did not fall behind other states where recruiting, especially in college football, was concerned (Cason, 2021; Lawrence, 2022; Lyman, 2022). These examples show a connection between alumni status and policy approaches when it comes to NIL and have direct connections to college football's impact being central to state lawmaker thinking. We recognize this needs to be explored more, but we believe the connection is valid and substantial enough to serve as a theoretical linkage for our argument.

Economics

Like professional sports, college athletics puts economic pressure on local politics. Much work has been done on sports stadium funding and political decisions. The underlying current of that work is corporate partnerships captured in corporate welfare theory (Bennett, 2015; Milke & Veldhuis, 2010) and political pressure through urban renewal and the benefit of financing explained in urban regime theory (Euchner, 1993; Lekakis, 2018; Saito, 2019;

Schimmel, 2012). Each suggests that finance and political connections have a significant impact on how politicians allocate funds and address potential policy decisions.

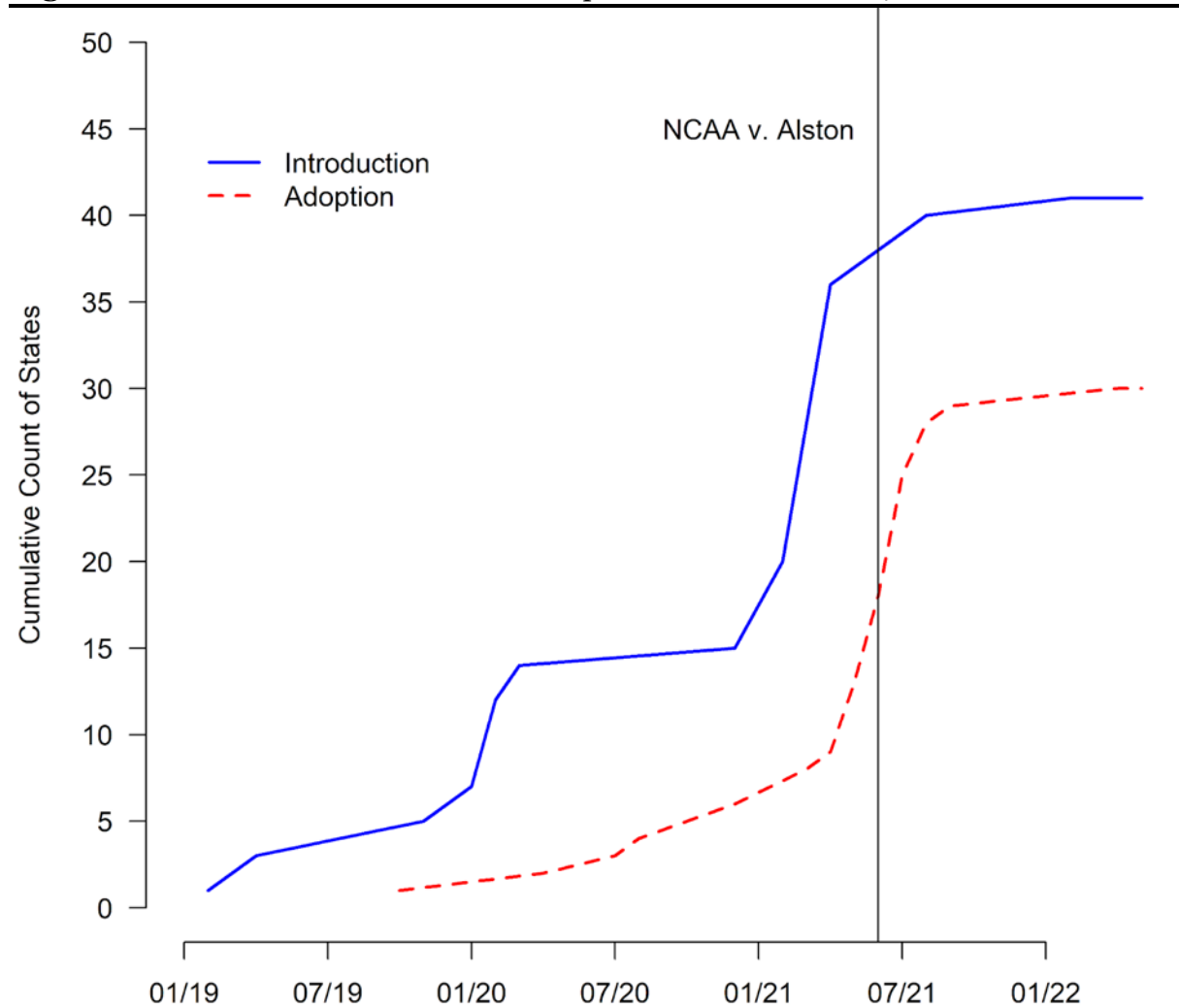
In general, sport is believed to have an inelastic demand, meaning that the desire to consume the sport does not drop when the price associated with it rises (Grix, 2016). The inelastic nature of sports, which is quite applicable to college sports when considering specific costs such as donations to alumni associations, capital projects, and now NIL collectives, is important for our discussion as it suggests a context to test the impact of policy, political, social, and administrative costs on the spread of NIL policy. The connection between college sports and money can be tracked and connected to political decisions. Revenues to be gained from television rights deals for universities can be as low as \$400,000 or as much as \$55 million a year depending on conference affiliation (On3 Staff, 2021). Gaining access to these funds can be a driving force for boards of trustees and political officials in states that have connections to universities and want to see athletics departments maximize revenue.

One example that shows this connection took place in 1994 when the Southwest Conference (SWC) disbanded. The SWC consisted mainly of Texas institutions, both public and private. When the conference disbanded, four teams would join schools from the Big 8 conference to form the Big XII. The potential television rights for schools in the Big XII would be in the \$20 to 30 million range while schools left out would fend for themselves in smaller conferences. The early thought was that the University of Texas, Texas A&M University, University of Houston, and Texas Tech University would be the four schools to go. All were public and the move had to be approved by their boards of trustees. Texas Governor Ann Richards, a Baylor University alumna, and Bob Bullock, former lieutenant governor and Baylor and Texas Tech alumni, stepped in and used their political prowess to put Baylor in the Big XII (The Editorial Board, 2021; Watkins, 2016). The political problem was that Baylor is a private school and would replace a public institution (the University of Houston). In the two decades since, Baylor has received television rights fees ranging between \$20 and 33 million while Houston has toiled in conferences making between \$300,000 and \$10 million a year. This decision offers evidence that politics can be influenced by sports and there is a connection to civic pride. In this case, funding was a significant factor in a political decision over conference reshuffling. Thus, we expect general athletic revenue in a state, and football-specific revenue, to influence the decision to adopt an NIL law. To examine how both social and economic factors shape the adoption of NIL, we rely on the theory and methodology of policy innovation and diffusion.

Rapid Policy Diffusion

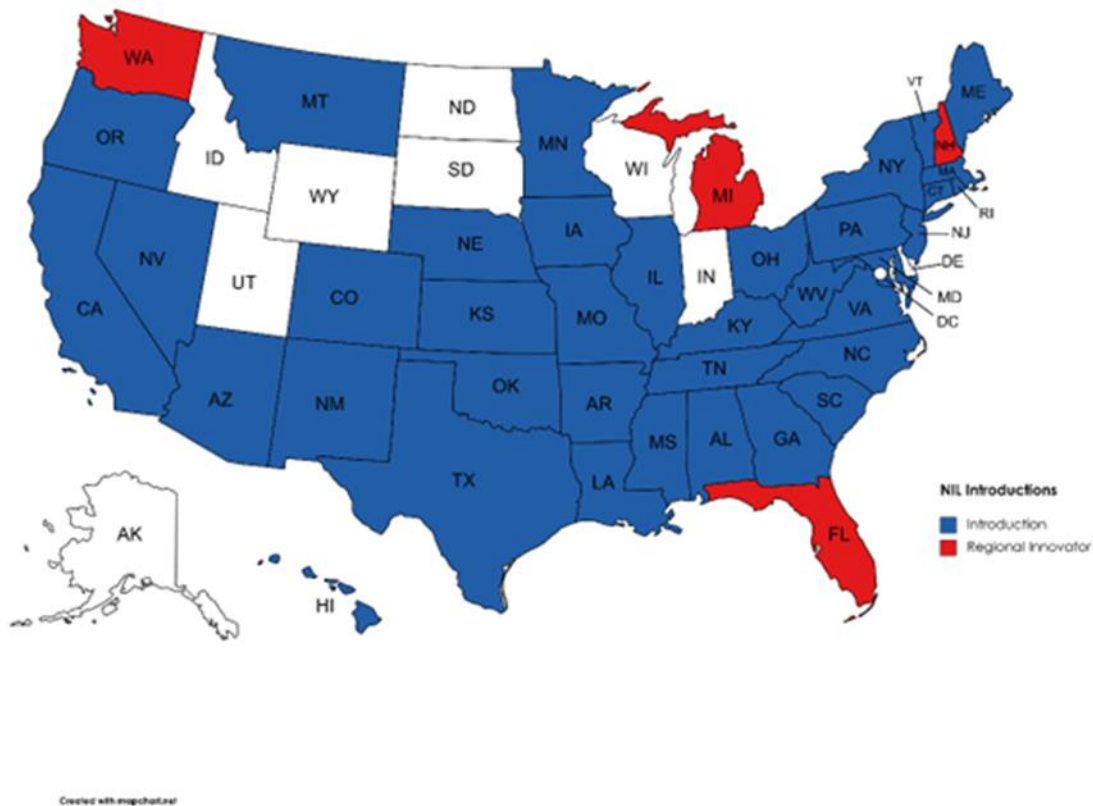
Grix et al. (2018) claim that there is a need for administrative theory to be used to examine sport policy from a policy perspective. To that end, we use the diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 2003) as the key theoretical lens for our analysis of state NIL adoption. Much of the policy diffusion literature focuses on a specific set of mechanisms that drive innovation adoption: learning, competition, emulation, and coercion (Graham et al., 2013). There is also a strain of literature that uses the policy as the unit of analysis and examines why some policies spread quickly, while others spread slowly (Boushey, 2010). Some policies, like Old Age Assistance, spread to all the states in a few years. Others, like early voting, trickle out over several decades (Mallinson, 2016). While a typical plot of cumulative adoptions over time will have an s-shape (Gray, 1973), rapid adoptions look more like an r (Boushey, 2010). There are linkages between the rate and mechanism of adoption. Most critical for this analysis is that rapid, r-shaped, adoptions are less likely to be driven by the slower policy learning process and are instead a response to competitive or ideological (i.e., imitative) pressures (Boushey, 2010).

There is evidence that the characteristics of policies affect how quickly they diffuse (Mallinson, 2016; Menon & Mallinson, 2022; Nicholson-Crotty, 2009). Particularly, a policy's salience and complexity act like gas and brake pedals in a car (Karch, 2007). If a policy is receiving a great

Figure 1. Cumulative Introductions and Adoptions of NIL Laws, 2019–2022

deal of public attention (i.e., it is highly salient), policymakers will make it a priority to capture related electoral advantages from their responsiveness in adopting it. If a policy is simple, it can be more easily copied from state to state than a technically complex one that requires adaptation to the state's unique context. NIL policies have the characteristics of the fastest diffusing policies. Over the last three years, and especially considering the *Alston* case, they have become quite salient. They are also very simple. In fact, NIL spread faster than 94% of the 682 policies from the State Policy Innovation and Diffusion database (Boehmke et al., 2020).¹ Additionally, the cumulative introduction curve for NIL certainly has an r-shape, and the adoption curve also shows a rapid, but plateauing, clip of activity (see Figure 1).

We argue that NIL stands apart from many policies previously examined in policy diffusion studies because it exists at the intersection of economic and social policy. Diffusion studies have tended to focus on innovations like lotteries and methods of taxation (economic policies) and morality (social) policies (Mallinson, 2021a). NIL is more like cannabis policy in that it lies at the intersection of both (Ferraiolo, 2007; Hannah & Mallinson, 2018). Unlike cannabis, however, NIL is not a stigmatized policy, and it has been prompted, instead of resisted, by federal action (i.e., the *Alston* decision). In fact, its high salience and relatively lower complexity helped to push it rapidly across the states. Thus, we expect that regionalism is not a factor in this policy's diffusion. Instead, internal factors like civic pride (as measured by football) and economics are more likely drivers. Our aim is thus to examine how both economics and politics contributed to the rapid spread of this policy innovation.

Figure 2. States with NIL Bill Introductions, 2019–2022

Methods and Data

To test our expectations regarding the adoption of NIL legislation by the states, we have assembled a dataset that includes the dates of both the first introduction of an NIL law in a state's legislature and the date it was adopted either by law or executive order. Between September 2019 and January 2022, 41 states saw NIL legislation introductions and between February 2019 and March 2022, 30 states adopted an NIL law. Of those 30, all but two were adopted through the normal legislative process. Kentucky and Ohio adopted an NIL law via executive order, with the neighboring states doing so within days of each other. Washington was the first state to introduce NIL legislation, but California was the first to adopt it. Maine was the last state to both introduce and adopt, doing so in 2022.

Figures 2 and 3 show the states that introduced and adopted NIL legislation, respectively. Also shown in the figures are the regional leaders of both introduction and adoption. Each was the first state within the four Census regions to introduce and/or adopt. Michigan and Florida are consistent regional leaders in the Midwest and South, but while New Hampshire led in introduction in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic States, New Jersey was the first adopter. Florida and California tend to be regional leaders in policy innovation (Desmarais et al., 2015), but innovators vary by policy (Gray, 1973).

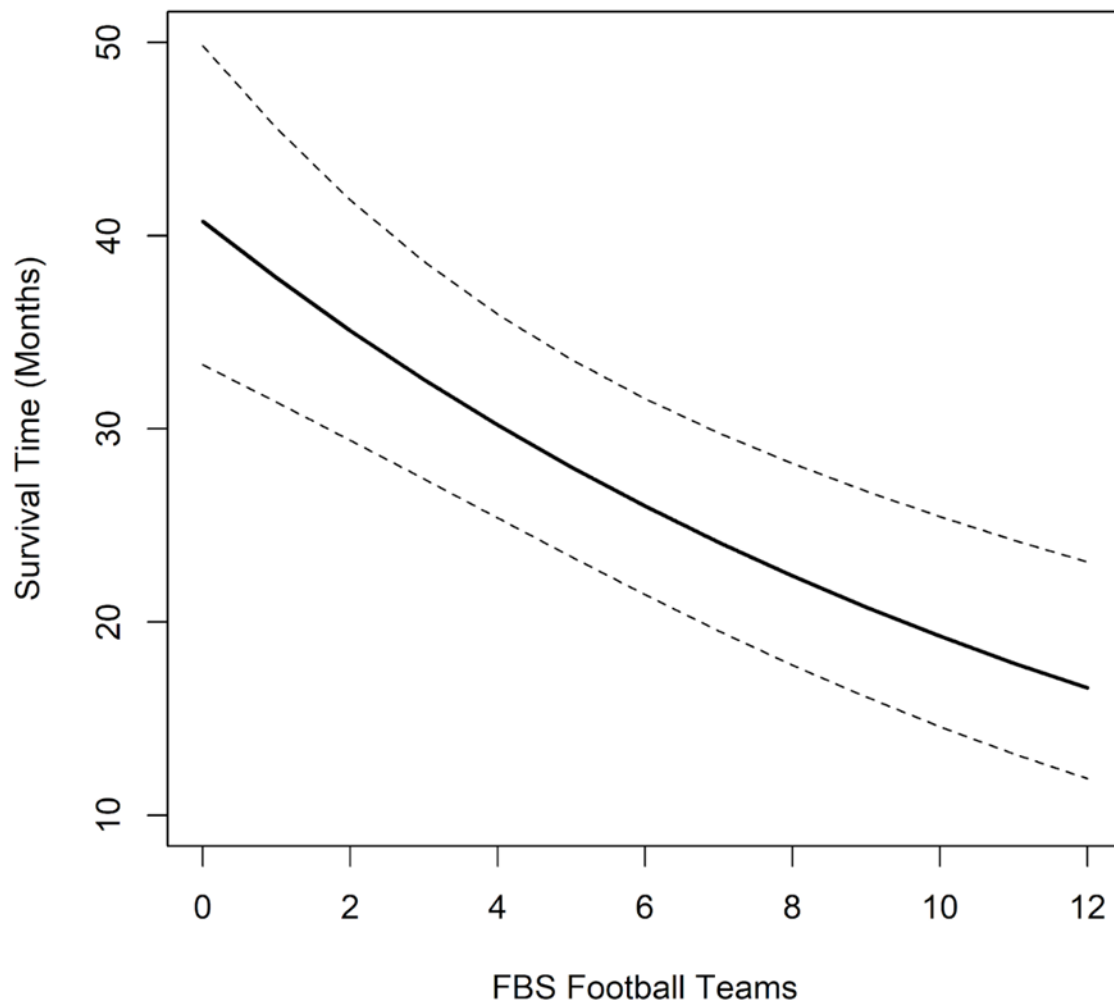
Analysis Method

The dependent variables used in our analyses are indicators of whether (1) or not (0) a state has introduced or adopted an NIL law. We model these different actions separately. We chose to use a Weibull distributed accelerated failure time (AFT) model.² The analysis was conducted in R using the survival package (Therneau & Grambsch, 2000). There are 50 observations in



For economics, we focus on the revenues generated by college sports in each state. We use two variables to do so—*Total Revenues* and *Football Revenues*—though they do not appear in the same models but are alternated to observe whether football revenues are more important to NIL than overall revenues from sport. As a set of robustness checks, we calculate these variables four different ways to assess whose revenues matter the most. We begin by calculating the two measures using all NCAA Division I, II, and III schools. We then narrow to only Division I, II, or III schools that have football programs. Next, we narrow to only NCAA

Figure 4. Predicted Number of Months Without an NIL Policy Adoption across the Number of FBS Football Teams



Note: Drawn using the All NCAA School Revenues model that includes Total Revenues.

Division I FBS and FCS schools. Finally, we narrow to just FBS schools. At each stage, the two variables are measured the same. It is simply the included set of schools that winnows. Revenues are also drawn from EADA.

Finally, to test diffusion and political effects we include measures of *Neighbor Adoption* and *Government Ideology*. *Neighbor Adoption* is a measure of the proportion of contiguous neighboring states that have adopted an NIL law prior to the year a state is observed (either adopting or being censored) (Berry & Berry, 1990).⁶ *Government Ideology* measures the ideology of each state's elected officials using Berry and colleague's revised NOMINATE ideology score (Berry et al., 1998; Berry et al., 2010). It is a liberal-conservative scale, meaning increasing values reflect increasing conservatism.

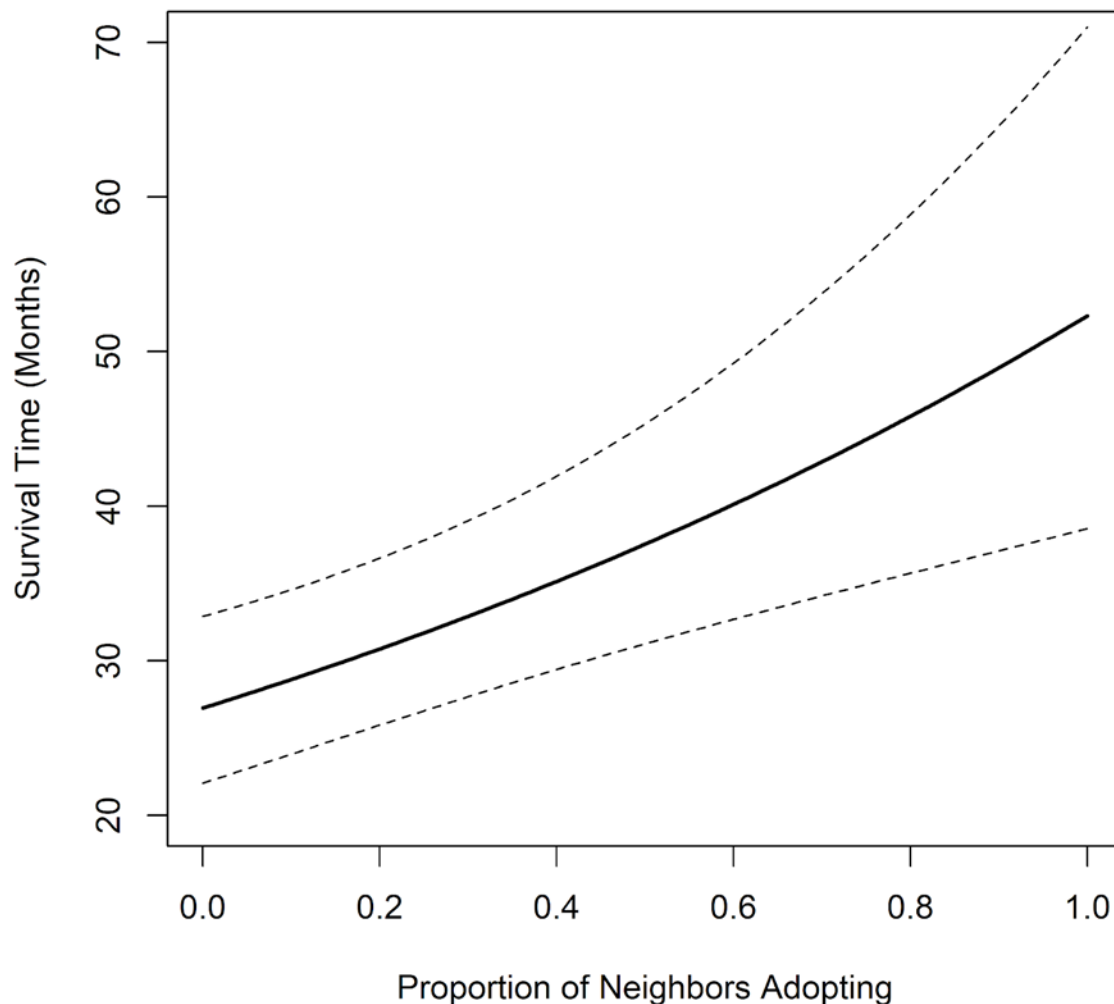
Table 1. Results of NIL Introduction Models

	All NCAA Schools Revenues	All NCAA Football School Revenues	FBS and FCS School Revenues	FBS School Revenues
Total Revenue	1.01 [0.86, 1.20]	1.00 [0.87, 1.15]	0.92 [0.83, 1.02]	0.92 [0.81, 1.04]
Football Revenue	0.90 [0.71, 1.15]	1.00 [0.79, 1.27]	0.91 [0.78, 1.06]	0.92 [0.79, 1.07]
FBS Teams	0.92 [0.88, 0.97]	0.95 [0.90, 0.99]	0.94 [0.90, 0.99]	0.94 [0.89, 0.99]
Participation	0.98 [0.94, 1.02]	0.98 [0.95, 1.01]	0.99 [0.93, 1.07]	1.04 [0.88, 1.24]
Government Ideology	0.99 [0.98, 0.99]	0.99 [0.99, 0.99]	0.99 [0.98, 0.99]	0.99 [0.98, 0.99]
Neighbor Adoption	3.06 [1.89, 4.96]	3.42 [2.21, 5.29]	3.31 [2.16, 5.09]	2.78 [1.78, 4.34]
N	50	50	50	50
Bold $p < 0.05$, hazard ratios reported with 95% confidence intervals in brackets.				

Table 2. Results of NIL Adoption Models

	All NCAA Schools Revenues	All NCAA Football School Revenues	FBS and FCS School Revenues	FBS School Revenues
Total Revenue	0.94 [0.87, 2.03]	0.99 [0.90, 1.08]	0.98 [0.89, 1.07]	0.92 [0.85, 0.99]
Football Revenue	0.87 [0.75, 1.03]	0.92 [0.78, 1.09]	0.97 [0.86, 1.11]	0.92 [0.83, 1.03]
FBS Teams	0.93 [0.90, 0.96]	0.94 [0.90, 0.97]	0.94 [0.91, 0.97]	0.93 [0.90, 0.96]
Participation	1.02 [0.80, 1.02]	1.02 [0.99, 1.05]	1.03 [0.98, 1.09]	1.05 [0.94, 1.18]
Government Ideology	1.00 [0.98, 1.01]	1.00 [0.99, 1.00]	1.00 [0.99, 1.00]	1.00 [0.99, 1.00]
Neighbor Adoption	1.94 [1.37, 2.76]	1.99 [1.40, 2.81]	2.00 [1.43, 2.80]	1.88 [1.34, 2.62]
N	50	50	50	50
Bold $p < 0.05$, hazard ratios reported with 95% confidence intervals in brackets.				

Figure 5. Predicted Number of Months Without an NIL Policy Adoption across the Proportion of Contiguous Neighbors Who Have Adopted

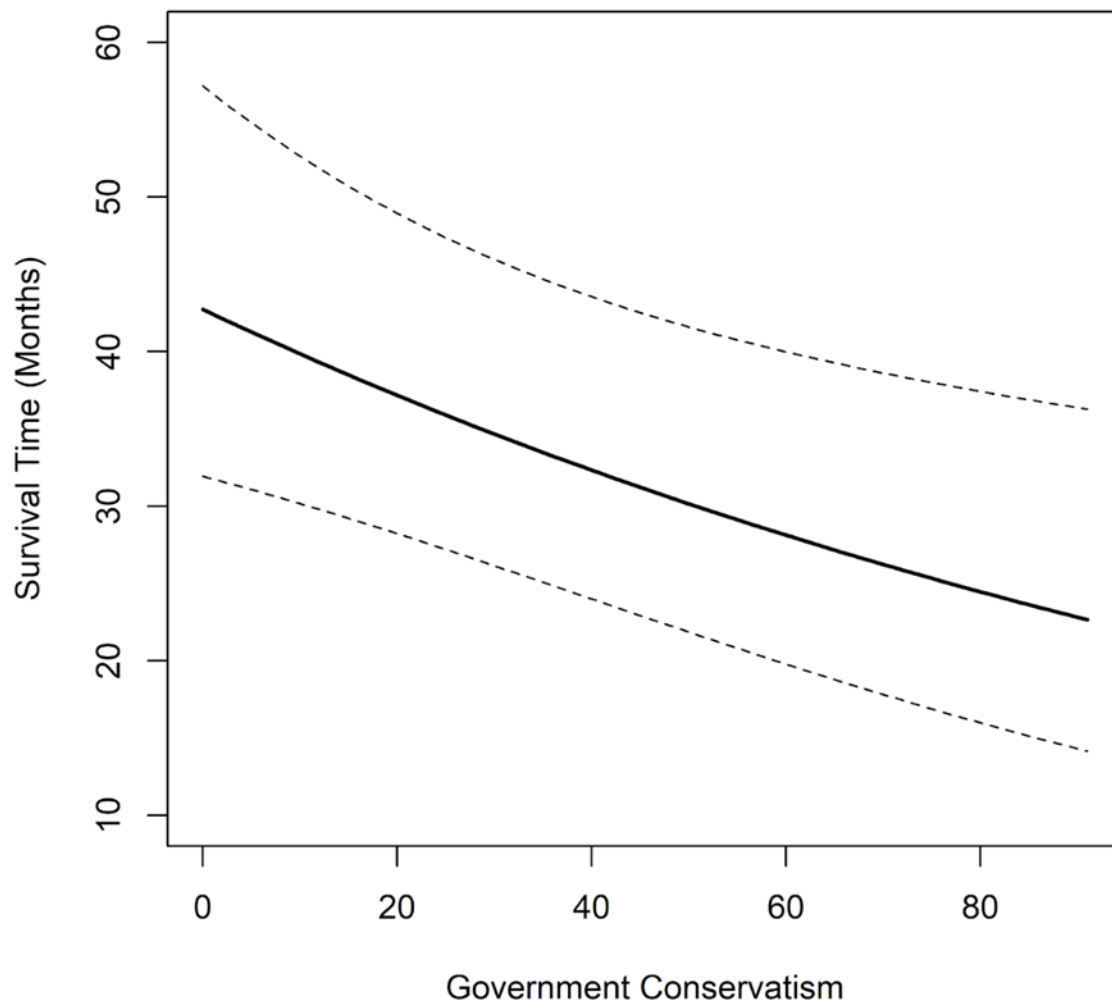


Note: Drawn using the All NCAA School Revenues model that includes Total Revenues.

