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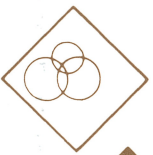
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A Half-Century of California Poverty

ROBERT G. MOGULL

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In this article, poverty statistics are examined over the past 50 years for insights on trends. Data were tabulated by Decennial Censuses for the state of California and categorized by demographic group. Trends are revealed by evidence from unique calculations of Poverty Indexes, that is, of "fair shares" of poverty. By examining 5 decades of evidence, it is found that some groups have clearly progressed—specifically Asians & Pacific Islanders, Blacks, and Hispanics, while others have found their recent poverty status deteriorate—especially the elderly, Native Americans, and Whites.

Key words: *California, demographics, minorities, poverty, poverty index, racial groups*

The primary goal of this paper is to examine paths of poverty over the past half-century for a variety of groups. The paths are examined with the intent of deriving insights into demographic patterns within the state of California. The 50-year analysis begins with the U.S. Census Bureau's earliest collection of poverty statistics, follows the data at 10-year intervals, and concludes with the most recent decennial snapshot. Thus, the poverty data run from the year 1959 through 2009. The Bureau's Decennial Census poverty estimates are the most comprehensive available and the only data in the early years for separate demographic groups at sub-national levels. Poverty Indexes are also developed and presented here to measure a demographic group's "fair share" of state poverty.

The year 2000 Census was the last decennial census that was employed for the collection of income and poverty data. The task of estimating annual poverty is now assigned to the American Community Survey (ACS) which, after a decade of testing, was officially launched in 2006. The ACS supplies

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monthly profiles for communities with populations of at least 65,000 and is sent nationwide to between 250,000 and 300,000 or roughly three million households a year. It is designed to provide a continuous profile of the nation's economic, social, and housing characteristics. As might be expected from their smaller sample sizes, however, the ACS has been evaluated as yielding "less precise measures of common variables than Census 2000 sample data" (Esri, 2011, p. 3). Similarly, the sampling error associated with the Decennial Census long form was "much lower" than that of the ACS (Blodgett, 2009, p. 3). And, in a comparison of the two data sources, there is "disproportionate underrepresentation" of racial and ethnic minorities and of children in the ACS (Lowenthal, 2006, p. 11).

The definition of poverty is a relative concept in macro terms, but it is gauged by absolute thresholds. The official definition was originally designated in 1963-64 by Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration (Orshansky, 1969). Both the definition and the thresholds have provided a consistent measure of poverty since 1959 and were formally adopted in 1969 for use by all federal agencies. Poverty indexes are based upon pre-taxed earned money income and they vary according to family size. Prior to 1982, the index cut-off levels also considered the gender of the household head and whether the family resided on a farm. Changes in annual living costs are factored into the poverty thresholds using the nationwide Consumer Price Index for All Urban Dwellers. Over the years, the thresholds have grown for a representative family of four, for example, from \$2,973 in 1959 to \$23,201 in 2011. Yet, there are no adjustments for regional variations in basic living expenses. Consequently, since the typical cost of living in California exceeds the national average, poverty is substantially underestimated for the state (Bureau of the Census, 2000, p. 490).

The official poverty measures have been criticized on a wide variety of grounds. The major criticisms include: that regional differences in living costs, noncash benefits, deferred benefits, assets, and intra-household transfers are all not accounted for; money income is underreported; inter-household transfers are unreliably estimated; either median income or disposable income would be a more appropriate gauge of poverty; frequent movers and the homeless are undercounted;

and the component weights within a minimally adequate diet need updating.

These numerous criticisms of the data and of the poverty definition are provided here for reasons of more than just "full disclosure." The criticisms are all meritorious and deserve the considerations that they have received in the literature. However, the criticisms are mentioned and enumerated here primarily to remind the reader that the constructions of both the concepts and measures of poverty are imperfect and embody shortcomings. Consequently, the statistics upon which inferences and conclusions are derived rest on multiple presumptions, judgments, and even (unintentional) errors.

The Evidence

Table 1 indicates an uneven growth path of poverty for individuals in California over the past half century. After a small decline of 2.1% in the 1960s, the total number of impoverished persons more than doubled by over 138% between 1969 and 2009. The most recent decade reveals a modest increase of 9% in poor persons statewide. The largest percentage increase occurred during the decade of the 1980s at 38.1%. The principal groups responsible for the 1980s rise were Hispanics (an 87.1% jump) and children (a 41.1% increase). But, since the 1980s, these two groups have experienced increasing poverty at much diminished rates. Although the upward trends in impoverished Hispanics and children continued through 2009, Hispanics have shown striking drops in incremental poverty numbers over the past two decades—from 87% to 49% and then by only 17%.