Results

Tables 1 and 2 present the results for NIL bill introductions (Table 1) and adoptions (Table 2). The results are presented as hazard ratios (with 95% confidence intervals in brackets). A hazard ratio greater than 1 represents a factor that lengths, or slows, adoption. Thus, a hazard ratio below 1 represents a factor that increases the pace of adoption. There are four pairs of models that differ based on how *Total Revenue* and *Football Revenue* are calculated. Two results are firm across both the introduction and adoption models: the presence of *FBS Teams* in a state and *Neighbor Adoptions* are consistent predictors of both. Namely, the more FBS teams in a state, the greater the hazard of adopting an NIL law. Figure 4 depicts the considerable effect that FBS teams have on the length of time that a state goes without adopting an NIL policy. Moving from no FBS teams to the maximum observed 12 FBS teams in a state substantially speeds up the adoption of an NIL policy. States with no FBS teams are predicted to last over 40 months (the entire observed period) without a policy, whereas the

Figure 6. Predicted Number of Months Without an NIL Policy Introduction as Government Conservatism Increases



Note: Drawn using the All NCAA School Revenues model that includes Total Revenues.

predicted survival time drops to 16 months at the maximum of 12 FBS teams. In short, the more FBS teams a state has, the faster they adopt an NIL law.

The negative result for *Neighbor Adoptions* in both introduction and adoption is perplexing, however. As Figure 5 illustrates, moving from no neighbors with an NIL law to all of one's neighbors having one substantially slows the adoption of an NIL law. The same occurs for introductions. This is the *reverse* of what is commonly expected in diffusion studies. In this case, because NIL diffused so rapidly and essentially in a scattershot pattern across the country, the states that have not yet adopted by March 2022, and certainly the small handful that did not have an introduction, were surrounded by neighboring states that had. This does not mean that non-adopting states will not adopt in the future. NIL is roughly in the middle of a standard diffusion lifecycle (Mallinson, 2021b). But it means that, for the observed period, non-adopters are surrounded by adopters (which is quite clear in Figure 2), and the pattern of policy spread appears to not be contingent on geography.

While our indicator of civic pride, *FBS Teams*, has consistent effects, there is almost no evidence that revenues matter for NIL adoption. The only model where they do is when only FBS and FCS schools are used to calculate revenue, and then only for *Total Revenue*. In this case, an increase in total athletic revenues by \$1,000 per undergraduate student increases the pace of NIL adoption by 8%. However, this single significant result should be considered with caution, as it could have occurred by chance.

Finally, *Government Ideology* only affects NIL bill introduction. For each 1 unit increase in conservatism, the pace of introducing an NIL bill increases by 6% to 7%. Figure 6 better illustrates this relationship, given that Berry et al.'s ideology score ranges from 0 to 100. Moving from the least to most conservative state reduces the time before NIL policy introduction by 20 months.

Discussion

This article presents an explanatory analysis of the major effects contributing to the rapid diffusion of NIL policy in the United States. NIL policy has proven to be a significant shift in higher education in several areas, including athletics, treatment and classification of students, and administration (Brandley, 2022; Carrasco, 2021; Newman, 2019; Vertuno, 2021; Wakefield et al., 2021). This work focuses on the interaction of politics, sports, and policy to address the expansion of NIL policy (Burns, 2014; Groothuis et al., 2004; Groothuis & Rotthoff, 2016; Kalich, 1998). In this study we found that the presence of major college football plays a significant role in NIL introduction and adoption, but not the concomitant revenues. Also, we find that political ideology had a significant impact on the introduction of NIL policies but not adoption (Abrams, 2013; Nathan, 2013; Woods, 2022). Finally, neighbor state adoptions have the opposite effect on NIL adoption. This fits with the expectation that a policy as highly salient and technically simple as NIL diffuses in a rapid and scattershot fashion.

While there is no clear-cut fixed event that precipitated NIL adoption, the *Alston v. NCAA* Supreme Court decision is the closest we have. The fact that nearly half of the adoptions occurred within 45 days after the decision is noteworthy. However, our analysis of both introduction and adoption shows how states can act *in anticipation* of significant exogenous shocks. Specifically, the surge in adoptions occurring around the *Alston* decision was preceded by a surge of introductions in those states around the time of oral arguments. It was in March 2021 that members of the Supreme Court “ripped into the NCAA system” and “took the NCAA to task” in a manner that commentators believed signaled that the NCAA would ultimately lose the case (Dellenger, 2021b, n.p.). The introduction and adoption timing patterns are consistent with states acting in response to an expectation of a new legal landscape for student athlete compensation.

These results are significant in a few ways. First, these findings indicate that college football can be a driving force in political decision making (Grix, 2016; Harris & Houlihan, 2016; Haut et al., 2017; Houlihan, 1997). Based on the sport politics, social identity, and civic pride literature, as well as actions like those noted in the construction of the Big XII, we believe there is a substantial connection to the public and to the alumni in legislative bodies who see the need to act on their institution's behalf. Football's role as a significant predictor is an important finding as it confirms a general view of the role of the sport as a source of civic pride (Abrams, 2013; Boyle & Magnusson, 2007; Drezner, 2018; Fink et al., 2009; Gilal et al., 2022; Groothuis et al., 2004; Groothuis & Rotthoff, 2016; Kalich, 1998; Nathan, 2013; Rees et al., 2015; Stephenson & Bell, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Watkins, 2014) and the impact it has on decision making, but also defines the depth of that influence—being that it extends to the political components of higher education and confirming its role within a growth coalition framework. Extending this to policy, the implication confirms that public salience forces states into entering policy arenas regardless of their ideology or past actions. This implication

suggests that if there is a strong enough connection between a policy and public views, in this case the connection between college football and civic pride, there will be action that transcends traditional patterns of policy diffusion.

Second, the findings represent the desire to rush policy in hopes of achieving a positive public outcome from a political perspective. As indicated here, the number of FBS football programs is the biggest factor among states that adopted NIL. It is reasonable to assume that this decision making prioritizes the benefits of sport over university administrative structure and other aspects of the higher education landscape. As expected, football is the driving force when considering the urban regime and civic pride impact of college athletics on policy decisions. These theories suggest that economics can be set aside in political decision making if sports provide a viable connection to perceived social and civic growth (Grix, 2016). Prior findings suggest that most political decisions involving sports (e.g., professional stadium funding) do not lead to economic gain (Bennett, 2015; Euchner, 1993; Lekakis, 2018; Mason et al., 2017; Milke & Veldhuis, 2010; Saito, 2019; Schimmel, 2012). The lack of economic consideration in sports-related decision making is repeated in NIL policy.

Theoretical Implications

Herein we argued that sports policy diffusion is likely different from other policies commonly studied by diffusion researchers. Specifically, we contend that many sports-related policies, like NIL, represent an intersection between economic and social policy. Sports could be viewed as principally an economic concern, but one with substantial social externalities. We thus presented civic pride as both an outcome of sports culture and a factor pushing NIL policy. While other studies have examined policies at this intersection, they tend to have strong morality components (e.g., cannabis and gaming). NIL is not saddled with types of stigma associated with these policies. Moreover, the *Alston* decision helped push the diffusion of this innovation, whereas policies like cannabis liberalization and sports betting have been hampered by federal law. Though, that changed for sports betting with another key Supreme Court case: *Murphy v. NCAA*. *Murphy* likewise cleared the way for rapid legalization of sports betting in the states. The rapid adoption of high salience and low complexity policies is more likely to produce rapid emulation between states rather than considered policy learning.

We in fact find that here. The traditional measure of interstate competition and policy learning, neighbor adoptions, has a *negative* effect on NIL adoption. Meaning, as one's neighbors adopted the policy, states were less likely to adopt. We argue that this is due to the rapid and scattershot nature of NIL adoption. Meaning, states that remained non-adopters by December 2022 are likely to be surrounded by neighbors who have already adopted the policy. Meaning, there was more likely rapid national emulation than regional learning or competition. Anecdotal actions by adopting states provide support for the argument that states are only now undergoing policy learning. Specifically, some states like Alabama have actually abandoned their NIL laws. Others have modified them to address myriad unconsidered challenges. For example, in 2023 Missouri revised its law to expand the role of coaches in NIL deal negotiations (Matter, 2023).

Our findings also support the theory that a policy's characteristics influence how it expands (Mallinson, 2016; Menon & Mallinson, 2022; Nicholson-Crotty, 2009). While regional leaders can usually be seen as path setters in policy diffusion (Desmarais et al., 2015), the rate of introduction and adoption associated with this case suggests that the more rapid the action the less significant geographic and neighbor influence is on the decision to introduce or pass the policy. Introductions and adoptions happened so quickly and widely regarding NIL policies that it was unlikely that states were or are watching neighbors and rather viewing the policy in totality. This does comport with the fact that NIL policies are not technically complex and there is the existence of a significant exogenous shock pushing this innovation (i.e., the *Alston* decision). These data also provide support that the more engaged the public is on an

issue related to civic pride, the quicker the policy will expand and that there is a significant relationship between these mechanisms, or influences, and a shift from a standard s-curve of slower adoption to the r-curve of rapid adoption (Boushey, 2010; Gray, 1973; Mallinson, 2016).

In the case of NIL, this shift had more to do with the presence and political support of FBS football programs and less to do with the level of revenue. Finally, while less often innovators (Boehmke & Skinner, 2012; Gray, 1973), conservative states were quicker to introduce this innovation than liberal ones. It was not until later in the adoption stage that liberal states caught up.

Limitations

There are limitations to what we have found. We cannot definitively prove that the *Alston* decision is what caused the rapid spread of NIL policies. Though, we argue that the evidence is convincing. Additionally, the model does not directly capture civic pride or pride specifically generated by college football. For this we rely on past work that supports this theoretical expectation. This study, like many diffusion studies (e.g., Hannah & Mallinson, 2018) captures the spread of NIL policy in one snapshot of time. While introduction and adoption activity has slowed substantially, both are likely to continue. Such later adoptions are more likely subject to policy learning than the rash of adoption activity captured here. This means that future analyses may find different influences for adoption as later adopters act (Mallinson, 2021b).

Conclusion

Our analysis shows how quickly the policy landscape has changed for states, higher education administrators, and those studying sport policy and politics. NCAA policy has long been insulated from change due to their control over student-athlete classifications. NIL policy and the understanding that political and public salience can remove this administrative power is important as the field examines what is sure to be an avalanche of policy in this area. For example, 17 states have already passed legislation allowing high school students to benefit from their NIL. These changes are taking place as the quick expansion of this policy has emboldened states with strong connections between sports and civic pride to take action that traditionally would not have been accepted within these policy arenas.

The intent of this study is to offer an explanatory analysis that offers insight into the diffusion of NIL policies and its unique determinants (e.g., football revenue). We examine both policy introduction and adoption to determine if there is alignment between the determinants of two different stages of the policy process. What we found is that there are unique connections between NIL policy adoption and college football as a source of civic pride. Further, college football has a defined role in this rapid diffusion and as an indicator of political influence. Finally, it is important to note the finding that economics is not a driving factor in the spread of NIL policy, which is unique considering the amount of attention paid to these revenues. We believe this work offers a platform to expand into further analysis of NIL policy as it offers opportunities to study a policy that has a unique political dynamic. Political decision-makers and higher education administrators can use an understanding of this dynamic to shape how they view and respond to NIL policy. While this work provides an understanding for the rapid nature of NIL policy introduction and adoption, there is room to examine the impact it has on the practical application and administration of the policy in real time.

From this work we believe that researchers can offer future studies that examine the administrative impact of NIL policy and the rapid nature of its expansion. Also, there is a case to be made to study the predictors and factors that have led 9 states *not* to introduce NIL policy and 20 states to not pass a policy. College sports and its associated revenue has an impact in

most states as a multi-billion-dollar industry. Analyzing whether the inaction is associated with administrative patience, politics, or economic views would advance the understanding of how policy expands.

Notes

1. Determined using Menon and Mallinson's (2022) updated speed measure.
2. The Cox proportional hazards model has gained prevalence in policy diffusion research (Mallinson, 2021a) because it does not require the same model corrections to account for duration dependence (Beck et al., 1998; Buckley & Westerland, 2004), however our data violated the proportional hazards assumption. Thus, we chose an AFT model instead.
3. Appreciating that NCAA Division 1 college basketball is also a driver of substantial institutional and civic pride, we also measured the number of such basketball teams in each state. We included this measure in our introduction and adoption models, but the counts of FBS teams and basketball teams are too highly correlated ($r(48)=0.80, p<0.001$) and the sample size is too small to effectively parse out their independent effects. Given the importance of FBS football to both NIL policymaking and subsequent NIL deals, we include only its measure in the results reported herein. Full results can be obtained from the reproduction R script and data.
4. <https://ope.ed.gov/athletics/#/>
5. We examined Google Trends searches for “college basketball” and “college football” as additional measures for capturing civic pride, per DiGrazia (2017). Neither produced statistically significant results, nor did they change our results in Table 1, so they are not reported here. The analyses are included in the reproduction R script.
6. Note that we also estimated the models with an alternative measure of regional diffusion using the proportion of states in each Census region that had adopted previously, but the results did not change.

Data Availability Statement

Reproduction data and script can be found at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/PWU1UC>.

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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Nonprofit Management Researchers' Reconceptualization of Comprehensive INGO Accountability: Toward an Institutional Logics Approach

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International nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) face greater accountability demands from various stakeholders, and from their beneficiaries in particular. This has initiated an academic discourse on a more comprehensive approach to INGO accountability to maintain their legitimacy. This article addresses two research questions: What is the current understanding of accountability of INGOs? And what are theoretical venues to strengthen future research on comprehensive INGO accountability? It does so by offering a systematic literature review of the current academic discourse on INGO accountability, and advances four propositions on what comprehensive INGO accountability entails. The review further highlights that INGO accountability is dynamic and complex. The article therefore suggests a theoretical foundation that accounts for these aspects to support researchers interested in further developing comprehensive INGO accountability. It demonstrates how an institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing INGO accountability relationships to a wider set of stakeholders, including to beneficiaries. It further allows advancing an effectiveness-oriented conceptualization.

Keywords: INGO Accountability, Nonprofit Research, Systematic Literature Review, Neo-Institutional Theory, Institutional Logics

Introduction

In the context of social and environmental challenges that are increasingly transnational in reach, international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) have come to play a critical societal role. On the local level, they act as providers of public goods and services in regions where government agencies lack the capacity to do so, and they represent the interests of minorities (Brown & Moore, 2001b; Crack, 2013). On the global level, INGOs are increasingly expected to take on a political role by partaking in global governance forums and shaping policy debates (Boyer & Kolpakov, 2018; Mitchell et al., 2020). With their important societal role, their accountability has come under closer public—and consequently—academic scrutiny.

A sound accountability practice is crucial for INGOs to maintain their legitimacy as private societal actors, that provide public goods and services. However, INGO accountability is a

complex concept. INGOs operate in a multiple stakeholder context that entails accountability demands of beneficiaries, donors, regulatory governmental authorities, peer organizations, staff, or volunteers. These accountability demands can potentially be opposing or conflicting (Coule, 2015). For INGOs, given their international scope of activity, the context becomes particularly complex. They operate in multiple jurisdictions (Thrandardottir & Keating, 2018), across wide geographical distances, and within different cultural settings that shape the local perception of INGO activity (Stecker et al., 2016). Consequently, INGOs need to reconcile the different regulatory, political, socio-economic, and cultural perspectives of their stakeholders. Leaders of INGOs are expected to adequately respond to those accountability demands for their organization to effectively achieve their societal mission (Liket et al., 2014), and ensure organizational legitimacy (Guterman, 2014).

However, critical scholarship argues that in the context of competitive funding markets and in the absence of international legal regulation INGOs give primacy to the accountability demands of powerful donors and regulatory authorities over those that hold less negotiation power—i.e., beneficiaries (Clerkin & Quinn, 2019; Cordery & Sim, 2018; Heiss & Kelley, 2017; Pallas et al., 2015). This donor-focused accountability approach is criticized for fostering the power-imbalances between different stakeholders and promoting a paternalistic attitude of INGOs (Schmitz et al., 2012). It, further, implies an understanding of accountability that primarily focuses on financial efficiency (Coule, 2015; Jegers, 2008), but provides little accountability for other organizational performance measures, such as the effective achievement of the INGO's mission. This conventional conceptualization of accountability results from applying economic theories, such as principal-agent theory (PA), to INGO management (Deloffre, 2016; Ebrahim, 2003b; Hielscher et al., 2017). While the logics of PA allows conceptualizing some important aspects of INGO accountability, it overlooks other relevant dimensions. This has initiated a discourse within nonprofit management research on how to reconceptualize INGO accountability and has yielded many valuable concepts of a more comprehensive approach to INGO accountability (Berghmans et al., 2017; Brown et al., 2004; Brown et al., 2012; Cavill & Sohail, 2007; Ebrahim et al., 2017; Schmitz et al., 2012). However, these concepts often remain normative in nature. Finding a theoretical foundation to adequately conceptualize comprehensive INGO accountability remains challenging as INGO accountability proves to be dynamic and complex. This article asks the two research questions:

- 1) What is the current understanding of INGO accountability in the academic literature?
- 2) What are theoretical venues to strengthen future research on comprehensive INGO accountability?

To address these questions, we systematically review 56 articles retrieved from the general literature on nonprofit accountability, the specialized literature on INGO accountability, and recent research in the field to offer a systematic overview of the current discourse on INGO accountability. We observe a broadening from a conventional conceptualization of INGO accountability, where accountability serves primarily as a *control* mechanism to *demonstrate* good performance, towards a comprehensive approach where additionally accountability-relationships serve as a means to *create* good performance. We formulate four propositions on what comprehensive INGO accountability entails. This is in line with prior discussions on the relationship between accountability and performance in new public management literature (Christensen & Lægreid, 2015). However, we further find that the theoretical foundation to adequately conceptualize comprehensive accountability is weak. We then advance a theoretical foundation for researchers interested in further developing comprehensive INGO accountability. We elaborate on how an institutional logics approach is a viable theoretical venue to adequately theorize comprehensive INGO accountability. The institutional logics approach does not contradict the conventional PA approach to accountability. Instead, it conceptualizes PA as one possible—and relevant—logics to comprehensive accountability, while also allowing for a wider set of accountability logics. This

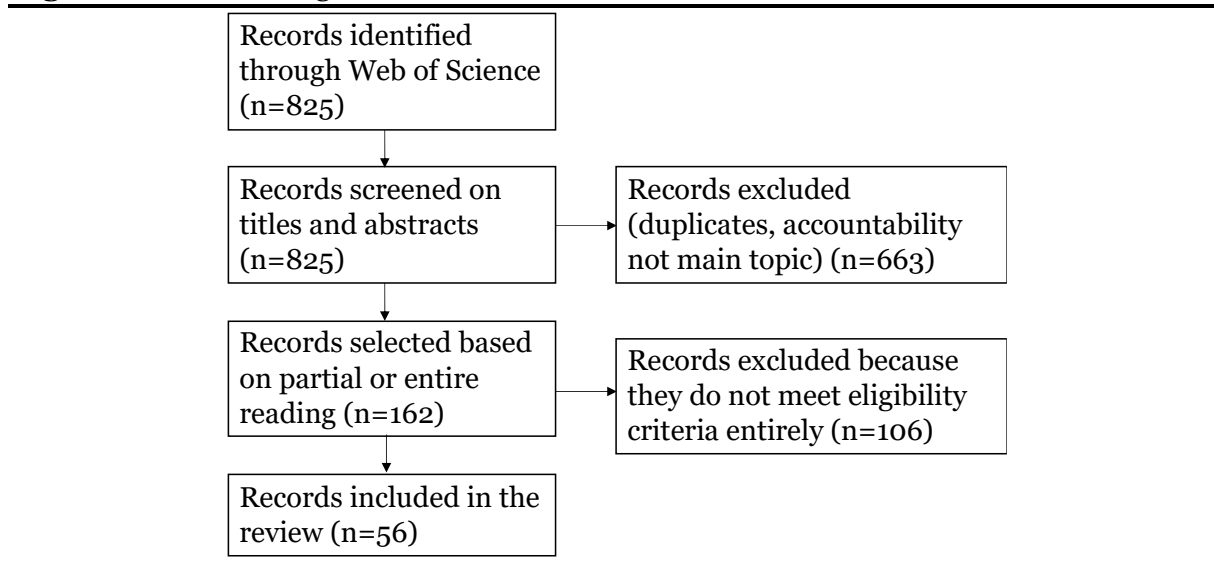
Table 1. Search Terms and Number of Publications

First term	Connector	Second term	Connector	Third term	Number of publications
accountability	AND	international	AND	Nonprofit	123
accountability	AND	international	AND	“Non profit”	48
accountability	AND	international	AND	Non-profit	49
accountability	AND	international	AND	NGO	163
accountability	AND	international	AND	„Non Governmental“	0
accountability	AND	international	AND	Non-Governmental	186
accountability	AND	international	AND	Not-for-profit	36
accountability	AND	international	AND	Nongovernmental	99
accountability	AND	international	AND	„Third sector“	0
accountability	AND	international	AND	NPO	10
accountability	AND	international	AND	„Not for profit“	0
accountability			AND	INGO	24
accountability			AND	INPO	0
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	Nonprofit	10
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	“Non profit”	1
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	Non-profit	1
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	NGO	20
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	„Non Governmental“	19
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	Non-Governmental	20
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	Not-for-profit	0
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	Nongovernmental	14
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	„Third sector“	2
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	NPO	0
accountability	AND	transnational	AND	„Not for profit“	0
Total Articles					825

will allow researchers to make more informed theoretical choices when further developing a comprehensive approach to INGO accountability to strengthen their legitimacy.

Methodology and Data Collection

A systematic literature review is a modest, yet effective vehicle to create common intellectual ground and knowledge consensus on a research topic (Gazley, 2022). It requires a rules-driven, inclusive and transparent approach to the synthesis, in a manner that could be replicated by other researchers (Gazley, 2022; Tranfield et al., 2003). Despite the prominent public and, thus, academic discourse around the topic, there has been no systematic review on the evolving approach to INGO accountability. For this review, secondary data sourced from the *ISI Web of Science* database, a database recommended and applied by other researchers for their systematic review studies, was retrieved (see Bengtsson & Raza-Ullah, 2016; Liñán & Fayolle, 2015). The identification of search terms represents a crucial step in the systematic review process (Tranfield et al., 2003). For this study, the first search term was *accountability*. The second was *international* and/or *transnational*. The third term dealt with the nonprofit organization dimension and correspondingly contained a set of 13 terms as listed in Table 1 already identified and applied in earlier systematic review studies¹ (Laurett & Ferreira, 2017; Maier et al., 2016). The combination of all search terms is listed in Table 1.

Figure 1. PRISMA Diagram

Following Gazley's (2022) and Snyder's (2019) recommendation, we have taken the following steps for our systematic review: (1) We established the research questions and determined the parameters for a literature search (see introduction); then (2) conducted the search using keyword searches and eligibility criteria (see Table 1, Appendix Table A.11), which has helped us find articles to screen and produce the 'content' to be analyzed (see Table 3); then (3) we analyze and synthesize the content (see Figure 1), and (4) report and discuss the results (Tables 3, 4 and 5).

Following the stated search terms, a first search without any limitations or restrictions on publications was carried out, with the first database search phase held on May 18, 2021. The criteria for the research including or excluding articles from the ISI Web of Science database were as follows: inclusion: articles and reviews, all journals (on the researched areas); exclusion: proceedings, book reviews, editorials and articles in languages other than English (adapted from Laurett & Ferreira, 2017). Even though this review focuses on academic articles, it is important to note that there is a vast amount of grey literature on the topic which merits a separate analysis.² The search resulted in a total of 825 articles as detailed in Table 1.

Subsequently, the exclusion process was applied. In the first stage, 302 duplicates were removed. The remaining articles were then subject to a more in-depth analysis of title and abstract. Following Bustos' (2021) approach this review included articles for which the title and abstract met the criteria documented in the Appendix Table A.2. This led to the exclusion of another 361 articles as they did not specifically focus on the topic of accountability in INGOs. Following this stage, the remaining 162 articles were fully analyzed with this process leading to the exclusion of another 106 articles as they did not specifically include specific research on the accountability of INGOs. Finally, there were a total of 56 articles left that provided the basis for the overview on the current discourse on INGO accountability in the following sections. Figure 1 summarizes this process.

Reconceptualizing INGO Accountability: Four Propositions

Accountability implies a relationship between two or more parties and involves the idea of a right to require an account; and a right to impose sanctions, if the account is inadequate (Leat, 1988). Scholars distinguish between *verification accounts*, i.e., providing information about what has been done, and *justification accounts*, i.e., providing information as to why things

have been done a certain way (Benjamin, 2008). Accountability refers to the duty of responding to external claims (Cavill & Sohail, 2007). Consequently, one may ask whether a comprehensive approach entails *more* rights to require an account, *more* verification of accounts, *more* justification of INGO actions, and *more* responsiveness to external claims. To address this question, the following section provides an overview of how the concept of INGO accountability is changing in the nonprofit management literature from a conventional toward a more comprehensive conceptualization. Regardless of the definition of INGO accountability, all of the accountability literature starts by asking: accountable to *whom*, accountable *how*, and accountable for *what* (Cordery & Sim, 2018; Jeong & Kearns, 2015). In line with the literature, this article reviews the literature by focusing on the changes along the following defining properties of INGO accountability: the *primary recipients* (accountable to whom), the *content* (accountable how), and *aim* (accountable for what). Based on this review, it advances four propositions on the shift from conventional to comprehensive INGO accountability. Table 2 summarizes the identified concepts underlying INGO accountability and the associated sources.

Primary Recipients: Broadening the Set of Relevant Stakeholders

INGOs engage with a broad variety of stakeholders (e.g., beneficiaries, private and public donors, state agencies, peers) that all have their respective accountability demands and logics. Yet, despite this diversity, some academic discussions portray INGO accountability as following a singular logic, characterized by a mere focus on accountability toward stakeholders with negotiation power. Those stakeholders generally include large public and private donors who provide financial as well as non-financial resources for the organization to pursue its mission (Brown et al., 2012; Goncharenko, 2019), and legal authorities that set the rules of the game (Coule, 2015; Jeong & Kearns, 2015). When these powerful stakeholders demand an account, it is in the interest of the INGO to respond to, and comply with, these accountability demands in order to secure the flow of resources or avoid legal sanctions. From this perspective, INGO accountability is primarily donor-focused and driven by requirements of the funding market and by legal regulation, and primarily serves a functional purpose of organizational financial survival (Ebrahim, 2003a). This implies a conventional approach to INGO accountability, which has been referred to as *upward accountability* and *functional accountability* (Ebrahim, 2003b), and *compliance accountability* (Crack, 2013), and is associated with the notion of control from powerful stakeholders (including donors and regulatory institutions) over the INGO's activity.

Being accountable to donors and legal authorities is one important aspect of INGO accountability. However, recent scholarship argues that comprehensive INGOs accountability must include a broader set of primary stakeholders. In particular, it should not only include those that hold negotiation power, but to include those that are on the receiving end of INGO of services—i.e., beneficiaries (Crack, 2013; Schmitz et al., 2012). Paralleling the terminology of upward accountability, scholars have created the term *downward* accountability (Cordery & Sim, 2018; Crack, 2013). The reasoning for broadening the set of primary stakeholders is normative as well as strategic. First, it is argued that INGOs have a moral obligation to be accountable to the people they work with and for, even if these people cannot demand an account through negotiation power (Elbers & Schulpen, 2013; Gutterman, 2014; Hielscher et al., 2017). Second, scholarship highlights the importance of democratizing organizations that provide public goods and services or engage in political activities (Crack, 2018; Pallas & Guidero, 2016). Third, it is argued that being accountable to beneficiaries has a positive strategic impact on organizational effectiveness (Cavill & Sohail, 2007; Ebrahim et al., 2017). It is found that engaging more closely with beneficiaries allows to better identify and address their needs and creates a sense of ownership, which can lead to more effective programs and collaborations (Cavill & Sohail, 2007). Comprehensive INGO accountability therefore addresses a broader set of stakeholders and is driven by a moral obligation, the need for

Table 2. Summary of Existing Concepts For INGO Accountability

Concept	Sources
Mechanism of control for dominant stakeholders (donors and regulatory governmental institutions) over INGO activities	Andrews, 2014; Boyer & Kolpakov, 2018; Breen et al., 2018; Brown et al., 2012; Cordery & Sim, 2018; Ebrahim, 2003a; Elbers & Schulpen, 2013; Gugerty, 2008b; Jegers, 2008; Jeong & Kearns, 2015; McConville & Cordery, 2018, 2022; O'Dwyer & Unerman, 2008; Pallas & Guidero, 2016; Sofronova et al., 2014; Thrandardottir & Keating, 2018; Townsend & Townsend, 2004
Tool to gain trust of donors to ensure future funding, and ensure regulatory freedom	Goncharenko, 2019; Gutterman, 2014; Hielscher et al., 2017; Prakash & Gugerty, 2010; Van Puyvelde et al., 2012
Tool to demonstrate organizational performance (financial, and non-financial)	Cordery et al., 2019; Crack, 2016; Liket & Maas, 2015; McConville & Cordery, 2018; Mitchell, 2013; Schmitz et al., 2012; Traxler et al., 2020
Tool to assess organizational performance (financial, and non-financial)	Liket et al., 2014; Prentice, 2016; Sowa et al., 2004
Strategic tool to create organizational effectiveness	Brown et al., 2012; Cavill & Sohail, 2007; Crack, 2018; Ebrahim et al., 2017; Ebrahim, 2003b; Harris et al., 2009; Hengevoss, 2023; Hume & Leonard, 2014; Mitchell, 2015
Process of dialogue and negotiation to understand different stakeholders' interests	Albrecht, 2019; Benjamin, 2008; Berghmans et al., 2017; Christensen et al., 2009; Coule, 2015; Crack, 2013; Deloffre, 2016; Egels-Zandén et al., 2015; Footitt, 2017; Hengevoss, 2021; Herman & Renz, 2008; Jordan & Van Tuijl, 2000; Kennedy, 2019a, 2019b; Knapp & Sheep, 2019; Pallas et al., 2015; Williams & Taylor, 2013
Means to ensure organizational legitimacy	Beagles, 2022; Hengevoss, 2021; Pallas et al. 2015; Thrandardottir & Keating, 2018

democratization of these organizations, and a strategic interest for the organization. This, in turn, requires a more deliberate approach to accountability.

Proposition 1: Comprehensive INGO accountability comprises the interests of multiple stakeholders, including those historically underrepresented in accountability structures such as beneficiaries.

Content: From Financial-Results-Focused to Process-Oriented

Recognizing stakeholders with less negotiation power, including beneficiaries, as primary recipients requires revising what INGO accountability *contains*. In a conventional donor-focused approach, there is a strong focus on INGO accountability for financial *results*. This focus has fostered accountability mechanisms that include publishing disclosure statements and reports on organizational financial performance (Breen et al., 2018; Brown et al., 2012; Ebrahim, 2003a). These mechanisms are indeed valid for *assessing* (Liket & Maas, 2015; Prentice, 2016) and *demonstrating* (Cordery et al., 2019; McConville & Cordery, 2018) a program's social return on investment (SROI) in financial terms and reporting on the INGO's overall financial performance in a way that it is measurable and comparable. However, while financial results may offer valuable information for donors and regulation authorities, they are criticized for providing little accountability to beneficiaries (Cordery & Sim, 2018). Focusing on financial results, further, conceptualizes INGO accountability as being primarily retrospective in its scope of interests.

With the aim of providing accountability to beneficiaries, scholarly attention has been drawn to INGO accountability as a *process* (Benjamin, 2008; Ebrahim, 2003a; Mitchell & Calabrese, 2020). Benjamin (2008), for example, describes nonprofit accountability as a process in which parties who engage with each other define, ex ante, shared goals and expectations. Ex post, accounts are given and evaluated as to whether these goals and expectations have been met. Parties then decide whether goals need to be adjusted, whether their collaboration should continue, or whether one party will exit the collaboration. Comprehensive INGO accountability, therefore, contains a process of engagement and interaction between the INGO and relevant stakeholder groups. The Core Humanitarian Standards (CHS) is one of the earlier initiatives that promotes process-oriented accountability. Founded in 2014, its principles state that INGOs, for instance, must have processes in place that allow handling external complaints as well as engaging in learning processes (CHS Alliance, 2018).

Conceptualizing INGO accountability as a process, further, entails the idea of discourse between the INGO and its stakeholders. Building on the philosophical principle of *ideal discourse* (Habermas, 1993), it is argued that discursive interaction of all relevant stakeholders can lead to a mutual understanding of a given problem and the identification of an ethically justifiable strategy to deal with a given problem (Crack, 2013). Moreover, discourse allows negotiating and defining shared behavioral and performance standards that are more agile and adapted to a particular organizational context (Berghmans et al., 2017). For example, shared standards for impact measurement can be created. Focusing on the process of accountability therefore further conceptualizes INGO accountability as being future-oriented and constructive. This process-oriented approach has been referred to as *discursive* and *constructive* (Crack, 2013; Herman & Renz, 2008), negotiated accountability or dialogic accountability (Berghmans et al., 2017), holistic accountability (O'Dwyer & Unerman, 2008), and deliberative accountability (Kennedy, 2019a).

Proposition 2: Comprehensive INGO accountability is not only results-focused, but further includes the dimension of process-orientation.

Proposition 3: Comprehensive INGO accountability entails discourse and negotiation to understand different stakeholders' interests.

The process-orientation of comprehensive INGO accountability requires accountability mechanisms that allow for promoting discourse between INGOs and their stakeholders. Different accountability mechanisms can foster discourse between the INGO and a wider set of stakeholders. Peer regulation, for example, refers to the process in which INGOs on the sector level join to establish their own accountability standards. Peer regulation therefore aims to foster exchange and learning among peer organizations (Crack, 2016; Crack, 2018; Gugerty, 2008a; Hengevoss & von Schnurbein, 2023). Another example includes public participation, which can take the form of information sharing, public meetings, or formal stakeholder dialogue (Ebrahim, 2003a; Kennedy, 2019a, 2019b). Yet, it needs to be mentioned that these process-oriented accountability mechanisms come with managerial costs. The INGO needs the managerial capacity and resources to engage in the process of peer regulation or public participation. Scholars therefore stress that the benefits of process-oriented accountability needs to be weighted against its costs (Berghmans et al., 2017; Boyer & Kolpakov, 2018).

Aims: From Demonstrating Efficiency to Additionally Creating Effectiveness

Accountability is a means to an end. Accountability can be a means linked to organizational performance. In what way accountability is linked to an INGO's organizational performance, however, varies depending on the conceptualization of INGOs accountability. INGOs have multiple target systems that, among others, include the target of financial efficiency as well as the target of mission achievement (Christensen et al., 2009; Herman & Renz, 2008). Depending on the target system addressed, the aim of INGO accountability varies. The conventional approach that focuses on donors' demands and financial reporting is so deeply

rooted in everyday language that accountability is often equated with *accounting* (Coule, 2015; Jegers, 2008). INGOs report on figures such as the ratio of administrative expenses to total expenses, the ratio of fundraising to total expenses, or the ratio of program expenses to total expenses (Prentice, 2016). Accordingly, an INGO can achieve good organizational performance by keeping administrative, fundraising, and overhead costs low, assuring donors that their resources have been used efficiently (Breen et al., 2018). Following this conventional approach, INGO accountability is aimed at demonstrating organizational performance in terms of financial performance.

A sole focus on financial efficiency, however, falls short of adequately representing the INGO's organizational performance. Financial efficiency measures do not allow assessing how well the INGO fulfills its mission and whether it is addressing the needs of its beneficiaries effectively, and therefore excludes their accountability demands (Coupet & Broussard, 2021; Prentice, 2016). Moreover, it has been shown that the pressure to report on good financial performance has encouraged organizations to focus on short-term financial results (Ebrahim, 2003b), which bears the risks of organizational goal displacement and mission drift (Boyer & Kolpakov, 2018; Harris et al., 2009). Finally, focusing on financial performance limits the scope of analysis of INGO accountability to within organizational boundaries, but does not allow assessing effective change outside the organization.

In light of these shortcomings, the nonprofit management scholarship documents a shift in the aim of INGO accountability. The primary aim of an INGO entails making strategic decisions such that it effectively follows its organizational mission and serves its beneficiaries (Hume & Leonard, 2014). An INGO, therefore, is primarily expected to operate effectively rather than efficiently. This has two implications for defining the aim of INGO accountability. First, there is increasing academic consensus that comprehensive INGOs accountability should provide accountability not only for organizational efficiency, but even more importantly for its effectiveness as well (Sowa et al., 2004). Second, the process-orientation of comprehensive INGO accountability implies that accountability is not only to be understood as a means to demonstrate organizational effectiveness. Rather, accountability entails a constructive process of engagement and discourse with a broader set of stakeholders where needs and goals are elaborated and negotiated (Berghmans et al., 2017; Crack, 2018; O'Dwyer & Boomsma, 2015). This constructive and negotiation-based approach suggests that demonstrating results for financial performance is only one dimension of comprehensive accountability. Comprehensive accountability further includes the dimension which focuses more on the processes that lead to the creation of effective outcomes. Comprehensive accountability therefore includes the constructive process of mutual engagement between the INGO and its stakeholder. This further broadens the scope of analysis beyond organizational boundaries.

Proposition 4: Comprehensive INGO accountability not only serves to demonstrate financial performance, but further includes the dimension of creating effective outcomes.

In the beginning of this section, the question of whether comprehensive INGO accountability entailed more rights to require an account, more verification by INGOs, more justification of INGO actions, and more responsiveness to external claims was raised. While these questions should certainly not be rejected, the reviewed literature allows arguing that comprehensive INGO accountability goes beyond simply increasing verification, justification, or responsiveness. To summarize, it entails addressing the accountability demands of a broader set of stakeholders, and of beneficiaries in particular. This requires adding more process-oriented accountability mechanisms that promote the exchange and discourse with different stakeholders. As a result, comprehensive INGO accountability entails the additional dimension of a constructive process that is aimed at creating organizational effectiveness. This allows for INGO accountability to be more future-oriented, to create more agile and negotiated

Table 3. Reconceptualizing INGO Accountability

Defining Properties	INGO Accountability Approach	
	Conventional	Comprehensive
Primary Recipients	Stakeholders with negotiation power only (i.e., powerful donors, regulatory authorities) ➤ Tool to gain trust of donors and avoid of legal sanctions	Proposition 1: All relevant stakeholders (including beneficiaries) ➤ Moral obligation, need for democratization, and strategic value as primary drivers of accountability
Content	Result-focused only (financial reporting) ➤ Retrospective in scope of interest ➤ Exogenously fixed and universal standards	Proposition 2 & 3: Additionally, processes-oriented (peer regulation, participation, and discourse) ➤ Based on discourse and negotiation ➤ Future-oriented and constructive in scope of interest ➤ Negotiated and agile standards
Aim	Demonstration of financial performance only ➤ Scope of analysis lies within the organization	Proposition 4: Additionally, creation of effectiveness ➤ Scope of analysis goes across organizational boundaries

accountability standards, and to widen the scope of interest for impact beyond organizational boundaries. Table 3 provides an overview of the broadening from a conventional single-dimensional INGO accountability approach towards a multi-dimensional comprehensive approach.

Theorizing Comprehensive INGO Accountability: The Institutional Logics Approach

As the foregoing literature review shows, INGO accountability is a concept that is subject to change, particularly regarding the aspects of primary recipients, contents, and aims of accountability. Given INGOs' important societal role, it is crucial for researchers to better understand what comprehensive INGO accountability entails. This, in turn, requires a sound theoretical foundation. The conventional concept of accountability is argued to be the result of researchers focusing too heavily on a PA theory when analyzing accountability relationships in INGOs (Deloffre, 2016; Ebrahim, 2003b; Hielscher et al., 2017). In line with a wider trend in the nonprofit management literature (Beagles, 2022; Goncharenko, 2019; Mitchell, 2018), the following section elaborates on how an institutional logics approach offers a viable theoretical venue for future research on comprehensive INGO accountability. This theoretical approach offers a way of organizing and elaboration upon accountabilities contingent on different stakeholder groups. We build on propositions 1 to 4 derived in the first part of the paper and elaborate on how institutional logics allows theorizing them.

Integrating Institutional Logics with INGO Accountability

Comprehensive INGO accountability addresses the multi-stakeholder context, and the different and potentially conflicting accountability demands. To conceptualize these requirements, recent nonprofit management research builds on the institutional logics

approach (Albrecht, 2019; Beagles, 2022; Cordery et al., 2019; Goncharenko, 2019). Institutional logics are defined by norms, rules, and values, and provide societal actors with a distinct logic on how things ought to be within an institutional environment (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). These logics define the material practices through, and reasons for, which organizations and their stakeholders interact (Thornton et al., 2013). The assumption is that organizational decisions are mainly guided by what is deemed legitimate according to their individual institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). This contrasts the assumptions of more traditional economic theories where organizations are assumed to be primarily driven by market pressures and legal regulation. In nonprofit management research, the institutional logics approach allows theorizing stakeholder-relationships that cannot solely be explained by market-transactions or legal regulation (Berghmans et al., 2017; Herman & Renz, 2008; Mitchell, 2015; Ostrander & Schervish, 1990).

Institutional logics scholars label the seven ideal type institutional orders as *family*, *religion*, *state*, *corporation*, *market*, *profession*, and *community* (Beagles, 2022). The logic of family is omitted due to informality. These logics are described as varying in the sources from which actors gain authority and legitimacy as well as in the basis of norms, strategies, and control mechanisms orienting their social interactions (Thornton et al., 2013). Nonprofit management scholars have built on these ideal logic-types and have adopted these logics to individual stakeholders (Beagles, 2022; Goncharenko, 2019; Gugerty et al., 2021; Hengevoss, 2023; Wahlén, 2014; Weinryb, 2020). This has allowed deriving different accountability logics. With each institutional logic a specific accountability logic derives—that is, a logic that defines whom, what for, and how the INGO is expected to practice accountability. Further, the source of authority and legitimacy of different stakeholder groups has implications for their accountability expectations towards the INGOs as well as for how the INGO responds to these expectations.

The following accountability logics by stakeholder can be described. The accountability logic of founders and trustees expect accountability for (what) the adherence to and achievement of the INGO's mission. This gives them their legitimacy. The board of directors has the authority to judge the degree to which the INGO operates in line with its mission achievement. To this end (how), INGOs implement monitoring, evaluation and learning processes that allow them tracking the degree to which their programs contribute to the overall mission achievement. The accountability logic of recipients deserve accountability for the INGO's effective provision of designated goods and services. They deserve accountability by being given agency when interacting with INGO representatives. This requires a sense of reciprocity (legitimacy) and trust in the INGO. To this end, the INGOs implement processes that allow for dialogue between the INGO and representatives of the recipient community. The recipient community holds the authority to judge whether the INGO's actions are in line with their values and norms. The donor accountability logic demands proof for the efficient and effective use of donated resources. The INGO will provide financial accountability through the means of financial reporting. The effectiveness of donated resources is again proven by the means of monitoring and evaluation of program outcomes. Their legitimacy is derived by the donations they make. They have the authority by voting through their donations on whether they approve or disapprove of the INGO's activities. The State, as a regulatory institution, requires accountability for the INGO's legal compliance. This is practiced, for instance, by means of legal registration and reporting. According to the State's logic, legitimacy is derived through democratic participation. Authority is derived through bureaucratic domination.

Peer-organizations demand accountability for the adherence to shared standards, exchange of best practice, and fair collaboration. The INGO, for instance, adheres to these standards by engaging in formal and informal knowledge exchange and participation in network meetings. Legitimacy is both derived from a sense of reciprocity when collaborating, and the market position when competing for funding. Similarly, authority is derived from both a commitment to shared values and norms, and received donations in case of competition. Finally, employees

demand accountability for compensation at a market rate, for job security. The INGO provides accountability through the means of formal contracting. Legitimacy is derived through professional expertise that is offered, and authority lies with professional associations that judge the adherence to professional standards. These logics showcase the relevant contents (how) and aims (what for) of each stakeholder's (whom) accountability logic. They don't claim to be comprehensive, but can be further extended. The accountability logics are summarized in Table 4.

On this foundation, the following sections elaborate in more detail on how the institutional logics approach is a viable theoretical venue to theorize comprehensive INGO accountability. To this end, it refers to the propositions 1 to 4 derived in the first part of the paper, and elaborates on how institutional logics allows theorizing them.

An Institutional Logics Approach Toward Primary Recipients of Accountability: Ad Proposition 1

INGOs are required to respond to a broad variety of stakeholder accountability demands. These accountability demands follow different accountability logics that are defined by the individual stakeholders' interests. Given the multi-stakeholder context and international scope of activity of INGOs, these interests and inherent logics may vary strongly. Different institutional logics can co-exist, but can also oppose or conflict (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). When logics conflict, either the dominant logic takes over, the opposing logics co-exist, or a new shared logic emerges (Thornton et al., 2013). One dominant logic is the one of donors and regulatory institutions which have power via their resources and legal sanctioning mechanisms. The institutional logics approach, however, suggests that social interaction is not solely defined by the exchange of financial resources or legal regulation, but that shared beliefs, norms and values further drive interaction between societal actors (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Recent studies, indeed, show that an institutional logics approach can reveal alternative rationales for INGO accountability relationships, and suggest that different accountability logics can co-exist within an organization, or a new logic can develop between the organization and different stakeholders. Research on nonprofit-public partnerships, for example, shows that despite following different accountability logics, nonprofit organizations and public organizations can develop a shared accountability logic (Albrecht, 2019; Egels-Zandén et al., 2015). In particular, it shows that shared logics can be developed through exchange processes, which allow creating a mutual understanding and focusing on the shared goal of the nonprofit-public-partnership. Similarly, research on INGO networks reveals that the accountability logic between peers is based on values such as mutual learning to strengthen collective action (Crack, 2016; Crack, 2018).

Other studies show that accountability relationships between INGOs and beneficiaries are strongly driven by the logics of moral obligation and relational reciprocity (Hielscher et al., 2017; O'Dwyer & Boomsma, 2015). Contrary to the rational choice perspective, these studies therefore indicate that there is a broad set of different INGO accountability logics. These logics, further, can occur despite market pressures and in the absence of legal regulation. Since an institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing stakeholder relationships that are not market-based or legally defined, it allows defining and analyzing multiple co-existing accountability logics. This allows broadening the set of primary recipients of INGO accountability and fosters a comprehensive approach to INGO accountability. Addressing proposition 1, the institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing multiple INGO accountability logics, including those of beneficiaries.

An Institutional Logics Approach Toward the Contents of Accountability: Ad Propositions 2 & 3

The theoretical approach chosen to conceptualize INGO accountability has implications for the definition of the content of accountability. Acknowledging the existence of multiple

Table 4. Overview Individual Stakeholder Accountability Logics

Group of Stakeholders (Whom)	Ideal Institutional Logic	Source of Legitimacy	Source of Authority	Accountability Logic For What and How	Exemplifying Sources
Founder or Trustees	Nonprofit Organization (adapted from Corporation)	Mission achievement	Board of directors, executive directors	For what: Adherence and achievement of mission How: Needs assessment (process), Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning processes (results)	Block & Rosenberg, 2002; Carman & Nesbit, 2013
Recipients (e.g., beneficiaries, members, clients)	Community	Unity of will, believe in trust and reciprocity	Commitment to community values and ideology	For what: Effective provision of designated goods and services, participation and agency How: Needs assessment (process), Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning processes (results), process of dialogue (process)	Berghmans et al., 2017; Hengevoss, 2023
Donors (e.g., public and private funders, founders, creditors)	Market; Efficient Transaction	Donation (adapted from share price)	Donor activism (adapted from shareholder activism)	For what: Efficient use of donations, Effective provision of designated goods and services How: Financial reporting (results), Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning processes (results), process of dialogue (process)	Goncharenko, 2019; Schervish, 2005
State Institutions (e.g., local and host governments, regulatory institutions)	State	Democratic participation; Provision of public good (added)	Bureaucratic domination	For what: Provision of public goods and services, legal compliance How: financial reporting, legal registration and reporting	Albrecht, 2019; Heiss & Kelley, 2017
Peer Organizations (e.g., peer network, peer regulation)	Market; Community	Market position; Unity of will, believe in trust and reciprocity	Donor activism (adapted from shareholder activism); Commitment to	For What: Definition and adherence to shared standards, exchange of best practice, collaboration How: Knowledge exchange, participation in network meetings, financial reporting,	Gugerty et al., 2021; Hengevoss & von Schnurbein,

initiatives)			community values and ideology	activity reports	2023
Employees (e.g., managers, staff, volunteers)	Profession	Personal expertise	Professional association	For what: Compensation at market rate, job security, recognition How: Contracting	Ebrahim et al., 2014

stakeholder logics and being accountable in a meaningful way demands more process-oriented accountability mechanisms in addition the results-focused ones. Different accountability logics can lead to tension that need to be addressed through communication and negotiation processes (Berghmans et al., 2017; Crack, 2013). An institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing processes of negotiation that result from differing and potentially conflicting logics. Recent studies that acknowledge the plurality of INGO accountability logics, indeed, discern such negotiation processes between the INGO and its stakeholders. The findings are mixed. On the one hand, these negotiations can be the source of tensions and conflict, impeding accountability toward beneficiaries (Berghmans et al., 2017; Kennedy, 2019a, 2019b). On the other hand, they can facilitate defining and implementing accountability in complex multi-stakeholder environments (Williams & Taylor, 2013). Koppel's (2005) case study illustrates the risks of overstraining organizational capacities when addressing 'too many' accountability demands and applying accountability tools and processes that are too complex. This is definitely a risk when implementing a multiple logics accountability approach. Leadership is therefore advised to implement comprehensive accountability in a meaningful way to avoid overstraining organizational capacities. Either way, these studies suggest that an institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing a process-oriented and hence comprehensive INGO accountability approach. Building on proposition 2, the institutional logics approach supports process-oriented INGO accountability.

An Institutional Logics Approach Toward the Aim of Accountability: Ad Proposition 4

The discourse on INGO accountability documents a shift from assessing organizational performance in terms of financial performance toward describing it in terms of effectiveness. This shift raises the question as to what constitutes INGO effectiveness. Herman and Renz (2008) have suggested that organizational effectiveness is not objectively given, but that it is a socially constructed concept, defined by those assessing and judging it. Different stakeholders may have different assessments of what constitutes INGO effectiveness, and given INGOs' multi-stakeholder context, one can expect a broad variety of judgements (Mitchell, 2013). From a donor's perspective, for example, INGO effectiveness can be evaluated based on outcome indicators that assess program effectiveness; the use of prescriptive board and management practices as indicators of efforts to secure legitimacy; or the demonstration of organizational growth (Herman & Renz, 2008). For peer organizations, on the other hand, network effectiveness may be a more relevant measure of organizational effectiveness and is assessed based on the INGOs' contribution of resources to a peer-network (Sowa et al., 2004). For beneficiaries, effectiveness may be assessed based on how much change an INGO's actions have created in their community. These broad sets of effectiveness judgements, in turn, require multiple accountability logics that provide adequate accountability. As an institutional logics approach allows defining multiple accountability logics, it consequently allows addressing

Table 5. Theorizing INGO accountability and associated propositions

Defining Properties	Institutional Logics Approach
Primary Recipients	➤ <u>Proposition 1</u> : The institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing multiple INGO accountability logics.
Content	➤ <u>Proposition 2</u> : The institutional logics approach supports process-oriented INGO accountability. ➤ <u>Proposition 3</u> : The institutional logics approach supports dialogic and negotiation based nature of comprehensive accountability.
Aim	➤ <u>Proposition 4</u> : The institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing an effectiveness-aimed INGO accountability approach that acknowledges different judgements of effectiveness.
Resulting INGO Accountability Conceptualization	Comprehensive conceptualization

the plurality of judgements in INGO effectiveness. Addressing proposition 4, the institutional logics approach allows conceptualizing an effectiveness-aimed INGO accountability approach that acknowledges multiple judgements of effectiveness. Table 5 summarizes the theorization and associated propositions.

Conclusion and Implications

INGOs play an important societal role and their accountability has come under closer scrutiny. In this light, the nonprofit literature documents a shift from a conventional donor-focused INGO accountability conceptualization toward a more comprehensive approach that acknowledges the plurality in accountability logics. This shift requires an adaption of the theoretical basis on which an INGO accountability is conceptualized. This article suggested that an institutional logics approach is a compelling theoretical direction for future research on comprehensive INGO accountability. Institutional logics does not contradict the conventional PA approach to INGO accountability. Instead, it shows that PA is but one logic, of a wider set of accountability logics that describe the relationships and dynamics of INGO accountability.

The natural implication of this article is to further elaborate on the four propositions it advances. However, there are two implications for future research that deserve to be highlighted. First, this article argues that comprehensive INGO accountability creates organizational effectiveness. Future research could build on this link by empirically testing whether comprehensive INGO accountability strengthens the perceived and felt organizational legitimacy. A case study on Amnesty International Ireland shows that donor-focused accountability practices can lead to organizational ineffectiveness in terms of mission drift (O'Dwyer & Boomsma, 2015). Similarly, a case study on eleven leading INGOs found peer regulation strengthens organizational effectiveness (Crack, 2018). However, such studies remain inconclusive. If comprehensive INGO accountability is to be more widely adopted, research needs to provide further evidence for the strategic relevance of this approach. Second, this article proposes an institutional logics approach as a viable theoretical lens to further

develop comprehensive INGO accountability. However, as mentioned, this article contributed to establishing a theoretical foundation. Given that concepts such as ‘warm glow’, ‘social status’, or ‘ego’ are important driving forces of international philanthropic giving, theoretical venues that incorporate these concepts into INGOs’ accountability practice should be explored. Finally, Koppell’s (2005) study on public service organization suggests that ‘transparency’ and ‘responsiveness’ are other terms typically associated with the concept of accountability. This implies that the literature review could be further extended with Koppell’s terms.

Even though this article addresses nonprofit management researchers, implications for practice can be derived. With the establishment of an international civil society and societal issues being transnational in nature, the role of INGOs changes. Traditionally, INGOs have been understood as providers of public goods and services, particularly in regions where governmental agencies lack the capacity to do so. However, INGOs are now increasingly expected to challenge the political systems and social structures that are the root cause of many issues they work against (Mitchell et al., 2020). This shift in role from resources provision towards a more political role, in turn, makes a comprehensive approach to accountability even more relevant. When taking on a political role, it is not sufficient anymore to solely provide accountability to donors. Only when INGOs are accountable to all relevant stakeholders, their political actions can be considered democratic. Being accountable to a broad set of stakeholders on the basis of democratic discourse therefore becomes crucial for INGOs to adequately take on their role as political actors in an international civil society.