In contrast, the number of impoverished Whites leaped by 39.2% during the most recent decade. While the period from 1959 through 1979 indicates declines in the number of poor Whites, substantial increases began in the 1980s. This categorical increase is responsible for most of the rise in state total poverty numbers since year 2000. Several other demographic groups also experienced rising poverty since 1999, but their numbers are relatively small. Even if overlaps in demographic categories are ignored, the White decade increase (of 806,821) exceeds the combined total increase for all other groups (of 717,705).

Table 1. Persons in Poverty & Decade Percentage Changes

Group	1959	1969	1979	1989	1999	2009
All Persons	2,199,376	2,152,716	2,626,580	3,627,585	4,706,130	5,128,708
		-2.1%	22.0%	38.1%	29.7%	9.0%
Asians & Pacific Islanders	na	na	159,626	402,161	483,915	490,265
				151.9%	20.3%	1.3%
Asians Alone	na	na	na	na	466,431	473,512
						1.5%
Pacific Islanders Alone	na	na	na	na	17,484	16,753
						-4.2%
Blacks	367,640 ^a	331,760	393,478	437,201	470,155	446,332
		-9.8%	18.6%	11.1%	7.5%	-5.1%
Children	na	827,915	946,576	1,335,512	1,705,797	1,808,741
			14.3%	41.1%	27.7%	6.0%
Elderly	422,280	312,776	188,618	228,441	280,411	352,097
		-25.9%	-39.7%	21.1%	22.7%	25.6%
Female Family Heads	132,339	171,563	230,486	304,579	350,138	397,704
		29.6%	34.3%	32.1%	15.0%	13.6%
Hispanics	na	498,677	854,358	1,598,213	2,377,589	2,772,597
			71.3%	87.1%	48.8%	16.6%
Native Americans	na	na	40,348	44,746	66,635	65,258
				10.9%	48.9%	-2.1%
Whites	1,831,736	1,728,451	1,575,757	1,821,146	2,059,640	2,866,461
		-5.6%	-8.8%	15.6%	13.1%	39.2%
Non- Hispanic Whites	na	na	1,192,462	1,189,101	1,209,577	1,302,997
				-0.3%	1.7%	7.7%

Note: na = data not available, ^a = African Americans and other Non-White races.

The Asians & Pacific Islanders category saw a striking rise of 152% in poverty individuals during the 1980s, a much more modest 20% rise during the 1990s, and only a 1.3% increase since year 2000. The Census Bureau did not disaggregate this combined demographic category until the 2000 Census, but it is likely that the leap during 1980s was due to the substantial increase in immigration into California from Southeast Asia.

Black poverty jumped by 18.6% in the 1970s, but has grown by decreasing percentage increments since then. The decade of

the 2000s has seen a decline in the number of impoverished Black individuals by over 5%.

As mentioned, the 1980s saw a striking 41.1% increase in impoverished children (related and under age 18) but by very much smaller increments afterwards. Their path parallels the declining percentage increments exhibited by Hispanics over the decades.

The elderly (age 65 and over) saw strong declines in poverty numbers through both the 1960s and the 1970s, but then substantial numeric increases beginning with the 1980s. In each succeeding decade their poverty increase has grown by larger and larger percentages. More will be said of this.

Female family heads (FFH) have experienced continuously declining percentage increments in their numbers of poor since the 1970s, from 34% to 14%. Native Americans saw a particularly large 49% jump during the 1990s, but then a slight decline of 2% in the 2000s. There have been increasing rates of rising poverty individuals over the past 30 years for Non-Hispanic Whites.

In brief: as shown in Table 1, the growth in impoverished individuals within the state of California has fluctuated greatly over the past five decades, with the largest numeric increases occurring from the 1970s through the 1990s. Some groups have seen rising rates of increase at the same time that others have seen either declines or a much more modest increase. Thus, there is no overall uniformity in the percentage growth patterns of numeric changes among the diverse demographic groups.

Whereas the evidence from Table 1 primarily implicates the impact of poverty numbers upon state social services, Table 2 focuses upon the impact of poverty within the specific demographic groups. That is, Table 2 indicates the relative hardships or needs of the individual groups. Among all persons, the incidence (i.e., rate) of poverty declined significantly for two decades after 1959, but then rose continuously until 1999—when it leveled off at 14.2%.

The incidence of statewide poverty was particularly high in the 1950s and then again in the 1990s and 2000s. The highest rates of poverty within the state have been consistent over the decades for certain demographic groups, such as among FFH,

Table 2. Poverty Rates & Decade Changes (All in percentages.)

Group	1959	1969	1979	1989	1999	2009
All Persons	14.4	11.1	11.4	12.5	14.2	14.2
		-22.9	2.7	9.6	13.6	0.0
Asians & Pacific Islanders	na	na	12.4	14.3	12.9	10.5
				15.3	-9.8	-18.6
Asians Alone	na	na	na	na	12.8	10.4
						-18.8
Pacific Islanders Alone	na	na	na	na	15.7	12.5
						-20.4
Blacks	30.7 ^a	24.6	22.5	21.1	22.4	20.8
		-19.9	-8.5	-6.2	6.2	-7.1
Children	na	12.7	15.2	17.8	19.0	19.6
			19.7	17.1	6.7	3.2
Elderly	31.1	17.4	8.3	7.6	8.1	8.7
		-44.1	-52.3	-8.4	6.6	7.4
Female Family Heads	36.0	29.8	26.1	26.2	25.0	25.0
		-17.2	-12.4	0.4	-4.6	0.0
Hispanics	na	16.3	19.1	21.6	22.1	20.6
			17.2	13.1	2.3	-6.8
Native Americans	na	na	17.9	18.6	21.9	22.9
				3.9	17.7	4.6
Whites	13.1	9.9	8.9	9.1	10.5	12.6
		-24.4	-10.1	2.2	15.4	20.0
Non-Hispanic Whites	na	na	7.7	7.3	7.8	8.7
				-5.2	6.8	11.5

Note: na = data not available, ^a = African Americans and other Non-White races.

Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and children. Yet, there have been notable declines in rates for several groups—such as for Blacks and Hispanics. In addition, the rate of increase has also declined for children—from 19.7% in the 1970s to 3.2% in the 2000s. Nevertheless, the lowest incidences of poverty among all groups are consistently those for Non-Hispanic

Whites and the elderly.

Several groups have found their rates markedly decline in recent decades—particularly Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Blacks. However, from the perspective of the multiple census snapshots, we see that Whites in general, as well as Non-Hispanic Whites more narrowly, have experienced their largest percentage increases in recent years, with 20% and 11.5% respectively since year 2000. No other group approaches these current decade percentage increments. Whereas the statewide overall rate of poverty remained static in 1999 and 2009, this stability has been achieved by a balance between the strongly declining incidences of several groups contrasted with the significant growth of the White incidence.

Table 3 provides valuable additional dimensions to the examination of state poverty over the past half-century. Consider the Asians Alone demographic category as an example. In 1999, impoverished Asians accounted for 9.9% of all California impoverished residents, 10.9% of the entire state resident population and, consequently, a ratio between its share of total poor to share of total population of 90.8%. If exactly proportionate, this ratio would be 100%. That is, when a group's share of the entire state poor matches its share of the total state population, then a ratio of 100% is "fair" and mathematically justifiable. A Poverty Index (PI_i) is developed and reported here to represent the degree of "fair share" poverty that is attributable to a demographic group. A PI_i above 100% would indicate an excessive share of overall state poverty by a group. And, a PI_i under 100% would identify a group's underrepresentation within state total poverty.

Asians & Pacific Islanders (A&PI) have both seen large declines in their poverty to population ratios in recent decades. The Asians Alone PI_A fell 20% between 1999 and 2009, while the Pacific Islanders Alone PI_P plummeted 44% within the same short time period (the only Decennial Census data periods available for the separated groups). When classified into a single racial category (since 1979), the number of impoverished (A&PI) individuals leaped 207% (Table 1) while their poverty rate dropped by 15% (Table 2). Noting their shares both of total poverty and of total population (in Table 3), we find a strong decline in the combined group PI_{AP} to just 74% by year 2009.

Table 3. Share of Poverty / Share of Population = Poverty Index
(All numbers are percentages, except populations.)