Notes

1. In a second round, we have searched for the combinations “accountability AND international AND charity” as well as “accountability AND transnational AND charity.” Each search has yielded 58, and 4 articles, respectively. However, these articles were already retrieved with the prior search term combinations.
2. This review focuses on journal articles. For a further academic deep dive on that topic, the following books can be consulted: Balboa (2015); Edwards & Hulme (1995); Jordan & Van Tuijl (2006); Mitchell et al. (2020); Park & Kramarz (2019); and Stroup & Wong (2017).

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Appendix

Table A.1. Literature Eligibility Criteria

Type of studies and participants: Records are related to the study of INGO accountability in the nonprofit management sector. Participants must be the subject of accountability practice: INGOs and audiences (e.g., beneficiaries, donors, governmental institutions, peer organizations, media, employees).
Topic: Records must contain the terms shown in table 1 in the titles and/or abstracts and within the document. All records were read in their title, abstract, or entirely to make sure that the research focus laid on accountability, and that the term was not simply used on a side note.
Study design: Empirical and theoretical studies are included. Since one of the objectives of this review is to know the current state of INGO accountability, it is necessary to analyze the evidence obtained in all types of studies.
Field of study: Records should refer to the study of accountability in the nonprofits in general or INGOs specifically. This review did include all definitions for accountability, as its understanding is the topic of study. It only included records where INGOs met the following definitions: INGOs are defined as nonprofit organizations that are headquartered in one country, have programs and mandates outside the home country (Boyer and Kolpakov, 2018), and are typically engaged in development matters and humanitarian aid (Salamon and Sokolowski, 2004). This review excluded records related to the study of public organizations or universities, and hospitals because they did not fit the used definition of an INGO.
Year of publication: There is no limit to the year of publication.
Language: The study considers records written in English exclusively (given the search terms no articles in other languages were found).
Publication status: The review considered only articles and books published in journals with peer review and by publishers or university stamps consolidated in the field of public administration and nonprofit management.

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Empowerment or Exploitation? Ethical Engagement of Survivor Leaders in Anti-Trafficking Organizations

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In recent years, anti-trafficking organizations have increased the use of survivor voices in fundraising, direct service, and leadership. While empowerment is the goal, tokenism can be the outcome when organizations do not engage survivors ethically. This integrative literature review article provides an overview of the research on engagement of sex trafficking survivors in organizations leading anti-trafficking efforts in the United States and summarizes findings to emphasize ethical engagement practices from an organizational culture perspective. Overall, it is recommended that organizations ethically engage survivors in a variety of roles within the organization. To do this well, organizations should create opportunities for professional capacity building, enhancement of survivor leadership roles and responsibilities, and adoption of a trauma-informed and survivor-informed organizational culture to empower survivors.

Keywords: Organizational Culture, Trauma-Informed Organizations, Human Trafficking, Survivor Leadership, Anti-Trafficking Workplace

Introduction

Anti-trafficking organizations are most effective when using content experts, including human trafficking survivors, to inform organizational policy and practice. However, ethical, empowerment-based practices are necessary to ensure survivor safety in anti-trafficking work. Ethical engagement, in this context, is defined as the practices, policies, and dynamics within an organization which promote the well-being, empowerment, and self-determination of survivors (Lockyer, 2020; National Association of Social Workers [NASW], 2018; National Human Trafficking Training and Technical Assistance Center [NHTTAC], 2018; Reamer, 2000). However, ethical engagement of survivors in anti-trafficking work is key to avoiding further exploitation and to ensure that not only are voices heard, but that survivors are offered opportunities based on their skill sets and not only survivorship.

Empowerment can be a loaded word for those who have been exploited in the sex industry whether as adults or as children. Because politicalized sex work movements frequently use the term 'empowerment' to describe prostitution as a feminist act, traffickers have also adopted the term in the process of grooming and conditioning victims. This act of brainwashing then leads to a victim's worldview in which empowerment and trafficking exploitation are difficult to separate (Lockyer & Wingard, 2020; Morrison et al., 2021). While social stigma is a factor

that keeps women in sex work, as illustrated by the common idiom “once a whore always a whore” (Simpson & Speake, 2008, p. 1613), the views about power in society as a woman may also shape the belief that sex work is a sex trafficking survivor’s only option (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2015; Morrison et al., 2021; Rajaram & Tidball, 2018).

Being sex trafficked is not empowering. Survivors of trafficking are likely to question how much ‘choice’ they had in their exploitation, particularly with the common social question: *Why didn’t you just leave?* In fact, the notion of consent is the primary element debated among scholars seeking to disentangle trafficking from sex work in theoretical and conceptual definitions. Sex trafficking, as defined by the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons (2004), is:

the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (p. 42).

Additionally, any person under the age of 18 (i.e., unable to consent in commercial sex) who engages in any commercial sex act, such as prostitution, exotic dancing, or pornography, is a victim of sex trafficking (Trafficking Victims Protection Act [TVPA], 2000).

Trafficking experiences vary widely, including trafficking by romantic partners and/or male and female pimps, family members, friends and trusted adults, or strangers. Varying settings for trafficking have been identified with their own etiologies and characteristics including escort services, massage parlors, outdoor solicitation, bars/strip clubs, pornography, personal sexual servitude, and remote sexual services (Polaris, 2017). The psychological effects of being sex trafficked are significant, not only as they relate to trauma symptoms. The impact of extreme manipulation and conditioning can have long lasting effects on the ability of a survivor to feel truly empowered in their choices, and to be able to maintain healthy emotional boundaries with close relationships (Bender, 2013; Forbes & Fikretoglu, 2018; Hossain et al., 2010; Rafferty, 2008). For organizations that engage survivors in varying levels of agency roles (i.e., policy, advocacy, fundraising, direct service, etc.), the issue of exploitation and empowerment becomes all the more critical to disentangle.

The current paper applies an integrative literature review approach to explore how anti-trafficking organizations can ethically engage survivors as lived experience experts while maintaining effective boundaries and avoiding re-exploitation. The concept of trauma-informed organizational culture in work with survivor leadership is explained. Based on the review findings, recommendations for practice are provided.

Methodology

The current study sought to address the research question: How can anti-trafficking organizations employ lived-experienced experts (i.e., trafficking survivors) in an inclusive, emotionally safe, and ethical way? Given the limited empirical knowledge base on the

Table 1. Integrative Review Search Terms

Primary Terms	Secondary Terms (in combination with primary)	Alternative Terms
Trauma Informed	Organizational Culture/Workplace/ Employment Practices	Empowerment/Ethical/Morale
Human/Sex/Anti- Trafficking	Services/Agency/Organization	Exploitation
Human Services	Workplace/Workers	Social Work/Domestic Violence/Sexual Assault
Nonprofit Management	Culture	Leadership/Supervision
Vicarious Trauma	Human Services Work	Trauma
Exiting/Re-Entry	Sex Work/Prostitution/Trafficking	Experiences
Lived Experience Experts	Survivor Experiences	Human Trafficking Experiences

Legend: Table describes the search terms used for the integrative review process including primary terms which may be combined with secondary terms and substituted with alternative terms for maximizing search results.

Note: varying combinations of the following terms were used in the indicated databases

workplace dynamics of anti-trafficking organizations and in particular, the workplace experiences of human trafficking survivors, an integrative literature review approach was utilized with the goal of identifying, evaluating, and synthesizing research findings.

Integrative Review Process

A search of empirical databases (i.e., EBSCO, ProQuest Central, Google Scholar, and Academic Search Complete) was conducted to identify relevant literature related to the search terms. Search terms and combinations used are included in Table 1. Studies were initially included based on title and abstract meeting search terms and then further analyzed using the methods outlined below.

While a majority of searches were discovered through academic databases, additional search was needed in order to ensure specificity of the findings relative to anti-trafficking organizational dynamics and sex trafficking survivor experiences in the workplace. Nonprofit organization and government agency reports including tip sheets and reports as well as two survivor leader blog articles to ensure adequate lived-experience expert inclusion were included in the final review of articles. At the completion of this first phase, a total of 89 articles and reports were screened in for further analysis.

Due to the specificity of the issue addressed in the research question, date ranges were selected to include articles or reports written after the passage of the TVPA (Trafficking Victims Protection Act) in 2000 to present. No articles were excluded based on discipline and multiple disciplines including public health, psychology, social work, law, criminal justice, nonprofit management, business, and government were included. Sampling was concluded at saturation which occurred when the search began to produce duplicate articles and references of articles included had been exhausted.

Table 2. Included Articles by Topic Area

Theme	Articles
Survivor Employment Considerations <i>Subtheme: Exit from trafficking and/or re-entry stigma (n=7)</i>	Aliotta, 2020; Bruijn, 2017; Brunovskis & Surtees, 2015; Mayhew & Mossman, 2007; Morrison et al., 2021; Polaris, 2017; Rajaram & Tidball, 2018
Survivor Employment Considerations <i>Subtheme: Trauma in the workforce (n=18)</i>	Bender, 2013; Countryman-Rosswurm, 2015; Dang, 2018; Hart et al., 2018; Helpingstine et al., 2021; Human Trafficking Leadership Academy, 2017; Landerholm, 2018; Lloyd, 2011; Lockyer, 2020; Lockyer & Wingard, 2020; My Life My Choice, 2018; National Human Trafficking Training and Technical Assistance Center, 2018; National Survivor Network, 2019; Powers & Paul, 2018; Safe House Project, 2022; Smith, 2014; Smith, 2018; Von Wiegand, 2020
Workplace Culture (n=7)	Bowman, 2020; Bryce et al., 2021; Butts et al., 2009; Elliot et al., 2005; Glisson et al., 2008; Kanter & Sherman, 2017; Kuenzi & Schminke, 2009

Legend: Articles (by author name) organized by themes and subthemes, which were included in the final integrative review once all inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied.

Note: Total=32

Inclusion Criteria

In the second phase, the initial 89 articles were screened to determine if they met the criteria for inclusion in the review. Articles which included participants that were sex trafficking survivors were automatically included if they met the additional content requirements. Articles which included participants with other trauma histories (i.e., domestic violence or sexual assault) but which specifically focused on workplace dynamics were also included.

Context was ultimately the primary area of focus for inclusion. Articles met the criteria for context if they included anti-trafficking organizations and/or workers who are survivors of exploitation. Because of the small nature of this population (i.e., survivors of exploitation and workplace experiences and/or anti-trafficking organizations and workplace culture/dynamics), articles or reports which addressed these areas with specificity were included in the final review. Articles were eliminated for context (n=39) if the article only addressed: interventions for working with trafficked populations (n=24), terminology used in anti-trafficking work (n=5), and/or description of symptoms or characteristics of survivors (n=10).

Content eligibility was determined based on the article: addressing the research question, methodological soundness, and thoroughness of theoretical foundations and discussion. Criterion one (research question) was met if the article or report specifically spoke to anti-trafficking organizational procedures or policies in working with survivors of sex trafficking and/or explored issues related to human service organizational culture from a trauma-informed, empowerment, or otherwise inclusive lens. Criterion two (methodology) was met for qualitative studies if adequate credibility and dependability were shown in the methods section including triangulation of data and inter-rater reliability; and was met for quantitative studies if appropriate measures were used relative to the research question and population, adequate sample size was used for the analytical methodology applied, and results were

Table 3. Included Articles by Type

Publication Type	Number
Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles	15
Dissertation	3
Book	2
Agency Report (Government or Nonprofit)	10
Nonprofit Blog Article	2

Legend: This table shows included articles which are organized by type of publication.

interpreted within the scope of the presented findings. Criterion three (theory and discussion) was met if adequate attention was given to the theoretical framework relevant to our research question including empowerment, trauma-informed, organizational culture, and/or specifically addressed the lived experiences of survivors in the anti-trafficking movement, with an emphasis on inclusion of survivor voices in the data. A total of 8 additional articles or reports were eliminated on the basis of content.

Ultimately a total of 32 articles were included and grouped by the following themes: workplace culture (n=7) and survivor employment considerations (n=25). The second of these was broken down into two subthemes: trauma in the workforce (n=18) and trafficking exit, community re-integration and/or stigma (n=7). A majority of the articles included in the review focused on workplace factors, which was the purpose of the study; however, when working with survivors trauma symptoms as well as exit from trafficking and community re-integration impact workplace dynamics. These articles were compared and synthesized to create the narrative summary and draft recommendations for practice.

Integrated Literature Review

Sex Trafficking Survivors and Trauma

Sex trafficking survivors are individuals who have experienced this form of exploitation, but typically the term survivor is used to describe those who are no longer being victimized. Meaning, survivor refers to those who have experienced trafficking in the past tense while victim is used to identify those in need of support or intervention due to current exploitation (Countryman-Rosswurm, 2015; NHTTAC, 2018). The current paper will use the term survivor to describe anyone who has experienced sex trafficking using the basis that all trafficked individuals are surviving whether currently or formerly exploited and the concept of exit is often complex and nonlinear (Matthews et al., 2014; Mayhew & Mossman, 2007; Polaris, 2017).

Survivors of sex trafficking have varying backgrounds and experiences, but some social vulnerability factors have been described as homogenous. These include social structural factors such as poverty, limited education opportunities, limited social support, child maltreatment, parental substance abuse or involvement in commercial sexual activities, and homelessness (Matthews et al., 2014; Moukaddam et al., 2021; Reid, 2012). In the face of some of these conditions, not all youth will experience commercial sexual exploitation, however, more social vulnerabilities with a lack of corresponding supportive factors (i.e., poverty is present, but family support is in place), may lead to higher risk (Moukaddam et al., 2021; Reid, 2012). It is important to understand the factors which contribute to individual and community

vulnerability when providing support to survivors, as these factors may also contribute to re-exploitation risk and affect resilience in healing (Bruijn, 2017; Forbes & Fikretoglu, 2018; Hossain et al., 2010).

While survivors' length of time out of trafficking may reduce acute anxiety and depressive symptoms, it has been found that PTSD may be more chronic, particularly for those who have experienced multiple forms and lengthy time periods of abuse (Hossain et al., 2010). There is significant value added by employing survivors of trafficking, specific to lived experience which can add to inclusive, evidence-based practices of organizations (Smith, 2018). Professional consultation which takes into account personal experiences within the evidence base can bring unique expertise to inform direct practice, training, and other anti-trafficking efforts. Because of the vulnerability created by a history of exploitation, it is critical that anti-trafficking organizations seeking to employ former trafficking victims consider the population's biopsychosocial needs and intersectional identities.

Workplace Culture: Anti-Trafficking Organizations

Anti-trafficking organizations in the United States range from nonprofits of varying size, state and federal government programs, task forces, faith-based programs, and research and policy centers. These organizations provide different types of services, but all seek to address the issue of sex trafficking whether through outreach and awareness, program evaluation and funding, direct services for survivors (i.e., housing, mental health, education, etc.), or advocacy and policy work (Smith, 2018).

Organizations which serve vulnerable populations often employ individuals with trauma histories (Bryce et al., 2021), and anti-trafficking organizations have more recently emphasized survivor informed care and survivor leadership (Bender, 2013; Countryman-Rosswurm, 2015; Hart et al., 2018; Lloyd, 2011; Lockyer, 2020; National Survivor Network [NSN], 2019). Survivors have been shown to be effective in supporting anti-trafficking organizations in varying workplace roles, however, consideration should be given to individual skill sets, skill building, and readiness to participate in anti-trafficking work as a survivor.

Organizations, like any social group, have their own workplace norms, expectations, and employee behaviors, which may include agency practices such as supervision, training, and consultation, communication styles, and prioritization of tasks (Glisson et al., 2008; Kuenzi & Schminke, 2009). In anti-trafficking work, it is important for organizations to analyze internal cultural dynamics to ensure practices are trauma-informed for both staff and participants and to emphasize the empowerment of survivors. Organizational practices which enhance survivor voices are critical in the fight against human trafficking. Agency culture can empower survivors in this challenging work or serve as another form of exploitation (Countryman-Rosswurm, 2015; Elliot et al., 2005; Lloyd, 2011; Lockyer, 2020; NSN, 2019).

Workplace Culture: Trauma-Informed and Empowerment-Based Practices

There are parallels between the trauma-informed and empowerment frameworks in practice. Organizations which are trauma-informed seek to build genuine relationships among leadership, staff, and participants, promote a sense of trust and transparency with their staff and participants, and consider the individual staff experiences and backgrounds including culture and trauma histories (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2015; Kanter & Sherman, 2017; NHTTAC, 2018). Through these practices, empowerment is fostered by allowing the individual a safe space in which to grow professionally while feeling heard and supported.

Elliot et al. (2005) describes the concept of trauma-informed organizational culture and how to best implement it for maximizing effectiveness in the following quote:

Trauma-informed services are those in which service delivery is influenced by an understanding of the impact of interpersonal violence and victimization on an individual's life and development. To provide trauma-informed services, all staff of an organization, from the receptionist to the direct care workers to the board of directors, must understand how violence impacts the lives of the people being served, so that every interaction is consistent with the recovery process and reduces the possibility of retraumatization (p. 462).

This model of trauma-informed care emphasizes the importance of empowerment in the form of enhancing choice, control, and collaborations in any interventions. Additionally, it emphasizes the importance of input in designing services, respect and acceptance in the workplace, and highlighting strengths and resilience over pathology. Both the participant and the service providers in this model are seen as bringing expertise and value to the recovery process and interventions are done collaboratively as a partnership. This highlights the second most important feature of a trauma-informed model of care, which is the emphasis on human value, relational support, and, ultimately, individual empowerment.

Spreitzer (1995) determined workplace empowerment requires that one feels motivation to engage in the work and has a sense of self-efficacy or competence, meaning or purpose in the work, self-determination or sense of choice and autonomy, and impact. Through feeling empowered in the workplace, the individual feels power over their work role and tasks. Empowerment is not a personality trait, but rather a state that exists in the workplace as a result of organizational characteristics and workplace factors (Spreitzer, 1995). Aftercare, including long term support, for survivors of sex trafficking emphasizes relational connection as a primary factor for supporting success (Bruijn, 2017; Brunovskis & Surtees, 2015; Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014) and, as authentic relationships help to create trust, survivors feel empowered to voice their individualized needs, advocate for themselves and others, and pursue opportunities for growth.

Using this definition of empowerment, it is challenging to apply the term to any sort of sex work, but it is not applicable to sex trafficking in which individuals have lack of choice and authentic relational support. Therefore, survivors of sex trafficking, who have been disempowered by their experiences, are at particular risk of re-exploitation and disempowerment when employed by organizations, which do not take into account the need for safeguards and trauma-informed, empowerment-based organizational culture. Specific factors should be considered in engaging survivors in anti-trafficking work, including varying roles and skill sets, readiness, tokenism, and organizational support.

Because of the history of exploitative relationships with pimps, family, and/or other traffickers, survivors may have experienced a reduced sense of agency over their lives (Aliotta, 2020; Lockyer & Wingard, 2020; Mayhew & Mossman, 2007; Ottisova et al., 2018; Rajaram & Tidball, 2018; Wilson & Butler, 2014), which makes an organizational culture of empowerment all the more vital in this area of practice (Aliotta, 2020; Bruijn, 2017; Kanter & Sherman, 2017). Individuals are more likely to believe they can succeed in their goals when they have relational and instrumental support and clear pathways to achieve them (Aliotta, 2020). Anti-trafficking organizations should build an environment in which survivors are empowered by ensuring that relationships are collaborative and non-transactional (i.e., no expectation of reciprocation), providing opportunities for skill development, and fostering open and honest communication.

In practice, examples may be: supervisory training to enhance relational capacity of leaders, supervision with survivor leaders to discern their professional goals, career development beyond speaker training to help survivors build professional skills, internal promotion practices, and external networking with allied professions to promote growth opportunities (Lockyer, 2020; My Life My Choice, 2018; NHTTAC, 2018; NSN, 2019).

Ethical survivor engagement requires inclusion and intentional practices by anti-trafficking and other human services organizations which employ survivors of exploitation. Organizations should therefore seek to integrate a trauma-informed, empowerment-based framework in practice in terms of internal organizational policies, supervision, and evaluation, hiring and readiness, training, skill building and professional development, and supportive services.

Workplace Culture: Policies, Supervision, and Evaluation

Organizations that serve sex trafficking survivors should consider formal and informal internal structures that may influence the ethics of practice. Formal structures, such as hiring practices and internal promotions, should be evaluated using a trauma-informed approach, wherein the needs of the organization, service population, and staff members are all taken into consideration. Informal structures, more related to the cultural norms of the organization, such as communication and supervision styles, should also be taken into account when being evaluated by trauma-informed standards of care. Survivor expertise can help with this evaluation as survivors are likely to be able to identify gaps in supervisory support, authenticity of communication, trust, and more subtle dynamics in the workplace, as well as inform agency hiring and staff development practices (Lockyer, 2020; Smith, 2014).

Policies should be structured in such a way that trauma-informed, and empowerment-based practices are natural in both formal and informal elements of the organizational environment. Survivor leaders should be treated as professional peers and the confidentiality of all members of the organization respected as a matter of policy (Dang, 2018; Hart et al., 2018; NHTTAC, 2018). Discrimination should be overtly addressed as it relates to trauma histories and personal characteristics, and staff training should address appropriate communication with survivors (Dang, 2018; NHTTAC, 2018). Additional factors to consider are tensions that may arise as a result of working with staff who have experienced significant trauma and who are now working in a potentially triggering environment, power dynamics among leadership who may not be survivors and those who are, with an eye toward oppression and disempowerment histories, and policies that directly address dual relationships such as survivors who may have been prior service recipients (Lockyer, 2020; Powers & Paul, 2018; Rajaram & Tidball, 2018). Communication among staff and leadership that creates space for survivor input is critical to creating a healthy and trauma-informed culture.

Survivors' input can come from survivor leaders as staff or consultants, and from surveys or focus groups of participants served. In either case, compensation for this expertise is necessary to avoid exploitation (Dang, 2018). Some examples of this might be survivor leaders conducting agency needs assessments of direct services such as programming, outreach, training, and media campaigns, and evaluation of internal policies and/or organizational culture (Dang, 2018; Smith, 2014).

Survivor leadership within organizations should be used to improve organizational practices by identifying challenges and opportunities within current structures. By creating opportunities for survivors to voice concerns and be a part of building solutions, organizations empower survivors and leverage the unique expertise survivors share from lived experience (Helpingstine et al., 2021; NHTTAC, 2018; NSN, 2019; Polaris, 2017). As members of the organization and subject matter experts, survivor leaders are uniquely positioned to help

establish hiring and orientation policies for other survivors, creating pathways for growth and leadership for both the survivor leader and new hires. In order to ensure consideration of diversity and intersectional identities of survivors, similar to any other staff member, survivors with varying racial, ethnic, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability status, and other backgrounds should be included in decision-making which will inform organizational practices and policies (Human Trafficking Leadership Academy [HTLA], 2017; Lockyer, 2020; Polaris, 2017).

Survivors should be hired for all levels of management and advisory board capacities, where skillsets align, to increase survivor voice and presence within organizations and ensure representation in policy development, procedure, and day-to-day administration (Lloyd, 2011; NSN, 2019). The National Survivor Network (2019) notes that this practice is important as “at the organizational level, working with survivors changes assumptions and attitudes, in addition to providing the value of lived experience and knowledge” (p.3).

Not all survivors find their purpose in sharing their trauma narrative or working directly with other sex trafficking victims, as this is a highly charged and potentially triggering environment. In some cases, survivors find higher purpose and/or personal healing from helping and supporting other victims (Lloyd, 2011; NHTTAC, 2018; Smith, 2018). However, many survivors may choose other paths to restoration and personal success; therefore, anti-trafficking organizations should not assume that all survivors have the professional goal of working in this arena and provide professional development opportunities which meet the goals of the individual survivor (Dang, 2018; NSN, 2019; Smith, 2014).

In the *Toolkit for Building Survivor-Informed Organizations*, the National Human Trafficking Training and Technical Assistance Committee (2018) describes the value of survivors’ input in developing and evaluating human trafficking programs. Compensation is a key element of reducing the exploitation risk of survivor leaders. Specifically, survivors should be compensated for any speaking engagements, fundraising, staff positions, etc. and should not be offered volunteer positions as an alternative to paid opportunities (Hart et al., 2018; NSN, 2019; Smith, 2014). Additionally, survivors should not be commissioned to engage in work that they are not ready to participate in. Work may include sharing their story, but opportunities should not be limited to those related to the personal trauma narrative (Dang, 2018; Helpingstone et al., 2021; NSN, 2019).

Survivor Employment Considerations

Survivors and Trauma: Hiring and Readiness

Readiness is an important factor in hiring survivors of sex trafficking to anti-trafficking work. The most important consideration in hiring and contracting with survivors for anti-trafficking work is to ensure empowerment and emotional safety. Meaning, if survivors have recent trauma experiences or high levels of trauma-related symptoms, this should be taken into account in terms of readiness for direct practice or sharing of a trauma narrative for funding or awareness raising purposes (Dang, 2018; NHTTAC, 2018; Smith, 2014). To reduce risk of re-traumatization or trauma triggering, other survivor leaders who are subject matter experts in the space are critical in the interviewing and assessment process (Dang, 2018; NHTTAC, 2018; Powers & Paul, 2018).

Survivors are resilient individuals who bring significant value to anti-trafficking work and without their voices, important elements of the experience can be overlooked, leading to dire consequences in practice. Resilience is defined in terms of a range of responses to adversity, including maintaining normal development and continued functioning during traumatic experiences to improvement and excelling beyond normal limits following adverse

experiences. Resilience is not a trait, but rather is the adaptive capacity one may have as a result of supportive social and personal structures, and exists only in the face of stress or traumatic experiences (Forbes & Fikretoglu, 2018).

Dual relationships, an ethical issue in which more than one type of relationship exists between prospective staff and/or the organization, should also be taken into account with hiring, particularly those who may be former participants or closely affiliated with current individuals receiving services of the organization. Specific agency policies should be in place with regard to length of time out of trafficking and/or emotional readiness to participate in staff positions, prior to interview. These may include a 2-year minimum out of exploitation or letters of recommendation (Human Trafficking Leadership Academy, 2017; Parker, 2013). Organizational practices also must be in place such as trauma-informed care and training, as well as new and ongoing staff training regarding management of trauma triggers and how to seek support within the organization (Helpingstine et al., 2021; HTLA, 2017; Powers & Paul, 2018; Von Wiegand, 2020). Further, prospective new hires who are survivors bring various types of skills and expertise beyond their lived experience that should be taken into account.

Training, Skill Building, and Professional Development

All staff require training and in organizations where survivors of sex trafficking are employed additional training should be provided for everyone as it relates to trauma-informed practices. These may include staff training about identification of personal trauma triggers, self-care, coping skills, and vicarious trauma, when and how to seek help when triggered, and opportunities for staff inclusion in decision making to promote relational collaboration and empowerment (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2015; Elliot et al., 2005; Von Wiegand, 2020). Empowerment frameworks emphasize the value and strengths of each individual. Therefore, anti-trafficking organizations working with survivors must take into account these individual strengths in supervision and opportunities for promotion or growth.

Individual goals of staff members should be a regular part of supervision meetings to ensure agency leadership are aware of the growth and advancement goals of staff and to encourage organizational commitment (Aliotta, 2020; Bowman, 2020; Kuenzi & Schminke, 2009; NHTTAC, 2018). If goals are related to anti-trafficking work, professional development may focus on education about direct service work, fundraising and grant writing, or other internal job opportunities. Speech writing and support with sharing one's trauma story can be effective for organizational fundraising and survivor professional development, when those goals align (Lloyd, 2011; Smith, 2018). Skill development should not be limited to jobs the organization can provide or those which require sharing of trauma narratives. However, survivors should be provided opportunities to develop alternative skills related to their professional goals, even when this is not within the trafficking field. This may require referrals or funding support for education as appropriate to continue to enhance the professional development of survivor leaders.