Population	15,717,204	19,953,134	23,667,902	9,760,021	33,871,648	36,202,780
Group	1959	1969	1979	1989	1999	2009
Asians & Pacific Islanders	na	na	6.1	11.1	10.3	9.6
			5.3	9.6	11.3	13.0
			115.1	115.6	91.2	73.8
Asians Alone	na	na	na	na	9.9	9.2
	2.3	3.1	5.0	9.2	10.9	12.6
					90.8	73.0
Pacific Islanders Alone	na	na	na	na	0.4	0.3
			0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4
					133.3	75.0
Blacks	16.7	15.4	15.0	12.1	10.0	8.7
	5.6	7.0	7.7	7.4	6.7	5.9
	298.2	220.0	194.8	163.5	149.3	147.5
Children	na	38.5	36.0	36.8	36.2	35.3
	34.7	33.3	26.2	26.0	26.7	25.5
		115.6	137.4	141.5	135.6	138.4
Elderly	19.2	14.5	7.2	6.3	6.0	6.9
	8.8	9.0	10.2	10.5	10.6	11.1
	218.2	161.1	70.6	60.0	56.6	62.2
Female Family Heads	6.0	8.0	8.8	8.4	7.4	7.8
		2.9	3.8	4.0	4.3	4.4
		275.9	231.6	210.0	172.1	177.3
Hispanics	na	23.2	32.5	44.1	50.5	54.1
	9.3	15.3	19.2	25.8	32.4	37.1
		151.6	169.3	170.9	155.9	145.8
Native Americans	na	na	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.3
			0.9	0.8	1.0	0.8
			166.7	150.0	140.0	162.5
Whites	83.3	80.3	60.0	50.2	43.8	55.9
	92.0	89.0	76.2	69.0	59.5	62.8
	90.5	90.2	78.7	72.8	73.6	89.0
Non- Hispanic Whites	na	na	45.4	32.8	25.7	25.4
			66.6	57.2	46.7	41.5
			68.2	57.3	55.0	61.2

Note: na = data not available.

Blacks stand out among the demographic categories. They exhibit consistently high yet remarkably diminishing ratios over the half-century. This decline in their ratios has been exceptional. In 1959 their PI_b ratio was 298% and by 2009 it had more than halved to 148%. Although still comparatively and disproportionately high, this long-term decline over the decades has been unique among all demographic groups.

Children have been a consistent poverty problem over the years. Their ratio peaked in the 1980s and has never been low—averaging a disproportionate $PI_c = 134\%$ across the measured years. Further, the proportion ratios of children have risen continuously in relation to FFH proportion ratios—from $PI_c / PI_f = 42\%$ in 1969 to 78% in 2009. Hence, the linkage over the years between the poverty of children and that of husband-less female household heads has grown even closer.

The elderly have had disproportionately low ratios since the 1970s which have consistently declined since measurement began in 1959. The most recent decade has been an exception. Since 1999, their share of total state poverty rose from 6% to 6.9% and, in addition, their share of the state's population has consistently increased from decade to decade. However, the increase in their poverty share has exceeded by 319% the increase in their population share during the most recent decade. Consequently, their ratio during the last recent decade has jumped from $PI_e = 57\%$ to 62%, and this increase in the proportion ratio contrasts with the previously measured four decades of decline.

Female family heads are notable for exhibiting consistently high ratios. No other demographic group comes close to matching their disproportionately high Poverty Index ratios from one decade to another. It is not their share either of total state poverty or of total state population that is remarkable. Rather, it has been the ratio of the two shares. Over the preceding 50 years, their Index ratios have surpassed every other demographic group in disproportionate magnitudes. Yet, their disproportionate shares have also been declining over the years—although the most recent decade was a comparatively minor exception.

Hispanics represent another group with a particularly notable path. Their share of total state poverty has more than

doubled, from 23% in 1969 to 54% in 2009. This increase was due primarily to their exploding share of the state overall population—from 9% in 1959 to 37% in 2009. However, their proportion ratio peaked during the 1980s at $PI_H = 171\%$ and has since dropped to “only” 146% in 2009. Thus, their most current Poverty Index lies below several other groups—including those of Blacks, FFH, and Native Americans.

Native Americans are a small share both of state overall poverty and of the state total population. However, their Index is currently exceeded by that of FFH only. This was not always the case. After declining from the 1970s through 1990s, it rebounded by 2009. This abrupt jump may have been due to the maturity of and/or the developing competition from within the gaming industry—which had been set aside exclusively for this group in the 1980s and 1990s by the California legislature. Perhaps the rebound was also caused by the general economic contraction. In any event, their current disproportionate Index of 163% almost matches their 167% status before the development of the gaming industry.

Whites are numerically the largest racial group, representing 63% of all state residents (for whom poverty status is determined) in year 2009. Generally, this group has had low proportion ratios over the decades—averaging around 82%. From 1959 through 1989 their ratio of poverty to population shares declined (to $PI_w = 73\%$). However, it climbed thereafter—especially after 1999—to 89%. Although the White share of state poverty declined continuously through 1999 (to 44%), it escalated sharply (to 56%) by 2009. The White poverty leap after 1999 is also reflected by the unprecedented 39% decade increase of individuals (Table 1) and by the 20% decade increase of incidence (Table 2). Thus, the evidence from the three tables are reinforcing.

Among the demographic groups with low Poverty Indexes, Non-Hispanic Whites are consistently the lowest. Their “fair share” ratios fall below all other groups and have remained in a narrow range of around 60%. These low ratio proportions are comprised of both falling poverty and population shares. During the most recent decade, however, their proportion of the state overall population has dropped more rapidly than their share of state total poverty and has resulted in a ratio

increase from $PI_{NH} = 55\%$ (in 1999) to 61% (in 2009). This demographic categorical evidence is additionally confirmed by the 7.7% increase in impoverished individuals (Table 1) and by the 11.5% increase in their poverty rate (Table 2) by year 2009. The surprising jump in the Non-Hispanic White poverty proportion index is likely due to their contracting share of the state population and to its comparative aging over recent decades. In other words, the aging of the shrinking White population share can explain the recent leap in the White poverty index. This linkage of evidence has support from all three tables.

Summary & Highlights

The goal of this paper has been to trace poverty statistics for the state of California over the past half-century. Data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau permitted decade-spaced snapshots since 1960 (for poverty since 1959). After the Decennial Census of 2000, the American Community Survey furnished the state poverty data (for year 2009). An additional goal was to infer patterns and directions of state impoverishment both for individual demographic groups as well as an overall perspective. Three tables of data and author calculations allowed for the analyses. A unique Poverty Index was developed to indicate each demographic group's "fair share" of overall state poverty.

Table 1 indicated that the number of impoverished individuals in California more than doubled between 1959 and 2009, with the largest percentage increase taking place during the 1980s. The 1980s growth was fueled primarily by the numerically large and expanding populations of Hispanics and children. Since that decade, the two groups have still experienced increasing poverty but at much reduced rates. In recent years, the number of impoverished Whites has leaped, where the increase also began during the 1980s. Further, there has been an increase in the percentage growth of poverty individuals for Whites and Non-Hispanic Whites since 1989.

Table 2 presented evidence of increasing rates of overall state poverty until 1999, when the incidence leveled off at 14.2%. Again, as similarly revealed by Table 1, Whites and Non-Hispanic Whites experienced their greatest growth in poverty rates within the most recent decade. Since 1999,

Whites have experienced a unique 20% rise in their poverty incidence. Declining poverty rates among several other demographic groups and reduced increases for others counterbalanced the exploding White rate, thus allowing the overall state poverty incidence to level off. Especially notable in the last decade were the fall in rates among Blacks and the populous Hispanics and the abrupt drops for Asians and Pacific Islanders. After decades of declines, the elderly are experiencing growing poverty rates.

Table 3's unique calculations provided valuable additional dimensions to the analysis. FFH stand out in their disproportionate shares of state poverty which, although typically declining, exceed those of all other demographic groups. The Black demographic category is also prominent for exhibiting consistently high and impressively diminishing ratios over the half-century—declining a remarkable 50%. Due to their growth in population, the Hispanic influence on overall state poverty has been great. Yet, the Poverty Index ratios for this group have markedly fallen over the most recent two decades. Non-Hispanic Whites have consistently exhibited the lowest “fair share” ratios, although there was an increase during the preceding last decade. Reinforcing the evidence from both Tables 1 and 2, the Poverty Indexes for Whites have grown since the 1980s, but particularly during the most recent decade of analysis. All three tables appear to confirm a correlation between the shrinking White share of the state population with an aging of Whites in explaining the growth of poverty indexes for both Non-Hispanic Whites and Whites in general.