When organizations hire former service recipients into consultant or staff positions, leadership programming (either external or internal) is needed to provide sufficient development of workplace skills (Matthews et al., 2014; My Life My Choice, 2018; NHTTAC, 2018; Smith, 2018). Leadership training institutes frequently provide education around life skills such as financial literacy, soft job skills (i.e., professional attire, interviewing, punctuality) and more specific job skills based on personal interest, psychoeducation including self-esteem and confidence building, public speaking, etc., and often engage with former direct service recipients to build their professional capacity (Bender, 2013; Lloyd, 2011; My Life My Choice, 2018; Smith, 2018).

To avoid dual role issues, organizations may choose not to hire former participants, which would be in line with most ethical guidelines for direct practice services (NASW, 2008).

However, participants who have built trust in an organization may feel more comfortable engaging as peer mentors or other job roles within the context of an already established safe environment and with staff whom they trust (NHTTAC, 2018; Rajaram & Tidball, 2018). Leadership would therefore need to ensure that both the dual role issue and inclusion from an empowerment framework are addressed to ethically hire former participants. That is to say, there is no one way to ensure ethical conduct in working with former participants, but organizations can reduce risk of ethical breaches by screening, training, and considering potential ethical dilemmas.

Survivors and Stigma: Tokenism and Survivor Stories

Survivor leaders are those who have experienced human trafficking and decided to engage in anti-trafficking workplaces, while utilizing their individual skills and lived experience (Hart et al., 2018; NHTTAC, 2018; Smith, 2018). Survivors are not ever required to share their trauma narratives (i.e., stories of what they went through while being trafficked) for the benefit of their employers, service recipients, or the field. As sharing these stories can be retraumatizing, the decision to do so is inherently personal and should be made only by the survivor him/herself.

While the sensationalism of a sex trafficking story may garner public attention, thereby creating funding or awareness opportunities, survivors are at risk of being exploited if they are asked to engage in anti-trafficking work only to share their trauma publicly (Powers & Paul, 2018; Smith, 2014). Tokenism, or the “superficial practice to create the impression or appearance of social inclusivity and diversity, includes members of minority or underrepresented groups, including survivor leaders and individuals who have been trafficked, as a symbolic gesture to avoid criticism” (NHTTAC, 2018, p. 37). To avoid this practice, organizations should take into account several factors.

First, survivors are in control of how, when, where, and under what circumstances they share their stories. They should never be coerced or pressured into doing so. This is exploitation, as is asking a survivor to share their story for agency gain, without compensation to the survivor for doing so (Dang, 2018; Helpingstone et al., 2021; Lockyer, 2020; NHTTAC, 2018; Powers & Paul, 2018; Smith, 2014). Secondly, to avoid tokenism, survivors from various backgrounds including ethnic, cultural, gender, and sexual orientations should be represented in advisory boards, research studies, and focus groups (HTLA, 2017; Lockyer, 2020; Polaris, 2017). Finally, when stories are shared, survivors should be provided with support for speech development, public speaking, and post-speech debriefing (Hart et al., 2018; Landerholm, 2018; NSN, 2019). This is particularly important as sharing a trauma narrative publicly can not only be triggering, but can lead to rejection or discrimination among a survivor’s family, friends, and/or external workplace (Landerholm, 2018; NSN, 2019).

Psychosocial support for survivors in organizations can include: supervision before and after any triggering work (i.e., direct practice with victims, media campaigns, public speaking, etc.), opportunities for mental health care both internally and by referral such as employee assistance programs and local partner agencies, informed decision making regarding work tasks, particularly as they relate to trauma narrative sharing, confidentiality and privacy policies that are strictly enforced, support groups for survivor leaders, and healthy organizational environments (Aliotta, 2020; Countryman-Roswurm, 2015; Hart et al., 2018; Landerholm, 2018; NHTTAC, 2018; Von Wiegand, 2020).

Organizations working with vulnerable populations must consider the need for workload and working hour accommodations to support staff well-being (Kanter & Sherman, 2017). Flexible working environments are a recommended accommodation for survivors working in the anti-trafficking area of practice, particularly for those experiencing long term or chronic conditions due to the trauma associated with sex trafficking. These conditions may include mental health disorders, chronic pain or fatigue, and other health conditions associated with severe physical

and psychological trauma (Hopper, 2017; Hossain et al., 2010; Ottisova et al., 2018). It is beneficial to provide a list of tasks to be achieved over a period of time to provide flexibility for when the task can be completed (Powers & Paul, 2018; Safe House Project, 2022). For instance, additional break time or deadline flexibility might be needed if a survivor staff member is overwhelmed or dysregulated to allow time for application of supportive interventions and coping skills. Working with the survivor to establish a trauma-informed timeline for projects or tasks and a daily schedule allows them to excel in their position and minimize negative mental health impact.

The presence of evidence-based, holistic approaches to organizational support in human services, including anti-trafficking work, can improve staff performance and organizational commitment and reduce risk of job strain and vicarious traumatization (Bowman, 2020; Butts et al., 2009; Glisson et al., 2008; Kuenzi & Schminke, 2009). Establishing a trauma-informed, empowerment-based work environment, not only has the potential to increase the productivity, commitment, and performance of the individual staff member, but also may improve the impact of the organization and produce an inclusive organizational culture where individuals with varying lived experiences can feel accepted and thrive (Butts et al., 2009; Glisson et al., 2008; Kanter & Sherman, 2017; Kuenzi & Schminke, 2009).

Practice Recommendations

Trauma-Informed, Empowerment-Based Organizational Culture

Creating an effective and inclusive organizational culture is more than just annual training, it requires engagement of all levels of staff and management in a daily practice of trauma-informed and survivor-led practices. These may include policies which promote trust and transparency among staff and leadership, training related to trauma triggers and appropriate responses to mental health crises, enhancing of survivor voice in agency practices and procedures, opportunities for professional growth, and open communication and feedback (Bruijn, 2017; Glisson et al., 2008; Hart et al., 2018; Kanter & Sherman, 2017; Lockyer, 2020; Morrison et al., 2021).

Leadership should be trained to effectively supervise staff with trauma histories and provide supportive and effective supervision. Supervisors should regularly meet with staff members to provide support and feedback, provide opportunities for skill development, and engage in a continual dialogue about strategies to create a healthy, safe, flexible, and productive work environment (Hart et al., 2018; Kanter & Sherman, 2017; Lockyer, 2020; My Life My Choice, 2018; NSN, 2019).

Readiness for Work in Anti-Trafficking and Screening Pre-Hire

Trafficking is a form of interpersonal complex trauma that requires a survivor to take steps to heal. A survivor's readiness to begin anti-trafficking work will vary based on the type, length, and severity of the trafficking situation. The length of time out of a trafficking situation should be considered in readiness for anti-trafficking work (HTLA, 2017; Safe House Project [SHP], 2022), and many survivor leaders recommend that ideally, an individual should be one to two years out of their trafficking situation before beginning this work (SHP, 2022).

To help ensure readiness, a portion of the interview process will include a survivor-to-survivor interview. The survivor-to-survivor interview allows for the survivor applicant to elevate any special considerations that would inform trauma-informed practices on their behalf and gives them an opportunity to ask questions of a current survivor employee. If an organization is hiring its first survivor, this could be achieved by having a survivor leader consultant perform this part of the interview (Dang, 2018; Hart et al., 2018).

Survivor Leadership in Various Organizational Roles

Job positions require certain hard and soft skills, as well as expertise. Survivor leaders have the unique perspective of lived experience, which allows them to provide a critical perspective to an anti-trafficking organization. For instance, survivor leadership is critical for training and education positions, marketing, legislative initiatives, case management, and advocacy (Dang, 2018; Lockyer, 2020; Smith, 2014).

Employing survivors into various organizational roles and with diverse personal backgrounds decreases dependency on one survivor's lived experience as the only metric for evaluation and promotes a culture where a variety of survivor experiences help inform all aspects of the organization's efforts (HTLA, 2017; Lockyer, 2020; Smith, 2014).

Professional Development

Providing survivors with opportunities to expand their skill set, both hard and soft skills, is critical to their long-term success, productivity, and career satisfaction. Organizational leaders should have individual growth plans for each employee that identify personal goals, opportunities for development, and training programs, funding, and resources that are available to help achieve the next milestone. Organizations can also partner with educational institutions to provide continuing education or courses to the survivors to address skill gaps (Bruijn, 2017; Kanter & Sherman, 2017; NHTTAC, 2018; Smith, 2014).

Staff training, both at hiring and ongoing, should include identifying personal triggers, coping skills, and where/how to seek help for mental health needs and support. This should also include a unit on how staff who are not survivors can engage from a trauma-informed and affirming collegial perspective with staff who have experienced trauma (HTLA, 2017; NHTTAC, 2018; NSN, 2019; Von Wiegand, 2020).

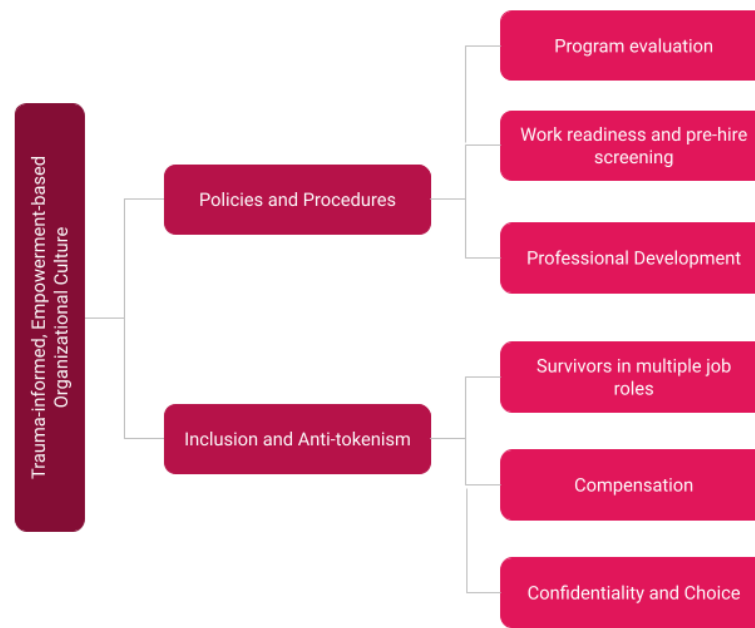
Compensation For All Work Done by Survivors

Survivors should receive compensation for all work done on behalf of the organization. This includes survivors serving in full-time, part-time, board, and consultancy positions. Survivors should always be compensated for sharing their story on behalf of the organization at events, training, or conferences, as well.

Compensation will differ based on location, job position, work experience, education, etc. and is negotiated between the organization and the survivor. The United States Government Pay Scale can be used for guidance when paying survivors for consultancy work (Dang, 2018; Lockyer, 2020; NHTTAC, 2018; Smith, 2014).

Confidentiality and Choice

Reasonable confidentiality in the workplace is a common expectation among colleagues, but this is especially important in anti-trafficking organizations which employ survivors. The choice to disclose a trauma history should be at the discretion of the survivor and not the employer, particularly the sharing of a trauma story for the purpose of fundraising or other work-related tasks (Dang, 2018; Helpingstine et al., 2021; Landerholm, 2018; NSN, 2019). By providing a safe, confidential, and empowerment-based work environment organizations are not only protecting trafficking survivors, but promoting an organizational culture that respects the boundaries and choice of every employee (Aliotta, 2020; Bruijn, 2017; Dang, 2018; Hart et al., 2018; Mayhew & Mossman, 2007; Morrison et al., 2021; Reamer, 2000).

Figure 1. Trauma-Informed Organizational Culture Practice Elements in Implementation

Legend: Graphic outlines specific elements of trauma-informed and empowerment-based organizational culture for application in anti-trafficking organizations.

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Conclusion

This integrative review highlights the importance of research needed in the area of survivor engagement in anti-trafficking organizations. While there were a few peer reviewed articles which addressed dynamics in anti-trafficking organizations, a majority of the reports included were penned by government agencies or survivors via nonprofit blogs. These were included in the review for specificity and inclusion; however, additional studies should seek to validate the findings of this review by measuring the effects (i.e., survivor staff well-being, vicarious trauma in the workplace, staff retention, and morale) of applying trauma-informed organizational practices in anti-trafficking work. Further, researchers should seek to engage survivors in this process as it is important to include survivor voices in the topic of survivor inclusion.

This integrative review has shown that survivor engagement in anti-trafficking work is important and complex. Themes in the literature reveal that there are unique approaches needed to address workplace culture as a whole and how to best engage survivors in the workforce given trauma histories and social stigmas. Anti-trafficking organizations often

employ survivors in various workplace capacities, including direct practice work, fundraising and story sharing, awareness and media campaigns, and leadership. In order to employ ethical practices with survivor staff members, organizations must avoid tokenism and apply principles of trauma-informed practice while empowering survivor voices at the organizational level.

Organizational culture and various internal practices can affect how ethically survivors are engaged as leaders in the field. By carefully applying trauma-informed, empowerment-based approaches to survivor hiring, professional development, compensation, psychosocial support, program evaluation, and organizational policies and culture, anti-trafficking organizations can seek to reduce exploitation and promote authentic survivor leadership.

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Author Biographies

M. Elizabeth Bowman is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Work at Gallaudet University. She is also a minor domestic sex trafficking survivor, anti-trafficking advocate, mother of two teens, researcher, clinician, and speaker. In her clinical practice, she works with trafficking survivors using trauma-informed yoga therapy and integrative therapy modalities with children and adolescents with anxiety and other challenges. She holds clinical social work licensure in DC, Florida, Virginia, and Maryland and is a Registered Yoga Teacher, RYT–200. She is the founder and executive director of the Restoring Ivy Collective in the Washington, DC area, a community of survivors of sex trafficking healing together through mutual support and group interventions, including yoga.

Brittany Dunn is the Chief Operations Officer and co-founder of the Safe House Project. Prior to Safe House Project, Brittany Dunn spent 10 years in International Business Development at CareerBuilder.com. Brittany Dunn has a BA in Economics and English from Wellesley College. She graduated top of her class with an MBA from Thunderbird School of Global Management. She is a member of Beta Gamma Sigma, Pi Sigma Alpha, Wellesley Alumnae Association, the Naval Officers' Spouses Club, and is an active member in her church. Brittany received the CEO Circle Award from Thunderbird School of Global Management. She is a military spouse, mother of two, lifelong learner, world traveler, and protector of the vulnerable.

Appendix A. Resources for Training and Survivor Leadership Development

Safe House Project, national organization training,
<https://www.safehouseproject.org/training>

Ending the Game, national organization and survivor leader training,
<https://endingthegame.com/>

GEMS-Girls, New York, survivor leader development, <https://www.gems-girls.org/get-trained>

ELEVATE Academy, Oregon, <https://elevate-academy.org/the-academy>

Shared Hope, D.C., <https://sharedhope.org/what-we-do/restore/services/domestic-win-program/>

My Life My Choice, Massachusetts, <https://www.mylifemychoice.org/survivor-empowerment>

Survivor Alliance, LEAD, London, <https://www.survivoralliance.org/survivors-lead>

Empower Her, Connecticut, <https://www.empowerhernetwork.org/>

Survivor Ventures, Virginia, <https://www.survivorventures.org/>

REST Academy, Washington, <https://iwantrest.com/programs/rest-academy>

Wellspring Women's Academy, Georgia, <https://wellspringliving.org/academy/>

Thistle Farms, Tennessee, <https://thistlefarms.org>

Selah Freedom, Florida, <https://www.selahfreedom.com/>

Shyne, California, <https://www.shynesd.org/>

Annie Cannons, California, <https://anniecannons.org/>

Restore NYC, New York, <https://restorenyc.org/>

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Defining and Measuring Economic Development: A Literature Review and Outlook

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Economic development is an increasingly popular topic in different research areas. However, there is not a definite, categorical, and settled definition for economic development, nor a comprehensive measure that is agreed upon. This study aims to fill this gap through a literature review of the scholarly publications 1950–2020 in all the English-language peer-reviewed journals in the subject areas of public administration and development. On this basis, the article identifies 19 themes as well as 14 types of improvements around which it is possible to group this multi-faceted topic. Specifically, the article highlights for each of the identified themes and types of improvements how economic development is defined and measured. In addition to that, our review reveals issues and research questions that go unaddressed. We conclude the article by providing our recommendations in this regard.

Keywords: Economic Development, Literature Review, Outlook, Definition, Measurement

Introduction

Economic development is far from a homogeneous and well-organized field of applied research. The number of relevant articles on economic development has increased over time. However, there is not a definite, categorical, and settled definition for economic development, nor a comprehensive measure that is agreed upon as there is still a wide variety of different methods and definitions being used to conceptualize and measure economic development. This is a problem for not only researchers trying to make sense of economic development as a practice and phenomenon, it also is a problem for practitioners in the applied field, because without a clear and agreed upon set of definitions for economic development performance, there is no way to know if what practitioners are doing really is effective at accomplishing the intended goals.

In absence of a single agreed upon definition or comprehensive measure, are there patterns or consistent approaches to define and measure economic development? Furthermore, and more specifically, considering that the classical aim of economic development is to improve people's material standards of living, how are these improvements defined and measured? The research summarized in this article aims to shed light on this question, which is worthy of further exploration for several reasons. First, economic development has emerged as an interdisciplinary field of scientific inquiry focusing on the economical, managerial, political,

legal, social, and cultural aspects of this multi-faceted topic. Yet, the issue of defining and measuring economic development has been overlooked thus far, thence the importance to consolidate ‘what we know’ about this topic. By synthesizing and critically analyzing the existing evidence, we are able to identify trends, patterns, and gaps in the research. This is important as it helps to identify areas of research in the economic development literature that have been extensively covered and highlight those areas that would benefit much from attention by researchers in the field. It also allows to form a balanced perspective on the state of knowledge in the field that includes different points of view. Second, no literature review has been conducted so far, to the best knowledge of the authors, with this particular focus on defining and measuring the improvements in people’s material standard of living as a result of economic development efforts, thence the distinctive contribution of this article to the literature. Third, this article bridges the more pure and specific development subject area with economic development focused studies in the public administration subject area, given the extensive interest of the topic for public administration scholars.

A useful starting point to address the aforementioned limitation lies in taking stock of the extant scholarly work in the field. This study aims to fill this gap through a literature review of the scholarly publications 1950–2020 in the public administration and development subject areas, in which ‘economic development’, and ‘measurement’ are mentioned. Further details on our methods are reported in the next section. We identified 372 publications that examine how economic development is defined and measured. The analysis led us to identify a total of 19 themes emerging from the scientific literature, each providing an angle from which to examine this multi-faceted topic from improving the tangible or intangible condition of people to concerns about the production of businesses and their processes, from health as a facet of economic development to the use of Public-Private Partnerships as economic development tools, to how political discourses and opinions may influence economic development outcomes to issues of moving goods and people around in physical spaces.

The article unfolds as follows: First, our methodological approach is presented. Second, we describe the identified corpus of the literature. Third, the overall findings of the review are summarized. Finally, we discuss the state of research on measuring economic development and we provide our recommendations in this regard.

Methodological Approach

Measuring economic development is not a well-defined topic in both the public administration and development literatures. The overall methodological approach of this literature review follows the one proposed by Arksey and O’Malley (2005) for scoping reviews, which have been defined by Mays et al. (2004) as a way to map “the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources and types of evidence available, and can be undertaken as stand-alone projects in their own right, especially where an area is complex or has not been reviewed comprehensively before” (p. 94).

The following criteria have been used to identify the studies included in this literature review. First, the so-called ‘grey literature’ was deliberately excluded (Rothstein & Hopewell, 2009) and only peer-reviewed published articles were included. Second, only English-language peer-reviewed journals were included. Third, the journals were pulled from the Scimago Journal & Country Rank database from the public administration and development subject areas. We decided to use the Scimago Journal & Country Rank (SJR) because is a free online database, which makes use of data from Scopus (while Thomson Reuters’ Impact Factor is based on Web of Science database). The SJR algorithm is applied to a larger set of journals (Scopus data instead of Web of Science data) and differently from Thomson Reuters’ Impact Factor takes into consideration not only the number of citation but also the prestige of the citing journals (Mañana-Rodríguez, 2015). Table 4 presents the full list of peer-reviewed journals included in

this review of the literature with the counts of articles found in those journals. Fourth, per each identified peer-reviewed journal, a systematic keyword search within the title and abstract was conducted. The keywords used for the searches were ‘economic development’ and ‘measur*’, which was truncated with an asterisk to include derivative words such as but not limited to measuring, measure, measured. Fifth, the time frame selected for the searches was all the articles published between 1950 and 2020 and articles without years listed were dropped. These selection criteria of the search process yielded to the identification of 372 peer-reviewed journal articles.

Inductive coding (Chandra & Shang, 2019) has been applied to classify the selected literature. Themes, improvements, and methods that were found in previous efforts had keywords associated with them to make analyzing the corpus faster and more efficient. The keywords were curated to align with the themes, improvement, and method categories conceptually to provide us clues about the articles’ contents. The keywords were searched for in the articles’ titles, abstracts, and manual tags using an Excel search function. Table 1 shows the keywords that were used to search for the themes of the articles with the count values of each theme and thematic macro-category. Table 2 shows the keywords that were used to search for the improvements that were being made in the studies, as well as the count values for each improvement category and improvement macro-category. Table 3 shows the keywords that were used to identify the methods that were used in the articles as well as the count values of the number of articles found in each method category. Note, some of the keywords appear in both the themes and improvements. We do not believe this will bias the results because we are simply using the keywords to classify the articles. This is because the keywords that are the same are appropriate to identify their themes and improvements, are mixed with other keywords to make each category unique and are not being used to conduct a quantitative analysis where such conditions can lead to problems with multicollinearity.

The results of the keyword searches were totaled up by their respective theme, improvement, or method. Articles were classified by a combination of reading the article abstracts and titles, and observing the total values of each theme, improvement, and method category. This provided us with the total number of times each category had one of its keywords mentioned in the articles’ titles, abstracts, or manual tags, and the total number of articles that fit into each theme, improvement, or method. To increase coding reliability, each article was independently coded by the two authors (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). All coding disagreements were discussed by the two authors and resolved thus improving inter-rater reliability (Littell et al., 2008). Information about the theme of the articles was coded along with the information about the nature of the specific improvements that were made in the article’s definition of economic development and the type of method that was used in the article. A total of fifty disagreements were discussed for the themes of economic development, forty-eight disagreements were discussed for the nature of the improvements, and forty-one disagreements were discussed for the method categories. All disagreements were discussed and resolved by the authors. 19 codes were identified with this process for the themes of the articles, as well as 14 types of improvements, and 4 method categories.

In addition to the three sets of coding categories, we extrapolated higher-level macro-groupings to further classify the themes and improvement codes. This was done to discover possible patterns in the articles’ thematic content and the types of improvements that were being targeted or carried out in the articles by their subjects. The themes could be classified by whether they occur as antecedents, tools, or outcomes in economic development. Antecedents are themes that act as prerequisites for economic development of any kind to occur. Tools are used in economic development articles to accomplish the outcomes of economic development, and outcomes are the themes that are the desired goals of economic development. The improvements were classified as to whether they were conceptually physical or social in nature. Physical improvements were improvements that affected the tangible, material world we can directly observe and experience. Social improvements were defined as

intangible improvements to phenomena that only exist in the subjective and inter-subjective experiences of people. The counts of the themes, improvements, and methods reflect the number of articles that were classified under the categories. Some of the themes and improvements had two or more categories applied to them. We feel that these counts are sufficient to understand the content of the literature corpus given the time and resource constraints of this literature review (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). The method categories are more directly related to the material and only 4 categories were explored. We did not make higher-level classifications for the methods categories because they would not be meaningful in our analysis.

Table 1 lists the codes for the themes used and provides their brief description. It also shows the themes according to their macro-classification type and the keywords that were used to identify them. Table 2 lists the same information for the improvement codes. Table 3 shows the same for the method categories.

Table 1. Coding Theme Type, Definition, Theme Keywords Used, and Article Count

Theme Type in Economic Development	Theme of Economic Development	Brief Theme Definition	Theme Keywords	Count of Articles by Theme
Antecedent	Finance	Focuses on the raising of financial capital or financial markets for business development.	Capital; Financ*; Market**	54
	Politics	Articles that study how political discourses and opinions may influence economic development outcomes.	Legislat*; Opinion*; Politic*	22
	Theoretical	Develops a theory of economic development.	Concept*; Theor*	9
	Antecedent Subtotal			85
Tool	Business development	Concerns the production of businesses and their processes.	Business*; Enterprise* Firm*	19
	Housing	Discusses housing as a facet of economic development.	Home; Hous*	7
	Place-Based	Focuses on a specific place or improving a space for human activity for framing the subject.	Geograph*; Place*; Real estate; Zon*	16
	Planning	Focuses on the practice of planning places instead of the end-products.	Plan*; Urban plan*	10
	Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs)	Concerns Public-Private Partnerships as economic development tools.	PPP; Public-private; Partner*	3

Outcome	Regionalism	Looks at economic development from a regional or larger scale geographic perspective.	Area*; Region*; Rural; Urban-rural	39
	Research	Focuses on the practice of studying economic development.	Literature review; Method*; Regression*; Research*	41
	Tax	Focuses on the effects of taxes or tax policies.	Tax*	7
	Transportation	Discusses transportation, problems related to transportation, and transit provision.	Freight; Highway*; Trans*; Rail; Road	34
	Tool Subtotal			176
	Comprehensive	Refers to economic development in multiple facets.	Develop*; Econom*	166
	Change in Society	Discusses large scale shifts in society and its material conditions.	Change; Transition*	27
	Distribution	Studies the allocation of wealth in the economy.	(in)Equal*; (in)Equit*; Distribut*	23
	Health	Focuses on the physical or psychological health of the research population.	Health*; Medic*	20
	Poverty	Specifically discusses poverty and issues related to poverty.	Poor; Poverty*	14
	Quality of Life	Refers to improvements or improving the tangible or intangible condition of people.	Desirab*; Life; Qualit*	31
	Sustainability	Specifically discusses issues of defining and maintaining economic development reliably over time.	Ecolog*; Environment*; Sustain*	58
	Outcome Subtotal			339

Table 2. Coding Improvement Type, Definitions, Improvement Keywords Used, and Article Count

Category of Improvement Type	Type of Improvement	Brief Improvement Definition	Improvement Keywords	Count of Articles by Type of Improvement
Physical/Tangible	Built Environment	Physical spaces or specific places.	Built environment; Geograph*; Physical space; Place*; Real estate; Zon*	18
	Environmental	Natural conditions in an ecosystem, sometimes as humans affect them.	Ecolog*; Environment*	38
	Generic Wealth Improvement	Refers to general or comprehensive definitions of wealth (e.g., GDP per capita, household incomes, etc.).	GDP; Income*; Wealth*	23
	Physical Health	The well-being of physical human bodies.	Health*; Medic*	17
	Physical Infrastructure Supports	Refers to tangible aspects of publicly available infrastructure systems.	Electric*; Internet; Trans*; Sew*	42
	Place-Based	Specifically targets the per unit or financial productivity of private firms.	Built environment; Geograph*; Physical space; Place*; Real estate; Zon*	2
	Productivity (Resource/Finance)	The allocation of resources in a society, either by public sector policies or market forces.	Produc*; Resource*	73
	Resource Distribution	Physical spaces or specific places.	Alloc*; Distribut*	11
	Physical/Tangible Subtotal			224
Social/Intangible	Anti-poverty	Poverty or anti-poverty efforts to alleviate forms of social and economic exclusion are the main targets.	Exclus*; Inequal*; Inequit*; Poor; Poverty*	34

Business Activity	The effectiveness of business activities or outcomes that are associated with for-profit, private organizations.	Business*; Profit*	15
Innovation/ Research	Refers to governmental systems, policies, or relations in formal institutional arrangements that are condoned by or include government organizations.	Government*; Institut*; Polic*; Public sector;	48
Public Sector/Formal Institutions	Academic study or theoretical development.	Innovat*; Research *	125
Social Infrastructure Supports	Refers to intangible or social service aspects of publicly available infrastructure systems.	Childcare; Educat*; Famil*; Food; Social; Welfare	68
Social Relations	Focuses on relations and dynamics among people and/or organizations.	Relation*; Societ*	30
Social/ Intangible			320
No matches	N/A		10

Table 3. Type of Method Category, Keywords Used, and Count of Articles by Methodology Category

Methodology Category	Brief Description of Methodology Category	Methodology Category Keywords	Count of Articles by Method Category
Mixed Methods	Studies that use both qualitative and quantitative data to answer their research questions.	Embedded; Explanatory; Exploratory; Mixed Metho*; Transformative; Triangulation	37
Qualitative	Studies that use non-numerical data to answer their research questions.	Case Stud*; Ethnograph*; Focus Group; Grounded Theor*; Historic*; Interview; Phenomenolog*; Qualitative	79
Quantitative	Studies that use numerical data to answer their research questions.	Causal; Correlational; Descriptive; Experimental; Logit; OLS; Panel Data; Probit; Quasi-Experimental; Regress*; Time-Series/Time Series	165
Theoretical	Studies that rely on or expand upon theories in the field to answer their research questions.	Analysis; Confirmed Theory; Logic*; Model*; Phenomen*; Principle; Theor*; Theory Building	83
N/A			8

Describing the Corpus of Literature

Before discussing the emerging measures and approaches in the literature of economic development, data will first be described. Most of the journals we found articles in belong to the development subject area (N=69), followed by public administration (N=35). The number of articles found in development subject area journals (N=298) was significantly higher than the number of articles found in public administration journals (N=69). Only one journal, *Public Administration and Development* is counted in both subject categories with some articles published in it (N=5). As shown in Table 4, the most prolific journals with the highest number of eligible published articles are *Asian Economic Journal* (N=26), *Transportation* (N=22), and *Food Security* (N=16) in the development subject area; *Human Resources for Health* (N=7), *The Innovation Journal* (N=7), *Canadian Public Policy* and *Nonprofit Policy Forum* (tied, N=5) in the public administration subject area.

As shown in Table 1, most of the articles have been classified as Outcomes of economic development (N=339). Among those, the majority of them were coded as Comprehensive (N=166), followed by Sustainability (N=58), and Quality of life (N=31). There were 176 articles classified as Tools

Table 4. List of Peer-Reviewed Journals and Article Counts

Journal Name & Article Category	Count of Publication Title
Development	298
Asian Economic Journal	26
Transportation	22
Food Security	16
Empirica	15
Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies	14
NJAS - Wageningen Journal of Life Sciences	12
International Journal of Water Resources Development	11
Development Studies Research	11
Asia-Pacific Journal of Regional Science	10
Development Policy Review	10
Energy, Sustainability and Society	9
Journal of Development Studies	9
International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development	9
Land Degradation & Development	8
Environment and Development Economics	8
Maritime Studies	7
Transition Studies Review	6
Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management	5
World Development	5
East Asia	4
Journal of International Development	3
Central Asian Survey	3
Sustainable Development	3
Journal of Quantitative Economics	3
African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development	3
Behavioral Sciences	3
Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy	3
Journal of Development Effectiveness	3
Journal of Agribusiness in Developing and Emerging Economies	3
Journal of Contemporary China	3
Development and Change	3
Organizations and Markets in Emerging Economies	2
Journal of Rural Studies	2
SSRN Electronic Journal	2
International Journal of Urban and Regional Research	2
European Journal of Development Research	2
African Development Review	2
Revista Desarrollo y Sociedad	2
Development in Practice	2
Food Policy	2
Tourism Management	2
Ekonomika	1
Journal of Development Economics	1

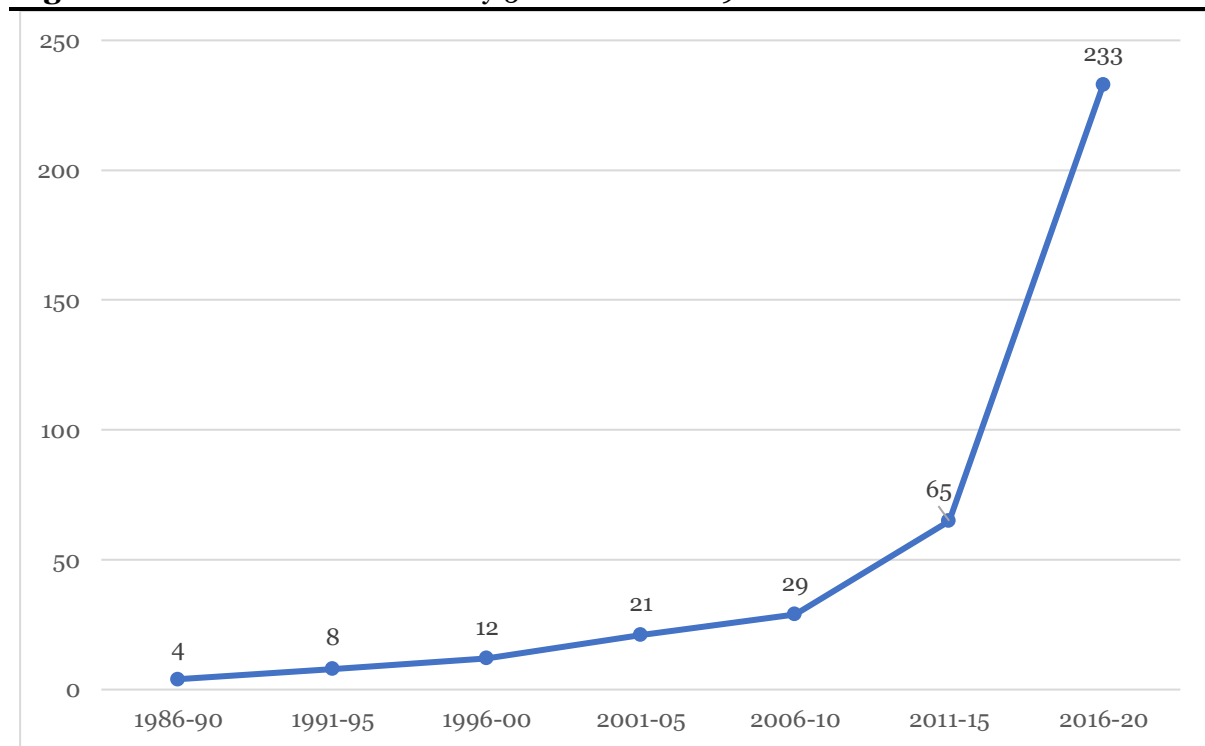
Development Southern Africa	1
Housing Policy Debate	1
Evaluation	1
Community Development Journal	1
Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies	1
Journal of East Asian Studies	1
Finance: Theory and Practice	1
Journal of Evolutionary Studies in Business	1
Journal of Contemporary African Studies	1
Journal of Evolutionary Studies in Business-JESB	1
Contemporary Southeast Asia	1
The Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension	1
Oxford Development Studies	1
Economic Development Quarterly	1
Social Enterprise Journal	1
Futures	1
Studies in Comparative International Development	1
Journal of Regional Science	1
The China Quarterly	1
Economic History of Developing Regions	1
Journal of Water and Land Development	1
Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development	1
Canadian Journal of Development Studies	1
African Journal of Food, Agriculture, Nutrition and Development	1
Environmental Hazards	1
Journal of Developing Societies	1
Public Administration	69
Human Resources for Health	7
The Innovation Journal	7
Nonprofit Policy Forum	5
Canadian Public Policy	5
Public Administration Review	3
Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space	3
Research & Politics	3
Science and Public Policy	3
Journal of Educational Administration	3
Contemporary Economic Policy	2
Education Sciences	2
Regional Research of Russia	2
Society and Economy	2
Review of African Political Economy	1
Public Performance & Management Review	1
Education Inquiry	1
Journal of European Public Policy	1
Regulation & Governance	1
Journal of Public Affairs	1
International Public Management Journal	1
Socialinė teorija, empirija, politika ir praktika	1

Informacijos mokslai	1
Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy	1
International Journal of Public Administration	1
Human Service Organizations Management, Leadership & Governance	1
International Journal of Public Sector Management	1
Policy and Society	1
Revista de Administração Pública	1
Policy Design and Practice	1
Social Policy & Administration	1
Policy Studies Journal	1
Politologija	1
Area Development and Policy	1
Journal of Public Affairs Education	1
Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management	1

of economic development with (N=41) articles focused on Research, (N=39) on Regionalism, and (N=34) articles on Transportation. Finally, the remaining 85 articles were classified as Antecedents of economic development, (N=54) of them focusing on the raising of financial capital or financial markets for business development (Finance), (N=22) of them studying how the political discourse and opinions may influence economic development (Politics), and (N=9) articles on theories on economic development (Theoretical). As apparent from these numbers, and as explained above in the methodology section, it is clear that some articles were double coded because, for example, they discussed both a tool of economic development and an associated outcome.

Similarly, Table 2 reports the article count for coding improvement types and definitions. 320 articles were coded as Social/Intangible and 224 as Physical/Tangible. Among the Physical/Tangible, the Productivity of economic wealth and/or resources was detected in (N=73) instances, Physical Infrastructure and Support had (N=42), and Environmental improvements was found in (N=38) articles. Among the Social/Intangible, the object of improvement most studied is on governmental systems, policies, or relations in formal institutional arrangements that are condoned by or include government organizations (Public Sector/Formal Institution), which was detected in (N=125) articles, while social infrastructure support was detected in (N=68) articles. Finally, Table 3 shows that quantitative methods were most often used in the literature on economic development (N=165), theoretical was second (N=83), qualitative was third (N=79), and mixed methods was a distant fourth (N=37). A total of (N=8) articles did not identify the research method(s) used in the article abstracts or titles.

To illustrate scholars' interest in the concepts of this review of the literature, Figure 1 shows the number of publications by 5-year interval from the year of our first article to 2020 (1986–2020). The first two decades saw a relatively low number of articles published meeting our review criteria, ranging from four publications between 1986 and 1990 to 29 publications between 2006 and 2010. A rapid increase in the interest of researchers is apparent from 2010, with 65 articles published between 2011 and 2015 and 233 articles published between 2016 and 2020. One possible explanation of this peak in the 2011–2020 decade is the resources allocated to scientific research by the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (Public Law 111-5), passed by Congress and the Obama Administration to lead the country through the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.

Figure 1. Number of Publications by 5-Year Interval 1986–2020

The diversity of themes that were discussed also increased in each decade. Table A in the Appendix shows the distribution of the article themes over time. The largest thematic sub-category that was discussed between 1986 and 1990 was Business Development (N=2). In the first half the 1990s, there was an increase in the number of articles in the Comprehensive theme increased to 7 followed by Transportation and Sustainability (tied, N=3). In the early 2000s, Comprehensive (N=9), Finance (N=5), and Sustainability (N=4) themes were most common. In the late 2000s, Comprehensive (N=10), Sustainability (N=6), and Research (N=5) were most common. In the first half the 2010s, the most common themes were Comprehensive (N=33), Sustainability (N=14), and Finance, Transportation, and Politics (tied, N=6). Between 2016 and 2020, the number of articles in the Comprehensive category jumped to 102, the number of articles in the Finance category jumped 39, followed by articles in the Sustainability category (N=31). The distribution of the themes over the years shows what the literature was focusing on during that time period.

Table B in the Appendix shows the distribution of articles by their improvement sub-category assignment over time. In the 1986–1990 period, the article's subject worked to improve the Public Sector/Formal Institutions sub-category (N=2). The remaining sub-categories in the 1980s were Physical Infrastructure Supports and Productivity with (N=1) article each. In the first half of the 1990s, the emphasis was again on Public Sector/Formal Institutions sub-category (N=4), and Productivity (N=2). The Public Sector/Formal Institutions and Productivity sub-categories were tied in third place (N=4) in the second half of the 1990s, preceded by Physical Infrastructure Support (N=6) and Environmental (N=5). In the first half of the 2000s, the emphasis was again on Public Sector/Formal Institutions and Productivity sub-categories (N=6), followed by Physical Infrastructure Support (N=5) and Social Infrastructure Support (N=4). A similar partition also applies to the second half of the 2000s. In the first half of the 2010s, the Public Sector/Formal Institutions sub-category shot up with 24 articles. It is joined by Public Innovation and Research and Social Infrastructure both tied with 11 articles, and Generic Wealth Improvement (N=11) sub-categories as the top three sub-categories for the decade. The 2016–2020 interval saw once again the Public Sector/Formal

Institutions sub-category with 76 articles, followed by Productivity (N=48) and Social Infrastructure Supports (N=45).

Results

This section of the article discusses the results found among the themes the corpus was divided into. It starts with the findings in the macro-categories of the themes before going on to discuss the improvements. Within each heading will be a discussion on the macro-categories, followed by the sub-categories that composed them. We will briefly discuss all theme and improvement sub-categories within their respective macro-categories, taking note of what was more and less commonly discussed. Table C in the Appendix lists all the themes in alphabetical order, with the articles' citations and a list of the metrics that were commonly used in each sub-category.

Macro-Categories of the Themes

Antecedents of Economic Development

There were 85 articles whose outcomes fit the role of an antecedent in economic development. Finance was by far the largest of the Antecedent sub-categories (N=54). The other two antecedent categories we were able to identify were Politics (N=22) and Theoretical (N=9).

We can see from the articles' thematic classifications and subject matter that decisions related to the Antecedents are important decisions to have settled before attempting economic development in a place. Economic development cannot occur without considering the politics and the different facets of politics that happen in a place. Nor can economic development occur without an understanding of how projects will be financed and valued after they are finished, and a theoretical vision of how social dynamics work and how conditions can be for a community of people. There appear to be opportunities for researchers to further develop our understanding of how economic development affects and is affected by the financial opportunities that are available for communities. Researchers and practitioners can work together with the communities they serve to develop a better theoretical understanding of economic development's potential to benefit life and living conditions.

Tools of Economic Development

There were several more articles that had a sub-category theme classified in the Tools of economic development macro-category (N=176). Three of the sub-categories under the Tools macro-category had more than thirty articles classified under them. The top three sub-category themes under Tools of economic development that were studied were Research (N=41), Regionalism (N=39), and Transportation (N=34). These three categories make sense having the largest number of articles, since studying economic development (Research) is an important part of economic development itself, looking at economic development from a regional or larger scale geographic perspective (Regionalism) is one of the major foci in economic development and Transportation is without any doubt an important tool in economic development. Minor, yet still important, sub-categories of themes include Business development (N=19), which is another very important tool for economic development; Place-based (N=16), Planning (N=10), Public-Private Partnership (N=3). We can see how each of these Tool-type themes can conceptually be linked together to give substance to economic development outcomes. Important facets of ensuring the attractiveness and prosperity of a place (e.g., place-based policies, planning, taxes) are minor themes in the most influential journals. But it makes sense that Research and Regionalism would be the most represented categories of economic development.

Outcomes of Economic Development

The largest macro-category theme that was covered in the economic development literature centered on conceptual Outcomes of economic development (N=339). Most of these articles were conceptually oriented to the Comprehensive sub-category (N=166), which included holistic and generic measurements of economic development, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita or median income. Sustainability (N=58), Quality of Life (N=31), Change in Society (N=27), and Distribution (N=23) sub-categories were also well represented, addressing environmental or social sustainability, large scale shifts in society and its material conditions, and the allocation of wealth in the economy. Minor Outcome themes with less than or equal to twenty articles include Health (N=20), and Poverty (N=14).

The number of articles in each of the Outcome sub-categories were not surprising. GDP and income are the most used metrics of economic development, even in articles that did not have comprehensive wealth generation as its main theme. But the relatively low attention to Quality-of-Life is concerning, especially since this sub-category refers to improvements or improving the tangible or intangible condition of people. Furthermore, although represented with respectively 27 and 23 articles, we were expecting more attention to how economic development activities can change and affect societies (Change in Society) and how wealth is allocated in the economy (Distribution). This also leaves a significant gap in our understanding of economic development practices. A possible explanation is that Change in Society is harder to describe and conceptually operationalize for empirical research. We can make use of historical data and events from societies and cultures that have long ceased to exist to get a better understanding in the Change in Society sub-category.

Macro-Categories of the Improvements

Physical/Tangible

Articles under the Physical/Tangible improvement macro-category represented a large portion of the total number of articles (N=224). The distribution of articles among the sub-categories of improvements was relatively even spread, though there are some champions. The Productivity (Resource/Finance) and Physical Infrastructure Supports were the largest of the Physical/Tangible articles with, respectively, 73 and 42 articles. This suggests economic development is intimately related to the allocation of resources in a society, either by public sector policies or market forces and the availability and presence of physical infrastructures. Environmental had (N=38) articles, followed by Generic Wealth Improvement (N=23), Built Environment (N=18), and Physical Health (N=17). Resource Distribution has 11 articles, while Place-based has 2 articles.

We can see again that issues related to distribution are not widely researched in journals of empirical research as well as are the articles in the Place-based sub-category. Interestingly, the implications of economic development on health doesn't have much representation in this corpus either. This is unfortunate, because the ways we make and distribute wealth do have profound implications for how healthy each and all of us are. Built Environment and Generic Wealth Improvements are also moderately well studied.

Social/Intangible

Interestingly, the Social/Intangible macro-category of improvements had a lot more articles overall than the Physical/Intangible macro-category with (N=320). This was mainly driven by the number of articles that focused on the Public Sector/Formal Institutions improvement category (N=125) and the Social Infrastructure Supports category (N=68). This is interesting, because it shows that a lot of attention is paid to what the government does in the economic

development literature. This suggests that the public sector and the intangible or social service aspects of publicly available infrastructure systems that exist in a society are important and closely related to the topic of economic development, even more so than the activities that businesses choose to do to add value. In particular, the special attention paid to social infrastructure in the economic development is interesting because it is practically much more difficult to find a way to independent prosperity without public services that ensure a solid floor on which people can build their lives and livelihoods. Having the costs of food alleviated through programs like EBT/SNAP, or the cost of healthcare kept low by a universal, single-payer public system are just two easy examples of social services that can reduce overall individual living expenses and allow every person's current income to take them that much further towards a satisfying and comfortable life. Beyond these two largest sub-categories of improvements, the remaining articles were clustered under improvements to Innovation/Research (N=48), Anti-poverty (N=34), Social Relations (N=30), Business Activity (N=15). These other sub-categories under the Social/Intangible macro-category (Innovation/Research, Anti-poverty, Social Relations, Business Activity) were also somewhat well represented in the corpus of literature. Social Relations was the most surprising Social/Intangible sub-category with a considerable number of articles attributable to it. This shows how, despite the physical and technical aspects of economic development, the process remains a primarily human-driven phenomenon that requires multiple, possibly competing stakeholders, to somehow come together to get things done for their communities. Surprisingly, Business Activity is the least studied sub-category in the corpus.

Measurements of Economic Development Themes

Table C in the Appendix lists all the themes in alphabetical order, with the articles' citations and a list of the metrics that were commonly used in each sub-category. After having presented all the themes we identified from the corpus of the literature and the types of improvements in economic development, we now present a selection of economic development indicators and indexes used in the articles identified in the literature review. Overall, the metrics and indexes used to measure economic development for each of the identified themes have both construct and face validity: the operationalization of economic development aligns with the underlying theoretical frameworks identified in each of the 19 themes and they appear, on their face, to measure what they claim to measure. There are of course some disputable cases listed in Table C, but overall the assessment is positive.

We now present and discuss some of these indicators and indexes for the most relevant identified 19 themes. Economic development in the theme Business Development, which concerns the production of businesses and their processes, has been measured by using the 'Firm survival rate' and the 'Ease of Doing Business index' provided by World Bank respectively in Fertala (2008) and in Dong and Manning (2017). In the theme Change in Society, which discusses large scale shifts in society and its material conditions, economic development has been measured, among the others, with 'foreign trade development', 'improved investment potential', and 'efficient foreign debt management' as in the article by Gogorishvili (2016). Economic development in the theme Comprehensive, which refers to economic development in multiple facets, has been measured by using 'private GDP growth' by Afonso and Jalles (2016). In the theme Distribution, which focuses on the allocation of wealth in the economy, economic development has been measured, among the others, with 'reductions in regional economic inequalities' by Bonfiglio et al. (2016) and with 'infant mortality rate' by Salahuddin et al. (2020). Economic development in the theme Finance, which focuses on the raising of financial capital or financial markets for business development, has been measured, for example, by using the 'Venture capital performance for early entrepreneurs' in Baldock (2016).

In the theme Health, which focuses on the physical or psychological health of the population, economic development has been measured, among the others, with 'skill of birth attendants in low- and middle-income countries' by Lassi et al. (2016) and with 'adoption rate of information communication technologies in healthcare' by Baridam and Govender (2019). Economic development in the theme Housing, which discusses housing as a facet of economic development, has been measured, for example, by using the 'interrelationship between bank credits, unemployment, interest rates, and house rental prices' in Kupčinskas and Paškevičius (2020). Economic development in the theme Planning, which focuses on the practice of planning places instead of the end-products, has been measured, for example, by using the 'urban sprawl prevention into rural land' and 'network density for transportation project' in Walter and Scholz (2007). In the theme Poverty, which discusses poverty and issues related to poverty, economic development has been measured, among the others, with these indicators 'non-monetary village saving' by Musunguzi (2016) and with 'probability of borrowing' and 'amount borrowed' in Twine et al. (2019). Economic development in the theme Sustainability, which specifically discusses issues of defining and maintaining economic development reliably over time, has been measured, for example, by using a series of livability indicators in Danielaini (2018) and biodiversity indicators in Gauselmann and Marek (2012). Finally, in the theme Transportation, which discusses transportation, problems related to transportation, and transit provision, economic development has been measured, among the others, with these indicators 'firm growth' and 'foreign trade volume' in Ying et al. (2017).

Discussion

This article investigates the manifold definitions and measures of economic development. Through it, we hope to provide a step forward in scholarly understanding and use of this concept of economic development in both the public administration and development literatures. We have identified nineteen themes and could group them into three macro-categories. We also found fourteen single types of improvements that were made in the articles, around which it is possible to group this topic, and presented some of the indicators used to measure economic development in the analyzed literature. This should make it easier for practitioners and researchers alike to make sense of their local economies' conditions, regardless of how they choose to approach the question of economic development.

We condensed the different metrics of economic development in the disciplinary literature of public administration and economic development to thematic categories of the articles' subject outcomes and targeted improvements. Through examining the distribution of these categories across the articles and across the macro-categories we grouped them into, the timing of the articles by classification, we can identify sub-topics and metrics of economic development that have been well-covered by the journals included in the analysis as well as aspects of economic development that have not been well-studied. We can see that Outcomes and Tools of economic development are the major thematic macro-categories in the literature, with less attention being placed on the Antecedents of economic development. Likewise, there is less attention in the literature to articles that focuses on making Physical/Tangible improvements compared to those that focus on Social/Intangible improvements, suggesting that, even though, both macro-categories are important and studied in the literature, there is much focus and interest on Social/Intangible improvements, at least in more recent years. In addition, we presented a selection of economic development indicators, and indexes used in the article identified in the literature review. Some indicators and indexes used in the articles in our corpus seem to be more refined and better constructed than others, but our assessment of these indicators and indexes is overall positive as it seems they both display both construct and face validity and can be considered good indicators based on identified criteria in the literature (see, for example, Hatry, 2006; Poister et al., 2015; Van Dooren et al., 2015).

We also can see how the subject matter of economic development has expanded its scope since the late-20th century, as well as how some themes and improvements remain constantly relevant over time. Finance is one of those themes that consistently appears to be relevant over time, along with the comprehensive approach to understanding economic development, along with an orientation to Sustainability. However, the variety of the themes and improvements that were discussed in the articles increased with each decade, along with the overall number of articles that fit our selection criteria.

We especially note that the public sector in economic development frequently dominates as a theme and topic of improvement in the top journals of public administration and development across time periods and places. This is likely because we selected from the development and public administration literatures, which would limit the perspective from the for-profit private sector in economic development practice. It is not clear from our current data if adding articles from the business literature would have contributed much to the analysis, since business-oriented literature is more concerned with the individual firms and not the larger economic environment in which the firms operate that economic development focuses more specifically on.

Conclusion

Before we begin the conclusion, we would like to call attention to the fact that the definitions of economic development that are used can have significant effects on peoples' lives. Economic development can be defined in many ways by many different people with competing interests and perspectives that are mutually exclusive. Some commonalities across the articles include a common interest in producing more desirable outcomes in our experienced world and a focus on material conditions within a social context. However, there is no true single definition of economic development in either the concepts or the measurements. Any single measurement, theory, or definition of economic development anyone may be able to produce would only really be one facet of economic development among dozens of others. Therefore, economic development as a topic can only be studied when it is broken down into combinations of conceptual parts. We observed this when we read studies on the politics behind the policies, developing businesses and business processes, improving quality of life indicators, and the organizations that undertake the processes of economic development. There are several ways to conceptualize and study economic development that are relevant facets of economic development processes and outcomes.

For researchers, studying economic development is simply a matter of defining one's research questions appropriately and using the appropriate methodology to answer the questions, a well understood and accepted concept. But for applied practitioners of economic development, the diversity of meanings behind economic development must be considered and clarified as a matter of public policy. Economic development measurements must be considered sound and relevant from both the perspective of the governments making the policy and the stakeholders whom the policies affect. This is not a trivial problem with obvious or easy solutions. As we have observed, economic development can mean different things to different people and interest groups, and consequently can be measured with a variety of indicators and indexes. Which definition gets selected and used by the private and public sectors can be seen as a matter of political competition among stakeholders and within the society itself. How a society defines economic development and what criteria get selected for use in economic development can affect how well the population lives independently of the policymakers' intended outcomes. If a political faction can identify and maintain the most democratically desirable and ecologically sustainable economic conditions that are possible, for as many people as possible, we may be able to intentionally improve conditions for the whole population despite the limitations that naturally exist for us.

Another major takeaway that comes from this research is the inextricably interconnected nature of economic development's different strains of thinking. Each theme should not be thought of as an independent and separate concept. Instead, antecedents of economic development (i.e., finance, politics, and economic development theory) as well as economic development tools (i.e., planning, housing, transportation, PPPs, etc.) are all aspects that could (and should) be integrated with the others to produce the desired outcomes of economic development (i.e., change in society, sustainability, health, etc.). Likewise, the improvements are more than single goals in isolation of each other. Instead, they can frame the process and practice of economic development in combinations with each other to operationalize research and praxis more effectively. Even the themes and improvements with fewer papers should be further explored and integrated into the conceptualization of economic development. This is because economic development itself is, apparently, really a composite of the interactions among each of the themes and improvement goals in dynamic social action arenas (Ostrom, 2005).

On the other hand, practitioners must account for the different definitions of economic development that are used by different stakeholders in the broader society. If a common definition of economic development does not technically exist, it is impossible to tell what kinds of work practitioners should do, or if their labor is productive. Practitioners need to have a definition of economic development to do their work effectively, but also cannot ever have one that is objectively true and universally applicable. For practical purposes, people who work in economic development may consult with communities and stakeholders to find what is relevant and wanted by the stakeholders of the communities they are working with. Some common measurements may emerge that practitioners can use from these discussions, but they could not be considered objective or universally applicable measurements. By allowing conversations at the local level to steer the definitions that are practically used by businesses and governments, we may get something more valuable and useful than a universal academic theory of economic development: A plurality of democratically negotiated local visions for how life is and could be intentionally worked towards and maintained for people.

A further recommendation that follows the defining of the research topic is to be aware of how measurements that are used fit with the research topic and practicing officials' goals. It is, in fact, worth the effort to develop appropriate custom measurements based on what researchers are studying and stakeholders find relevant. A variation of GDP is a ubiquitous way to define an economy and its development in the literature. However, it cannot be used as a shorthand variable for general economic development, as it only measures the estimated value of all economic activity in a geographically bounded population. Other relevant questions for both the researcher and practitioner include but are not limited to, the social and ecological sustainability of a project or policy, the democratic will and desire of most people living in a society, and what happens to wealth once it is produced in a local place need to be expressed in more specific terms than the blunt measurements used when computing technology and data were not as available and accessible. GDP is too simple of a measurement that does not capture the nuances of the social and material factors that make economic development possible.

Poverty is another example of a popular metric that may be accidentally overused, as how poverty is defined can affect how and what is measured. In the U.S., poverty is defined by being below or within range of an income threshold. It does not account for other forms of deprivation and exclusion (such as race, gender, sexuality, class, and disability status) that can, under certain socially made circumstances, be made to hinder economic activity among the excluded and for the greater social whole. Failing to account for the social roots of poverty by using an income-threshold measurement can skew results of research and suggest policy regimes that will more likely have an incomplete effect on the problem. Instead, researchers can be more creative and choose metrics that get at precisely what they are attempting to study but are not currently popular in the literature to at least see if better outcomes can be achieved.

The field of economic development is broad enough to accommodate a diversity of metrics that have their time and place in the world of research; the only constraints are the appropriateness and accessibility of the data to answer the questions.

However, this is different for practitioners. People who do economic development work must be more attentive to the needs and interests of their home constituencies. The definitions of economic development practitioners use can change over time with the changing circumstances of their territorial jurisdictions and the people who live within them. However, the stakes are significantly higher for practitioners to get those definitions correctly tailored for their communities under various circumstances. Peoples' material well-being and future health is on the line with practitioners' work, so the margin for error in logic, perception, and practice is reduced.

Before concluding this article, the limitations of this review of the literature must be addressed here. The focus on two subject areas—development and public administration—may have prevented the inclusion of relevant articles in our sample thus potentially leading to selection bias issues. Future studies should start from a comprehensive search through a variety of databases and find a narrow list of studies to review, particularly considering their relevance to the topic(s) of review. In addition, future studies, in order to better conceptualize and measure economic development, should involve economic development practitioners in their research. One such way would be to conduct interviews or focus groups with them, drawing implications for real-world economic development policy. Alternatively studying state and local economic development initiatives and/or economic development organizations may provide valuable insights as to how economic development is defined and measured.

Economic development is a diverse and growing field of empirical research. Which specific methods are used is not as important a question, as is the matching of research questions to the methods that are used. The common orientation of economic development towards improving material conditions in human societies can be used to distinguish between policies and ideas that work and those that do not work as well or at all. Provided the methods are valid for the research questions, due diligence is done with the data, and there is a sustained, authoritative will from enough people to do so, it may be possible to empirically solve material challenges experienced at the social level.

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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Author Biographies

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Appendix

Table A. Counts of Theme Sub-Categories by 5-Year Interval

5-Year Interval	Coding	Count of Coding
1986–1990	Business development	2
	Comprehensive	1
	Regionalism	1
	Research	1
	Transportation	1
1991–1995	Comprehensive	4
	Change in society	1
	Finance	1
	Place-based	1
	Quality of life	1
	Regionalism	1
	Tax	1
	Transportation	1
1996–2000	Comprehensive	7
	Transportation	3
	Sustainability	3
	Regionalism	2
	Change in society	2
	Distribution	1
	Finance	1
	Health	1
	Housing	1
	Research	1
2001–2005	Comprehensive	9
	Finance	5
	Sustainability	4
	Distribution	3
	Health	3
	Change in society	2
	Regionalism	2
	Research	2
	Business development	1
	Tax	1
2006–2010	Comprehensive	10
	Sustainability	6
	Research	5
	Change in society	4
	Place-based	3
	Regionalism	3
	Transportation	3
	Business development	2
	Finance	2
	Planning	2
	Politics	2

	Quality of Life	2
	Distribution	1
	Health	1
	Poverty	1
	Public-private partnership	1
	Theoretical	1
2011–2015	Comprehensive	33
	Sustainability	14
	Finance	6
	Politics	6
	Transportation	6
	Business development	5
	Quality of life	4
	Regionalism	4
	Research	4
	Planning	3
	Poverty	3
	Distribution	2
	Place-based	2
	Theoretical	2
	Health	1
	Housing	1
2016–2020	Comprehensive	102
	Finance	39
	Sustainability	31
	Research	28
	Regionalism	26
	Quality of life	24
	Change in society	18
	Transportation	18
	Distribution	16
	Health	14
	Politics	14
	Place-based	10
	Poverty	10
	Business development	9
	Theoretical	6
	Housing	5
	Planning	5
	Tax	5
	Public-private partnerships	2

Table B. Counts of Improvement Sub-Categories by 5-Year Interval

5-Year Interval	Type of Improvement	Count of Coding
1986–1990	Public Sector & Formal Institutions	2
	N/A	1
	Physical Infrastructure Supports	1
	Productivity (Resource or Financial)	1
1991–1995	Public Sector & Formal Institutions	4
	Productivity (Resource or Financial)	2
	Built-Environment	1
	Resource Distribution	1
	Social Infrastructure Supports	1
1996–2000	Physical Infrastructure Supports	6
	Environmental	5
	Productivity (Resource or Financial)	4
	Public Sector & Formal Institutions	4
	Innovation & Research	3
	Generic Wealth Improvement	2
	Built-Environment	1
	Business Activity	1
	Physical Health	1
	Social Infrastructure Supports	1
2001–2005	Productivity (Resource or Financial)	6
	Public Sector & Formal Institutions	6
	Physical Infrastructure Supports	5
	Social Infrastructure Supports	4
	Anti-Poverty	3
	Built-Environment	1
	Business Activity	1
	Environmental	1
	Generic Wealth Improvement	1
	Innovation & Research	1
2006–2010	Public Sector & Formal Institutions	10
	Productivity (Resource or Financial)	7
	Social Infrastructure Supports	6
	Anti-Poverty	3
	Environmental	2
	Innovation & Research	2
	Physical Infrastructure Supports	2
	Social Relations	2
	Built-Environment	1
	Generic Wealth Improvement	1
2011–2015	Public Sector & Formal Institutions	24
	Innovation & Research	11
	Social Infrastructure	11
	Environmental	9
	Anti-Poverty	8
	Physical Infrastructure Supports	7

	Social Relations	6
	Productivity (Resource or Financial)	5
	Built-Environment	5
	Generic Wealth Improvement	4
	N/A	3
	Physical Health	3
	Resource Distribution	1
	Place-Based	1
2016–2020	Public Sector & Formal Institutions	76
	Productivity (Resource or Financial)	48
	Social Infrastructure Supports	45
	Innovation & Research	31
	Social Relations	22
	Environmental	21
	Physical Infrastructure Supports	21
	Anti-Poverty	20
	Generic Wealth Improvement	16
	Physical Health	15
	Built-Environment	10
	Resource Distribution	9
	Business Activity	8
	N/A	6
	Place-based	2

Table C. Measurements of Economic Development Themes

Theme of Economic Development	Sampled Article Citations	Sampled Measures of Economic Development
Business Development	• Cammarano, D., Valdivia, R. O., Beletse, Y. G., ... Antle, J. (2020). Integrated assessment of climate change impacts on crop productivity and income of commercial maize farms in northeast South Africa. <i>Food Security</i>, 12, 659–678. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-020-01023-0 • Fertala, N. (2008). The shadow of death: Do regional differences matter for firm survival across native and immigrant entrepreneurs? <i>Empirica</i>, 35, 59–80. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10663-007-9051-2 • Dong, S. X., & Manning, C. (2017). Labour-market developments at a time of heightened uncertainty. <i>Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies</i>, 53(1), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2017.1326201	• Maize production, Poverty rate. • Firm hazard rate, Firm survival rate. • Sector performance, Inflation, Unemployment, Ease of Doing Business index (World Bank).
Change in Society	• Adego, T., Simane, B., & Woldie, G. A. (2019). The impact of adaptation practices on crop productivity in northwest Ethiopia: An endogenous switching estimation. <i>Development Studies Research</i>, 6(1), 129–141. https://doi.org/10.1080/21665095.2019.1678186 • Dzemydienė, D., Kurmis, M., & Baikštienė, V. (2020). Possibilities to support heterogeneous mobile services in vehicle communication networks. <i>Informacijos Mokslai</i>, 90, 80–95. https://doi.org/10.15388/Im.2020.90.51 • Gogorishvili, I. (2016). Foreign economic policy of Georgia since gaining the independence. Georgische aussenwirtschaftspolitik nach der gewinnung der unabhängigkeit. <i>Eesti Majanduspoliitilised Väitlused</i>, 24(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.15157/tpep.v24i1.12984	• Likelihood of higher crop yields. • Adoption of information communication technologies in road transportation. • Foreign trade development, improved investment potential, making of efficient foreign debt management system.
Comprehensive	• Afonso, A., & Jalles, J. T. (2016). Economic performance, government size, and institutional quality. <i>Empirica</i>, 43(1), 83–109. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10663-015-9294-2 • Bangura, Y. (1994). Economic restructuring, coping strategies and social change: Implications for institutional development in Africa. <i>Development and Change</i>, 25(4), 785–827. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.1994.tb00536.x • Bartels, F. L., & Koria, R. (2014). Mapping, measuring and managing	• Private GDP growth. • Social compromise and cohesion, Institutional socialization and loyalties, Overarching sets of values, Political authority to enforce rules. • Skills ICT Capability/Capacity,

African national systems of innovation for policy and development: The case of the Ghana national system of innovation. *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, 6(5), 383–400. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20421338.2014.970427>

Unsophisticated markets,
Deficient fiscal policy,
Reduced organizational risks
among governments, medium-
and high-tech industries,
knowledge-based institutions,
and arbitrageurs/liaisons.

Distribution

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- Reductions in regional economic inequalities.
- Transformative leadership, employee empowerment, and job satisfaction (Power distributions and dynamics).
- Infant mortality rate, Infant mortality rate under 5 (health outcomes).

Finance

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		resilience and resource efficiency.
Planning	• Soliman, A. M. (2016) Collective planning process: A driving seat for formalising urban informality in Egypt. <i>International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development</i>, 8(1), 25–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/19463138.2015.1046076 • Camison, C., & Monfort-Mir, V. M. (2012). Measuring innovation in tourism from the Schumpeterian and the dynamic-capabilities perspectives. <i>Tourism Management</i>, 33(4), 776–789. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2011.08.012 • Walter, A. I., & Scholz, R. W. (2007). Critical success conditions of collaborative methods: A comparative evaluation of transport planning projects. <i>Transportation (Dordrecht)</i>, 34(2), 195–212. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11116-006-9000-0	• Internal R&D, Acquisition of equipment, advanced hardware, and software, Acquisition of other external knowledge, Training for innovation activities, Introduction of innovation to the market, Design, other preparations for production and/or distribution. • Urban sprawl prevention into rural land through the planning process. Actor diversity, Use of knowledge integration, High network density for transportation project success.
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Poverty	• Jenkins, J., Peters, K., & Richards, P. (2020). At the end of the feeder road: Upgrading rural footpaths to motorcycle taxi-accessible tracks in Liberia. <i>NJAS–Wageningen Journal of Life Sciences</i>, 92(1), 1–12.	• Market integration, Education and health facility access, Jobs.

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- Regional GDP per capita.
- Goal autonomy, Incentives and rationale, Measurement, Incorporation, Resource use.

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- Subjectively reported well-being of road users.
- Urban indicators, Environmental urban patterns, Flows, Environmental quality, Human-oriented sustainability, Pollution flows, Local business development, Informal employment, Formal employment, PPP deals, Locally raised government revenue (Line-item budgeting or Program budgeting).

Sustainability	• Danielaini, T. T., Maheshwari, B., & Hagare, D. (2018). A framework for evaluating ecohydrological-based liveability in a rapidly urbanising region of Indonesia. <i>International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development</i>, 10(3), 222–240. https://doi.org/10.1080/19463138.2018.1531874 • Gauselmann, A., & Marek, P. (2012). Regional determinants of MNE's location choice in post-transition economies. <i>Empirica</i>, 39(4), 487–511. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10663-012-9200-0 • Gunnlaugsson, G., & Einarisdóttir, J. (2018). Iceland and development aid in the era of the MDGs: A case study of an alma ata inspired primary healthcare project in southern Malawi. <i>Development Studies Research</i>, 5(sup1), S14–S26. https://doi.org/10.1080/21665095.2018.1494510	• Livability indicators, Personal, Residential, Neighborhood, Regional, and Watershed. • Marine biodiversity. • Physical infrastructure, Health facilities, community, staff houses, Financial, costs by payment category, Logistics, presence for ambulance-type services, Staff, payment, numbers, Out-patient number and condition, Antenatal care, Presence of skilled-birth assistant, Newborn care and survival rate, Community-based services, Immunization, Outreach efforts, Malaria prevention, HIV/AIDS prevention, Outcomes, Infant and maternal mortality.
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Theoretical	• Cárdenas Hurtado, C. A., Hernández Montes, M. A., & Torres Gorrón, J. E. (2015). A statistical analysis of heterogeneity on labour markets and unemployment rates in Colombia. <i>Desarrollo y Sociedad</i>, 75(75), 153–196. https://doi.org/10.13043/dys.75.4 • Tillotson, A. R., & Tropman, J. (2014). Early responders, late responders, and non-responders: The principal-agent problem in board oversight of nonprofit CEOs. <i>Administration in Social Work</i>, 38(4), 374–393. https://doi.org/10.1080/23303131.2014.916244 • van der Heijden, J. (2020). Understanding voluntary program performance: Introducing the diffusion network perspective. <i>Regulation & Governance</i>, 14(1), 44–62. https://doi.org/10.1111/regg.12192	• Differences in skilled labor supply, Participation incentives, and Age structure. • Presence and speed of accountability from Board of Director actions to non-profit CEOs. • Network characteristics and voluntary program design.
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Social Equity in Public Administration: Past, Present, and the Future

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By 2018, the United States was (again) faced with a number of turbulent and divisive issues. In response, the Minnowbrook at 50 conference identified several critical areas of emphasis to advance social equity in research, teaching, and the practice of public administration. In this essay, we highlight these renewed efforts to describe its progress during the past five years (e.g., 2018–2023), as well as review the conceptual development of social equity in public administration prior to the Minnowbrook at 50 conference (e.g., pre-2018). We conclude with a re-examination of the future of social equity in public administration by upholding past principles, while encouraging new practices, pedagogy, and scholarship within the social equity domain (e.g., post-2023).

Keywords: Social Equity, Public Administration, Minnowbrook

Introduction

Since the Civil Rights era, the notion of social equity has been used across multiple disciplines and institutional settings, with public administration being no exception. The American Society of Public Administration (ASPA, 2023) broadly describes social equity as (1) the fair, just and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract; (2) the fair and equitable distribution of public services, and implementation of public policy; and (3) the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in the formation of public policy. Furthermore, the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) formally adopted social equity as the fourth pillar of public administration in 2005—along with economy, efficiency, and effectiveness—to serve as the foundational cornerstones of our field (Gooden et al., 2023). Although the discipline has made progress during these past 60+ years to “incentivize tangible results by exploring, identifying, and disseminating social equity frameworks and metrics,” much more remains to be done to “address the substantial social and economic disparities in 21st Century America” (NAPA, 2023). Therefore, this essay re-examines the Social Equity Manifesto established at the [2018] Minnowbrook at 50 conference—which identified several critical areas of emphasis to advance social equity in research, teaching, and the practice of public administration—by reviewing those “principles to assist scholars and practitioners move beyond rhetorical acknowledgement” (Blessett et al., 2019, p. 296), as well as identifying new areas of accent. However, before we address those current and future endeavors, a review of past efforts is provided across time.

This essay is organized as follows. First, we describe the conceptual development of social equity prior to the Minnowbrook at 50 conference to capture its first 60+ years in public

administration (e.g., pre-2018). Next, we then describe the discipline's renewed efforts since the Social Equity Manifesto's "call to action" to highlight its progress during the past five years (e.g., 2018–2023). Finally, we conclude with a re-examination of the future of social equity in public administration by upholding past principles, while encouraging new practices, pedagogy, and scholarship within the social equity domain (e.g., post-2023).

Social Equity in Public Administration: Past (Pre-2018)

The development of social equity as a pillar of public administration is akin to an epic (Wooldridge & Gooden, 2009). In the 2020s, it can be difficult to imagine a time when social equity was not an espoused pillar of the field. Despite the growing prevalence of social equity across journal articles, books, and conferences, the road to social equity becoming a pillar of the field has been far from smooth. This section charts the foundations and origins of social equity from before the public administration discipline's "founding" in 1939 until roughly 2018, when the last Minnowbrook conference convened.

The Context of Social Equity in Public Administration

Across history, societies have engaged in discourses on the meaning of fairness, especially concerning which groups should benefit from public policy and administration and which groups should not (Gooden, 2020; Johansen, 2019). These discourses are driven by different groups' power (high to low) and social constructions (positive to negative), with the most powerful and/or most positively socially constructed disproportionately experiencing the most extensive ability to influence societal discourses and, as such, to experience the greatest benefits of public policy and administration (Ingram et al., 2007; McCandless et al., 2022; Stone, 2011).

In the United States, discourses on fairness harken to a question linked to the preamble of the U.S. Constitution. The preamble begins with the oft-quoted words "We the People," yet the "We" in this phrase has changed massively over time (Gooden, 2015a). The Constitution as drafted in the late 1780s and as amended by the Bill of Rights in the early 1790s had several provisions implicating fairness for all, yet *who* benefited from public policy and administration has historically been quite narrow. The specific intersection of White, cis-gendered, heterosexual, property owning, and male has been privileged above all others. In the post-Civil War era until the Progressive Era of the 1920s, legal definitions of "We" expanded significantly, such as through the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 19th amendments to the U.S. Constitution, as well as statutory advancements at federal, state, and local levels. Despite these slowly building legal expansions of the meaning of "We," people and groups with historically marginalized identities continued to experience inequities, driven by policies and practices that perpetuated marginalization, such as poll taxes, literacy tests, zoning, unequal service by government agencies, intimidation, and many more (Gooden, 2015a).

Perhaps not surprisingly, early public administration scholarship contained generic references to issues of fairness, if mentioned at all. Wilson (1887), for instance, while decrying the seemingly "unphilosophical bulk of mankind" asserts that [t]o know the public mind of this country, one must know the mind, not of Americans of the older stocks only, but also of Irishmen, of Germans, of negroes" (p. 209). Perhaps not surprisingly, Wilson's work across his careers demonstrates extensive racism and prejudice (O'Reilly, 1997). Relatedly, some early public administration scholarship contained references to "fairness." For instance, Taylor (1911) discussed the need for workplaces to foster fair work and compensation. Willoughby (1927), commenting on workplace fairness, noted that government "should be empowered to prevent removals for racial, religious, or political reasons" (p. 327), yet he also commented that "[a]s a general rule women do not have the experience or other qualifications

fitting them for the more responsible positions and particularly those coming from within the class of directing personnel” (p. 286).

Early, meaningful references to fairness and justice are found in the works of Progressive era White female authors, such as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Frances Perkins, and many others (Burnier, 2022; Stivers, 2000; Shields, 2022). To Burnier (2008; 2021), the works of these women have historically been marginalized within the canon, yet their writings in tandem with work in the Progressive and New Deal eras in general constitute somewhat of a “lost legacy” of social justice in the field.

Another voice marginalized in the canon has been Frances Harriet Williams, a Black female civil servant whom Gooden (2017) termed an unsung social equity pioneer. Williams (1947) wrote “Minority Groups and the OPA” for *Public Administration Review*, analyzing discrimination against race in U.S. government policies, especially in the then-extant Office of Price Administration. As summarized by Gooden (2017), “long before the Minnowbrook I conference convened in the 1960s to discuss the importance of fairness in the provision of public services, Williams successfully promoted values of social equity and racial fairness within public administration scholarly and practitioner communities” (p. 777).

In short, discussions of fairness in the pre-1960s public administration literature were often scant. As Moloney and Lewis (2023a; 2023b) caution, it has often been in other disciplines and with figures writing outside of the U.S. academy that one can find far more extensive discussions of equity and justice than what was evident in the early public administration canon.

The Minnowbrook Legacy

While discussions of equity and justice in the public administration literature pre-date the 1960s, former ASPA president and social equity champion Philip Rutledge “[traced] the ‘invention’ of social equity as a practical tool in public administration to the Minnowbrook conference convened by Dwight Waldo, George Frederickson, and a group of Young Turks in the 1960s” (Rutledge, 2002, p. 391). The first Minnowbrook conference was held in 1968 under the auspices of Syracuse University’s Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs and was led by Dwight Waldo (Gooden et al., 2022). Reflecting on the state of the field, especially growing interest in civil rights and racial equality, this group of scholars—especially through the work of H. G. Frederickson—advanced a so-called “new public administration,” which included arguing that government should be fair for all, or socially equitable (Frederickson, 1971; 1974), and scholarly interest in social equity grew steadily from that time (Frederickson, 1990; 2005).

Further Minnowbrook conferences followed. From the 1960s onward, it became more common to find discussions of representative bureaucracy (Meier & Nigro, 1976), which is critical to social equity as a pillar but not the entirety of it (Gooden & Portillo, 2011). Still, as reported by Guy (1989), social equity was far less discussed in the Minnowbrook II conference, yet as documented by Gooden and Portillo (2011), the Minnowbrook III conference led to far more wide-ranging discussions of social equity in the field, especially on the need for conceptual clarity and meaningful action to advance fairness for all.

Institutional responses by government paralleled and influenced social equity advancements in the public administration literature. As noted by Gooden (2015a), constitutional amendments, case law, and statutory law helped expand notions of “We” in the United States. When considering those advancements in the context of the history of public administration as a field, that is from 1939 onwards, several legal advancements (space belies mentioning more) at the federal level are noteworthy, such as the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which ruled that public school segregation was unconstitutional, the *Civil*

Rights Act of 1964, which outlaws discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin, Supreme Court rulings that provided greater protections for women (e.g., *Roe v. Wade*, 1973; *United States v. Virginia*, 1996), and a succession of Supreme Court rulings that provided greater protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer plus (LGBTQ+) individuals (e.g., *Bostock v. Clayton County*, 2020; *Obergefell v. Hodges*, 2015).

Centering Social Equity in the Field

Despite these advancements, the place of social equity as a pillar of the field was far from guaranteed. This steady growth in interest in social equity likely would not have happened were it not for Phillip Rutledge (Frederickson, 2008; Frederickson, 2010; Gooden, 2005). As summarized by Gooden (2015a), “[w]hile Frederickson was theorizing and conceptualizing social equity and its linkages to public administration,” it was “another giant in the field, the late Philip Rutledge [who] was fervently working to advance social equity’s applied dimension. Much of his lifelong legacy involved holding our field’s professional associations accountable to social equity” (p. 215). Further, “[w]hat emerges from Frederickson and Rutledge is the present-day notion of the “we” of public administration as all inclusive” or “public administration scholars, practitioners, and students” (p. 215).

In fact, Rutledge was foundational in NAPA developing a working definition of social equity, adopting social equity as a pillar of the field, incorporating social equity in its strategic plan, and creating a standing panel (Gooden, 2015a; Gooden et al., 2023). Indeed, it is the cornerstone definition of social equity as advanced by NAPA that is often now a starting point for understanding social equity in the field: “The fair, just, and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract, and the fair, justice and equitable distribution of public services, and implementation of public policy, and the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in the formation of public policy” (Gooden, 2015a, p. 219). Parallel to these advancements in NAPA, in 1984, ASPA adopted its first ethics code, adopting revisions in 1994 and 2013, each of which had growing commitments to social equity (Svara, 2014, p. 565).

Toward Greater Conceptual and Operational Clarity

Concomitant with social equity advancements in law and in the profession, the public administration literature from the mid-1970s until 2018 saw rapid growth in social equity scholarship. As noted by Gooden (2015a) in the 1980s and 1990s, the literature was focused on answering the question of how much inequity exists. From the early 2000s until the 2010s, the focus on determining how much inequity exists remained but was extended to the question of why social inequities persist. From the 2010s and beyond, the question extended to how accountability for social equity is achieved. However, until the 2010s, social equity remained somewhat of a so-called “niche” topic in the canon. As an example, Gooden (2015b) examined the prevalence of social equity articles throughout the then-extant volumes of *Public Administration Review (PAR)*, finding that less than 5% of articles focused on social equity.

Still, several now classic works advanced social equity conceptually, theoretically, and empirically. For instance, Johnson and Svara’s (2011; 2015a) edited volume *Justice for All: Promoting Social Equity in Public Administration* shaped understandings of social equity priorities in policy areas running the gamut of all public service, from housing to policing. These authors also discussed a four-part framework for understanding social equity still in use today, namely that social equity can be understood in terms of questions of access, procedural fairness and processes, quality of services, and outcomes of services (Johnson & Svara, 2015b; 2015c). Johnson and Svara (2015c) articulated several steps of what it means for public service agencies to foster accountability for social equity, including the need for agencies to admit their culpability in creating inequities, taking equity seriously, measuring success, reaching out to and with historically marginalized communities, and ensuring seats at the table.

Relatedly, Gooden (2014) published the modern classic *Race and Social Equity: A Nervous Area of Government*, which articulated the need to examine racism in U.S. society and to take accountability for fostering racial equity. This book also forwarded the notion that administrators and policy makers must better understand and admit equity issues, understand how they come about and who and what are responsible for creating social inequities, and to take meaningful steps to claim, or remedy, inequities. The list of social equity works—whether articles or books—are far too numerous to list here, but across the literature, the interest in social equity rapidly increased.

The social equity literature prior to 2018 began to evince paired dynamics, namely linking social equity to related concepts and drawing from other fields. On the first dynamic, scholarly works began linking concepts of diversity, cultural competency, inclusion, methodologies and philosophies of knowledge, representative bureaucracy, and emotional labor to equity issues, noting that these concepts were all necessary, albeit not sufficient, conditions for understanding and fostering fairness for all (see Guy & McCandless, 2012; Guy et al., 2008; Norman-Major & Gooden, 2012; Riccucci, 2010; Riccucci, 2015; Riccucci & Van Ryzin, 2017). On the second dynamic, scholars in public administration began drawing more often from other literatures, whether explicitly or implicitly, in other fields to bring new analytical tools to the field, especially regarding feminism and queer theory (Swan, 2004), critical race theory (Alkadry & Blessett, 2010; Gaynor, 2018), theories of justice (Federickson, 2010; Rawls, 1971), and intersectionality (Blessett, 2018; Love et al., 2016).

It is in the pre-2018 public administration pedagogical literature that rapid growth in interest in social equity is particularly noticeable. Norman-Major (2011) argued that a key dimension of creating social equity is defining and measuring it, and a related dimension is ensuring that public administrators are educated in the meaning of social equity and in centering it as a priority. Simply put, if equity is to be made a priority, it must be taught across the curriculum (Norman-Major, 2011).

Prior to 2018, academic journals like the *Journal of Public Affairs Education (JPAE)* had a steadily growing number of pieces on social equity education. Gooden and Myers (2004b) guest edited a *JPAE* social equity symposium. This symposium featured numerous now-classic social equity pieces. For instance, Svava and Brunet (2004) reviewed public administration textbooks, finding that social equity is often not defined and, when discussed, largely focused on human resources management. Rice (2004) argued that given rapid demographic changes in the United States, public administrators must be educated to better understand diversity, and classes themselves must examine who works within public service agencies, management of such agencies, and who are recipients of public services. Gooden and Myers (2004a) provided advice for weaving social equity impact analyses into both MPA and MPP curricula, arguing that students need skills in understanding historical grounding of problems, examining numerous policy areas, gaining community knowledge and interaction experiences, preparing faculty, and recruiting and enrolling a diverse group of students.

In response to arguments made in this special issue, Rosenbloom (2005) questioned if social equity had value (and factual correctness) as an umbrella term for fairness, due process, and more, and argued that social equity definitions were tautological, not rooted in constitutional jurisprudence, and tantamount to scholars imposing their beliefs on others. Svava and Brunet (2005) disagreed and responded by forwarding the basis of an operational definition of social equity consisting of procedural fairness, distribution and access, quality, outcomes, and related responsibilities of guaranteeing all a place and the table being both proactive and affirmative to involve citizens, all of which are skills in which administrators must be educated.

Indeed, from this time up until 2018, *JPAE* in particular saw a steadily growing number of social equity pieces on a wide range of topics, including teaching social equity in human resources management (Gooden & Wooldridge, 2007), as a standalone course (McCandless &

Larson, 2018), in terms of human rights (Alvez & Timney, 2008), teaching about racism in the classroom (Lopez-Littleton et al., 2018), in terms of service learning (Waldner et al., 2011), in terms of transgender competence (Johnson, 2011), a social equity, diversity, and identity symposium (see Rivera & Ward, 2018), and many others too numerous to list in full. The next section continues this dialogue and captures the discipline's renewed efforts since this timeframe when the last Minnowbrook conference was convened to highlight its progress during the past five years.

Social Equity in Public Administration: Present (2018–2023)

Fifty years after the initial Minnowbrook conference in 1968, a leading group of social equity scholars met at the Minnowbrook at 50 conference—the latest of four Minnowbrook conferences since its inception—to review the past developments of social equity within the field of public administration (Blessett et al., 2019). Like their predecessors before them, the country was (again) faced with tumultuous social and cultural changes (e.g., #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter campaigns, just to name a few). During their discussions, a dominant theme emerged: “as a discipline and practice, we have not adequately anchored social equity to the foundation of public administration, and thus a call to action is warranted” (Blessett et al., 2019, p. 283). As a result, this call to action also included the Social Equity Manifesto, a list of seven principles “that can guide public administration toward making social equity an embedded value and practice in the field, with the goal of emphasizing action” (p. 296) (see Table 1). This section will identify those activities that have responded to this call up through present day, as well as those state, executive, and judicial actions that have ignored these fundamental principles. Due to space considerations, this discussion will only highlight significant outcomes.

First, the scholarly community has (again) responded to the call and embraced these principles. For example, in the proceeding 5 years post-Minnowbrook at 50, numerous public administration journals have continued to publish stand-alone articles, as well as sponsored special issues, on a myriad of social equity topics in response to #MeToo, #BlackLivesMatter, #StopAsianHate, and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic to address the social, economic, and health inequities in public service (e.g., *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, *American Review of Public Administration*, *Public Administration*, *Public Personnel Management*, *Public Integrity*, *JPAE*, and *Public Management Review*). However, three public administration journals have gone over and beyond these crucial yet individual articles or special issues. They are *PAR*, *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs* (JPNA), and *Journal of Social Equity in Public Administration* (JSEPA).

To begin, as the leading professional journal in public administration research, theory and practice, *PAR* partnered with the *Consortium of Race and Gender Scholars* (CORGES) in 2020, an informal group of 50+ scholars to address the disconnect between the intensity and urgency of social concerns and the state of scholarship in public policy and public administration relevant to race and gender, the two primary axes of social inequity (Hall, 2022; Pandey et al., 2022). Although *PAR* has a long history supporting social equity scholarship (e.g., symposia and notable essays), they admit to entering a 40-year “dark period” where continued focus and effort at defining or redefining social equity had lapsed (Hall, 2022). Thus, the partnership with CORGES led to *PAR*’s own re-emergence whose “primary ambition [was] to reimagine and rejuvenate social equity scholarship” under the guest editorships of several senior social equity scholars (Hall, 2022, p. 385). This contemporary body of work can be found in Volume 82, Issue 3 (2022) and contains a broad collection of social equity topics and discussion.

Next, the publishing outlet of this essay (JPNA), one of the very few open access journals in the field of public administration, launched a new Social Equity Section in 2021 to tackle

Table 1. Social Equity Manifesto: Principles

1	<i>Social equity is a foundational anchor, not just a (separate) pillar, of public administration.</i> There is a responsibility to promote social equity in our roles as researchers, teachers, and practitioners. This promotion should not be siloed, but rather intersecting with other foundational components of the field.
2	<i>Our commitment to the field of public administration requires us to stand up for good governance, social equity, and strong communities.</i> As scholars and practitioners, we must be open to professional development opportunities that challenge conscious and unconscious bias, be willing to engage in difficult conversations with colleagues and constituents, and commit ourselves to be life-long learners as a way to incorporate the values of social equity and cultural understanding as part of our daily process.
3	<i>A goal of social equity is to eliminate inequalities of all kinds.</i> This requires a commitment to structural, institutional changes and deep personal work on behalf of public administration scholars and practitioners. As academics, we support social equity in our instruction, in the hiring and promotion of our colleagues, in our research, and in our service to the field. As practitioners, we support social equity in the development, implementation, and evaluation of managerial practices and public policies.
4	<i>Research needs to be utilized as a tool for examining whether social equity goals are being realized.</i> As researchers, we can use equity frameworks, such as representative bureaucracy and intersectionality, to inform the questions we ask as well as broaden our methodological choices to incorporate more qualitative work. Representative bureaucracy can demonstrate the effectiveness of equity approaches to hiring and promotion.
5	<i>Violations of equity are contrary to democracy.</i> As researchers, we should be more conscious of the questions we ask, the paradigms/frameworks/ theories we use and propose, and the implications of our research as it pertains to equity. As practitioners, a democratically responsible administration includes passionate action that is equitable, inclusive, intentional, person-centered, and encapsulated by an ethos of care.
6	<i>As a whole, academic programs of public administration are not currently equipping or preparing the future of public administrators for the practical work of equity in public service.</i> Public administration programs need core courses focused centrally on equity that are not relegated to “special topics” courses or electives. In addition, equity concepts, processes, issues, and outcomes should be incorporated within every core class in public administration curricula.
7	<i>Practitioners are fundamental actors in extending democracy and promoting equity.</i> Administrators must be committed to and manifest the ideals of democracy, justice, and equity for all citizens through their actions, professional development, and engagement with all individuals and communities. As practitioners, the upper levels of management with promotion authority need to create pipelines to promote social equity at the higher levels of government.

Note: Adapted from Blessett et al., 2019, p. 296.

emerging social equity topics more quickly. Although *JPNA* has always been dedicated to publishing articles that address any number of inequities in the public and nonprofit sectors, the Social Equity Section is a supplemental and dedicated outlet for this important work to disseminate topics commonly discounted in government and nonprofit affairs scholarship, as well as emerging social equity issues (Carroll, 2021). Since its inception, articles in the new Social Equity Section have included topics such as expanding sick leave during a global pandemic (Rauhaus & Johnson, 2021), reintegration programs and services for Black female parolees in Alabama (Moorer, 2021), increasing access to public administration research for individuals with disabilities (Allgood, 2021), appropriate terminology usage for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and asexual plus (LGBTQIA+) communities (Meyer & Milleson, 2022), a historical analysis of American constitutional values and democratic beliefs toward social equity progression (Trochmann & Guy, 2022), a call for political action on gun control by the professional sports industry (Thomas & Levine Daniel,

2022), digital inequities in community revitalization (Marshall, 2023), and understanding the “B” in *#Black Lives Matter* (Houston & Krinch, 2023). They represent a broad array of emerging topics and much-needed discourse in social equity and public administration scholarship.

Finally, the inaugural issue of *JSEPA* was launched in 2023, not only as the newest academic journal in the field of public administration but an open access source as well. Their road to implementation will not be fully rehashed here (see Gooden et al., 2023 for detailed narrative from vision to reality). However, its “mission is to provide a learning space, a journal of record, and a place of introspection and extrospection. Because social equity is a moving target, always evolving, the pages of this journal will reflect its course” (Guy & Williams, 2023). In addition, *JSEPA* (2023) “seeks to be the leading voice on social equity as it pertains to the pursuit of public purposes. It is the outlet for cutting edge theory, research, and commentary on matters of access, process, quality, and outcomes of administrative actions, policy decisions, and administrative law.” Furthermore, *JSEPA* (2023) is “a voice for reconciliation, restoration, and remediation strategies,” ensuring a dedicated and specialized outlet for social equity scholarship in the future.

Likewise, the Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration (NASPAA, 2021)—the global standard in public service education—has also responded to the call by forming a 12-member ad hoc task force during the summer of 2020 to review background materials and propose a comprehensive framework for a Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) Action Plan to guide NASPAA’s work on these important issues over the coming years. Like many of the [journal] special issues mentioned above, this task force was initiated in response to the murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, and a desire for NASPAA to move toward intentional actions to become a model for member institutions in the fight against anti-Black racism, discrimination, and inequity (NASPAA, 2021). This Action Plan was intentionally designed to be built upon over time as the organization makes progress to comprehensively integrate DEI goals in the following key areas: accreditation, teaching and learning, delivering diversity in NASPAA and our field, research and recognition, and annual conference planning (NASPAA, 2021). By the end of their mandate, the task force provided both strategic and tactical action items for the short, medium, and long term across these five key areas, as well as identify three priority areas for consideration. These priority areas would include training improvements, support for minority serving institutions, and revisions to NASPAA’s data collection and assessment (NASPAA, 2021). While it appears the academic and publishing communities have responded in some form to the Minnowbrook at 50’s call for greater attention to social equity issues, this cannot be said for the practitioner community as a whole, which informs our next group of significant outcomes during the past 5 years.

For example, during the Trump Administration, federal and state legislatures began attacking DEI initiatives and curriculum throughout their domains. Although the Biden Administration rescinded Trump’s “Equity Gag Order”—also commonly referred to as the “Trump Truth Ban” (i.e., Exec. Order No. 13950, 2020), which banned federal departments and agencies, contractors, and grant recipients from conducting training and programs that address systematic racism and sexism—with the passage of Exec. Order No. 13985 (2021), *Advancing Racial Equity and Support for Underserved Communities Through the Federal Government*, a total of 16 states (to date) have signed into legislation bills restricting education on race in classrooms or state government agencies, with another 19 states actively considering similar bills or policies (Alfonseca, 2022). This attack, especially in higher education, have impacted the administration and curricula of public colleges and universities throughout the country. For example, Texas banned diversity offices in their institutions of higher education and Florida banned expending funds on any DEI program or initiative (e.g., curricula, student organizations, employment) at their public colleges and universities (Johnson, 2023). Instead of identifying pathways for ending hate, bigotry, racism, and all forms of discrimination derived from White supremacy, these bills will cause our nation to trend backwards, making

it increasingly more difficult to eradicate racism (The King Center, 2023). As of August 2023, four lawsuits have been filed against these censorship bills with one already being successful in its efforts to reverse the law (e.g., Arizona) (Pendharker, 2023).

Finally, the Supreme Court in a historic decision reversed decades of precedent on affirmative action by ending race-conscious admissions program at colleges and universities across the country, altering the landscape of higher education for years to come. In a decision divided along ideological lines, *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College* (2023) invalidated the ability of admissions programs to consider race as one of many factors in deciding which of the qualified applicants to be admitted. However, the Court's decision is likely to cause ripple effects throughout the country, and not just in higher education, but also in selective primary and secondary schools (Totenberg, 2023). Eventually, the nation's economic, educational, and social dimensions, to include employment and promotion decisions in the workplace will be impacted. In essence, "It's going to open a Pandora's box across the country and cross institutions and industries" (Totenberg, 2023). Altogether, these negative outcomes will have lasting impacts in our pursuit for social equity and will need to be monitored carefully. As the United States contend with the possible upcoming judicial challenges against landmark decisions such as *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) (on same-sex marriages) and *Bostock v. Clayton County* (2020) (on employment discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity), social equity research will become even more paramount. The next section outlines our expectations for the future of social equity in public administration.

Social Equity in Public Administration: Future (Post-2023)

Looking forward to the future of social equity in governing practices, pedagogy and scholarship, the cloud of declining government distrust remains, encompassing negative views of both political institutions and government agencies (Brenan, 2023). Leaning into social equity may be key to improving government trust, enhancing more democratic principles, and achieving equitable outcomes. In order to envision the future of social equity in public administration, it is equally important to return to the fundamental basis of the politics-administration dichotomy to examine principles of social equity in an accurate perspective rather focusing mainly on politicized viewpoints and rhetoric of equity. To effectively dichotomize politics and social equity, it will be imperative to move beyond the stereotype that social equity and diversity compromise merit. Thus, representative bureaucracy will continue to be an important practice with a greater emphasis on all public servants having a heightened awareness of the importance of social equity and values of equity being embedded in public institutions and organizations. Highlighting the effectiveness of representative bureaucracy (and other social equity frameworks) and the successes of social equity will also be necessary in order to debunk the stigma that social equity minimizes merit.

Accordingly, engaging in innovative scholarship and pedagogical approaches that encourage public servants to think critically about public policy and public administration in changing communities with diverse needs is the first step in preparing for the future of social equity. Linking social equity as a solution to improved governance will be key. Dolamore and Whitebread (2022) suggest "recalibrating public service" by focusing on a new set of 4E's: engagement, empathy, equity, and ethics. By incorporating these new values to the traditional values in public service (i.e., economy, efficiency, effectiveness, and equity), practitioners and researchers can emphasize principles in democratic governance, where government not only looks like those they serve but seeks to understand the evolving needs of diverse groups (Norman-Major, 2022). However, "these 'new' 4E's are the pillars needed in a 21st century public administration that center care (empathy), meet people where they are (engagement), promote fairness for all (equity), and do so in ways to advance the public interest and public benefit (ethics)" (Meyer et al., 2022, p. 354). Training future public servants on the traditional

E's as well as the new E's will enhance public service to be equipped to approach challenging, dynamic wicked problems that continue to persist throughout communities, and that often plague under-represented groups. This is particularly true for the LGBTQ+ community, whom the Human Rights Campaign have declared a state of emergency (Schoenbaum, 2023). For example, as of June 2023, more than 525 anti-LGBTQ+ bills have been introduced in state houses throughout the country, with over 70 signed into law so far in 2023, more than double last year's numbers (Schoenbaum, 2023).

Likewise, concepts and lessons of social equity will need to be thread throughout public administration curriculum and beyond with an emphasis on adopting governing and public leadership approaches that center on equity. Heightening awareness of ethics, empathy, engagement, and equity among public servants and aspiring public leaders can lead to public servants acting with a new set of values that will equip them to succeed (or adapt) in a challenging environment. Adopting the new values in public service will also result in more representative policymaking that considers how policies will impact all groups and enhance government trust, as public leaders will consider the consequences, benefits, and implications of those in the community that they engage with and represent. As we grapple with the possible upcoming judicial challenges against landmark decisions such as *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) and *Bostock v. Clayton County* (2020), public leadership will be tested.

Despite these socio-political challenges, the concept of diversity is continually changing to be more inclusive and social equity approaches will also have to include ways to support traditionally under-represented, marginalized, or oppressed groups. More research on widening the scope of how diversity is defined and studied is much needed. For example, as mentioned previously, existing research in public administration using a social equity theoretical lens has explored primary forms of personal identity, such as race and gender; but there are many more socio-economic factors to consider when examining how public administration can be more equitable. Some of those under-studied factors include class and place inequities, disability, age, religious minorities, LGBTQIA+ persons, and other racial groups that are often overlooked such as Native American and Native Hawaiian persons, as well as the intersectionality of these factors with other primary forms of interacting personal identity (Blessett et al., 2019; Exec. Order No. 13985, 2021; Kagan & Ronquillo, 2019; Pandey et al., 2022; Trochman & Guy, 2022; Yu & Lee, 2023). Furthering research in social equity to extend beyond gender and race has the potential to enhance governing practices and public policy and will be essential in understanding how public administration can effectively provide more equitable and representative results. This recalibration of public service will ultimately highlight cultural diversity as well. In addition, widening the scope of equity calls for a widening view of diverse groups as definitions and criteria are also continually changing. To illustrate, individuals with disabilities are the largest minority groups both globally and in the United States and are often overlooked in scholarship and practice of public administration (Allgood, 2021; Chordiya et al., 2023).

Thus, future research agendas should explore these understudied personal identities or social factors, as well as settings in terms of governmental structures and types of public organizations. The future of social equity is tied to social justice and the process of how outcomes of social equity and justice are achieved or hindered in organizations (Stivers et al., 2023). Hence, public administration research needs to further link social equity scholarship to praxis, which indicates strengthening and supporting the fundamental pillars of public administration. Likewise, future research agendas should capture inclusive practices, which remain limited in social equity and public administration scholarship. Research suggests that inclusive workplace practices as opposed to diversity management and representation efforts have a higher impact for reducing workplace discrimination (Yu & Lee, 2023). Given the current divisive and political climate in the United States, it is critical that social equity remains at the forefront of public administration research, pedagogy, and practice. As a discipline, we must continue to "deliver [sustained] action" (Blessett et al., 2019, p. 297) so we

aren't grappling with these same issues at the next Minnowbrook conference. While the Social Equity Manifesto has made progress these past 5 years, much more (still) remains to be done.

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Philanthropic Response to Disasters: Gifts, Givers, and Consequences, Edited by Alexandra Williamson, Diana Leat, and Susan D. Phillips

Jason D. Rivera – John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY

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In the aftermath of disasters, ordinary people, both in close proximity and far from the event, seek ways to provide assistance to survivors. This mobilization and use of resources intended to assist in the recovery from a particular event, in addition to the preparedness and mitigation of future disasters, that is provided by private actors is referred to as *disaster philanthropy*. Along these lines, these resources can take the form of goods, in-kind contributions, volunteering of time, or financial contributions. For example, in 2017 about 30% of U.S. households made disaster-related donations (Bergdoll et al., 2019). Specifically, within three months of the passage of Hurricane Harvey, a minimum of \$1.07 billion worth of donations had been given to nonprofit organizations in the U.S. to aid in the recovery from the hurricane (Bergdoll et al., 2019). Although this illustrates the outpouring of charitable donations related to disaster philanthropy in one year in the U.S., the trends and motivations for such charitable behavior on the behalf of individuals is not totally dissimilar from other forms of philanthropic behavior; although there are some differences (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Boin & 't Hart, 2010; Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Kapucu, 2016).

Despite people's motivations, when people provide disaster donations, typically the quantity of donations that flood into a post-disaster context is often inappropriate, unneeded, or simply too much (McEntire, 2015; Nelan et al., 2019). This often creates logistical problems related to storage and distribution for individuals and organizations tasked with ensuring donations are provided to those in need (Neal, 1994; Rivera & Willard, 2019). Additionally, McEntire (2015) warns that donations in the form of goods, can also be culturally inappropriate at times, which results in waste. However, when donations take the form of financial contributions, there are a variety of other challenges that have emerged in both domestic and international contexts. To this point, issues related to potential fraud, regulation, and organizational factors all provide challenges to the distribution of financial donations that require further investigation and understanding to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of their use and delivery.

As a result of the importance of understanding the dynamics associated with managing financial contributions in disaster philanthropy, Alexandra Williamson, Diana Leat and Susan D. Phillips have strategically decided to focus their edited volume on this type of charitable donation. With a specific focus on two related aspects of disaster philanthropy, “getting resources in and then getting them out to recipients” (p. 3), the editors have wonderfully brought together a broad range of academic and professional contributors to elucidate the varying dynamics that affect nonprofits’ and faith-based organizations’ abilities to ensure resources get to those in need. Along these lines, *Philanthropic Response to Disasters: Gifts, Givers and Consequences*, highlights issues of organizational capacity and mission, conceptualizations of ‘need’, and operational challenges that vary across disaster contexts that all influence how effectively organizations are at getting resources where and to whom they need to go. Each chapter contributes to the volume by assessing practices and research, in addition to identifying challenges and opportunities, as a means of motivating future academic research agendas and enhancing professional practice in each respective focus area.

Although the focus of this volume is to generally advance nonprofit management in the realm of disaster philanthropy, there is an underlying theme across the chapters that relates to broader discussions of the importance of social justice and equity in disaster and emergency management actions taken by philanthropic, more generally nonprofit, organizations (Diggs et al., 2023; see also, Nickels & Leach, 2021; Thompson, 2012). Along these lines, various chapters highlight how notions of disaster survivor ‘deservedness’, donor expectations to assist specific groups, and the uneven distribution of resources across communities has the potential to exacerbate preexisting social vulnerability in the future and question the ethics and morality of disaster philanthropy. As such, all of the chapters in this volume attempt to take a critical view of practices as a means of enhancing the management of disaster philanthropies that result in more equitable outcomes for disaster affected communities.

Diana Leat, in Chapter 2, and Williamson and Leat, in Chapter 4, explore some of the challenges of philanthropic responses to disaster. In Chapter 2, Leat focuses on the public responses and interests to these challenges, whereas Williamson and Leat focus on issues related to foundations in Chapter 4. As such, Leat highlights the public’s interests in donating to specific causes, in addition to when and how funds are distributed. To this end, the author argues that donors’ motivations and wishes in relation to how and when funds are distributed to those in need have been supplanted by professional and bureaucratic processes and decisions. According to Leat, this is due to a lack of clarity on the definition and operationalization of ‘need’ in the literature and professional practice. As a result, philanthropic responses to disaster are characterized under three phases: rescue, returning to a pre-disaster situation, and ‘reactive recognition’. In each of these phases, donations are used for various purposes; however, the final phase, reactive recognition, is the most interpretive, which can be attributed to a lack of clarity on who is in need of resources during the long-term recovery stage. Moreover, Williamson and Leat also argue that how and when funds are used is also a function of the type of organization that is responsible for the distribution of resources and who they are accountable to. Specifically, Williamson and Leat observe that endowed foundations are less accountable in relation to the fairness with which resources are distributed to those in ‘need’ than those organizations whose main responsibility is to act as distribution agent.

In chapter 3, Wendy Scaife discusses various aspects of disaster fundraising. Taking a practical, but critical, approach to the investigation, the author highlights many of the practices that surround philanthropic fundraising when disasters occur. Although Scaife emphasizes the importance of mobilizing large amounts of resources for those in need, the author also highlights the challenges of managing these resources in a hyper-scrutinized environment. However, one of the more interesting elements of this chapter rests in its attention to the importance of the media in raising awareness of disasters. Along these lines, Scaife highlights that although the media can bring great attention and awareness to specific

disaster events, it also has the ability to turn a blind eye. Subsequent to a lack of attention in the media, donations for disasters that are not highlighted are marginally generated. Moreover, the amount of emphasis, or lack thereof, by the media on particular disasters is related to notions of a sense of 'we-ness' or cultural similarity that is sometimes motivated by political interests. As a result, donations can be unethically generated to aid certain groups of people and not others. Scaife views this as an unethical practice, which results in socially inequitable aid distribution, that philanthropies should seek to avoid through the use of alternative mechanisms of generating public awareness, and, subsequently, disaster donations. Furthermore, when funds are generated for international situations, their distribution should rely on the expertise of local leadership to not only avoid traditional "portrayals of Western society as a kind of saviour..." (p. 60), but also to help ensure funds get to those most in need as opposed to those that potentially benefit Western interests in the long run.

Shifting the focus, Chapter 5 by Moran, Dwyer and Seibert, provides an exploratory glimpse into the role private sector organizations play in disaster management. The authors argue that although there is considerable literature and international frameworks, such as the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR), that focus on the role and enhancement of governments' role in disaster management, the enhancement of the private sector contributions is more limited. Along these lines, the authors engage in an exploratory investigation of the private sector's contribution to disaster response and recovery, using Australia as a case study. Unique to their study is the authors' use of community-centric approaches to studying the role of the private sector in disaster management as opposed to traditional firm-centric approaches. This provides insight into how private sector organizations have benefited society or communities in more broad ways in the context of disaster management, as opposed to how do organizations deal with managing disasters for their own benefit. As a byproduct of their investigation, Moran, Dwyer and Seibert observe that private sector organizations have and continue to make important contributions to disaster response and recovery; however, there needs to be greater emphasis on and enhancement of their role in disaster preparedness.

In Chapters 6 and 7, the contributors separately delve into the role that public policies and regulations have on disaster philanthropy. Along these lines, McGregor-Lowndes in Chapter 6 explains that regulations surrounding disaster philanthropy are designed to mitigate four general issues: fraud, confusion related to who the beneficiaries of aid are, the amount of money collected by philanthropies for specific purposes, and distribution constraints. Through the author's legal analysis across four disaster cases and three countries (i.e., England, Canada, and Australia), it is observed that digital fundraising and other activities facilitated through social media have developed outpaced respective common law to regulate it. This finding is also reflected by Phillips and Pue in Chapter 7, where the authors maintain that public policy related to disaster philanthropy has developed to deal with these challenges and others, but still requires continual augmentation to deal with emerging issues.

Turning their attention back to issues related to enhancing social equity and reducing social vulnerability, Chapter 8 helps provide a better understanding of the importance of community-level philanthropic capacity. Specifically, Conway defines community philanthropy as "the generation and distribution of resources to address a local community's challenges" (p. 169). Although the author is discussing the role of community philanthropy in the context of disaster response and recovery, the role of philanthropic capacity to address local community challenges reaches far wider. Along these lines, local knowledge and networks are needed for the ethical distribution of funds. Conway proposes that overcoming, but preferably breaking, inequitable local power dynamics is key for communities to recover from disasters using philanthropic resources. However, the author points out that in order to address the systematic issues that contribute to inequity, both in times of normalcy and after disasters, community philanthropy specified for aiding communities in disaster should deal

with 1) specifically addressing 'larger-scale systematic change', 2) identifying more 'daring strategies' to generate better outcomes for the most vulnerable, 3) working to develop better coordination across the charitable sector at the local level, 4) investing in disaster planning activities and engagement with emergency management organizations, and 5) engage in better representative bureaucracy initiatives that seek to alter the current demographics of community philanthropic leadership. As a result, this chapter not only provides guidance for moving disaster philanthropy forward, but the philanthropic sector more broadly.

Additionally, in Chapter 9 Witkowski explores the role of nonprofit organizations in disaster response. Although the focus is on the U.S. context and the lessons learned from 9/11, in which nonprofits provided faster relief to victims and were more flexible with providing services in comparison to governmental organizations, the author argues that nonprofits need to be better coordinated in the aftermath of disasters to be more effective with serving hazard effected communities. Along these lines, the author maintains that coordinating organizations are an important entity in disaster relief delivery. Witkowski maintains that organizations like the 9/11 United Services Group (USG) can overcome the capacity limitations of individual nonprofit and charitable organizations to enhance the process through which disaster victims are served. As such, not only does this chapter argue for a more coordinated effort in disaster philanthropy to enhance service provision, it subsequently can also help to deal with the social equity implications of limited capacity organizations working in this field.

Finally, Chapters 10 and 11 help to tie all the preceding contributions together by summarizing what has been observed in the field of disaster philanthropy and directions policymakers, practitioners, and scholars might move in to enhance practice. As a byproduct of all the contributions to this volume, *Philanthropic Response to Disasters: Gifts, Givers and Consequences* moves our understanding of the challenges related to the sector forward. Guidance is provided by the editors and individual chapter contributions for practitioners and policymakers alike. The volume not only provides guidance on enhancing the management of disaster philanthropy, but to do so in socially equitable ways. Moreover, the book is written in a way that is accessible to students at every level, practitioners, and decision-makers. As a result, I would encourage those that teach, discuss, and consult on the interaction and importance of the third sector in disaster and emergency management to use this book to inform conversations, future research, and policy discussions.

Disclosure Statement

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