In brief: we have seen both progress and retrogression among the trends. Long-term progress has been especially notable for certain demographic groups—such as for Asians & Pacific Islanders, Blacks, female family heads, and Hispanics. However, on the negative side of the ledger, in recent years certain groups have especially stood out—such as Native Americans and the populous White demographic group.

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The Potential of Youth Savings Accounts in Three East African Countries: Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda

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This paper explores the potential of expanding a youth-focused asset-based intervention program for poor communities heavily affected by HIV and AIDS—currently underway in one East African country, Uganda—into similar communities in the other two East African countries: Kenya and Tanzania. This concept paper is informed by prior work on youth-focused asset-based programs first proposed in the United States of America and now successfully implemented in Uganda (Ssewamala, 2008; Ssewamala, Alicea, Bannon, & Ismayilova, 2008; Ssewamala & Ismayilova, 2008, 2009) and grounded in an asset-based development theoretical framework, which denotes an integrated approach to human, social, and economic capital development (Sherraden, 1990, 1991). Although each of these three East African countries faces unique barriers to addressing poverty among youth, including those residing in communities heavily affected by HIV and AIDS, we argue that the promising results realized in Uganda could be effectively replicated in Kenya and Tanzania—given that the three countries

share a common geographic boundary, with similar post-independence social and economic (and to a lesser extent political) policies and programs. The three countries also have related ethnic and tribal groups.

Key words: *assets, East Africa, poverty, HIV and AIDS*

Current Development Models in Sub-Saharan Africa

The three East African countries which are the focus of this paper are part of the sub-Saharan African region where arguably a new approach to development is sorely needed. Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) as a region continues to receive development assistance in the form of loans, grants, and bi- and multi-lateral aid aimed in part at spurring economic growth. The pioneering work of scholars and development practitioners across a variety of disciplines and over the past several decades has given us a much better understanding of why traditional aid and development assistance—from both small and large actors—has failed to alleviate the extreme poverty that plagues the world's poorest region: sub-Saharan Africa (Moyo, 2009). Considerably, their analyses and evaluation have influenced policy and programming related to development efforts in the region.

In addition to economic indicators, social development indicators have become a key component in Africa's development agenda (African Union, 2008). In recent years several policy and program initiatives have been proposed and enacted on the African continent aimed at improving the quality of life for all. These initiatives, which have helped countries strategize on how best to achieve set benchmarks, include the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the African Union's Social Policy Framework (SPF) (African Union, 2008; International Monetary Fund [IMF], 2012a; United Nations [UN], 2012). In addition to creating and enhancing public, private, and community partnerships, these strategies have brought social development to the forefront of the development agenda. Complementary in nature, these policy initiatives identify and target interventions to specific vulnerable populations including children and youth. Informed in

part by a regional and international policy environment, the three East African countries of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania have recently integrated their programmatic responses by enhancing public and private sector collaborations. Specific to youth-related challenges, for instance, several programmatic responses in the areas of health, education, and employment have drawn participation from public and private organizations (IMF, 2010, 2011, 2012b). These recent developments have created a patchwork of social programs with delivery mechanisms which include conditional cash transfers and several educational assistance programs (including bursaries) (Ministry of State for Planning National Development and Vision 2030, 2012; Oduro, 2010; The Republic of Uganda, n.d), all aimed at offering social and economic protection to poor and vulnerable youth.

Against this backdrop, the development community now embraces innovative initiatives that not only engage local communities in driving their own development agendas, but also create collaborative ventures bridging the public-private divide, and build sustainable partnerships between communities, and national, regional, and international organizations. The purpose of this concept paper, therefore, is to ascertain the potential role of asset-based development programs and policies as a natural progression in expanding social and economic safety net mechanisms across the East African region. First proposed in the United States in the 1990s and currently being implemented in Uganda, this paper explores the applicability of these programs for youth in poor communities in Kenya and Tanzania. Programs which address the needs of low-income youth by facilitating their access to wealth-generating resources are especially noteworthy, as they address two key issues in the development agenda—education and health.

This paper is divided into two sections. First, we explore and discuss current government-led initiatives and community-based development models in the three countries under study: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. In the second section, we introduce the concept of asset-based development, drawing examples from prior work by Ssewamala and colleagues, which developed and tested asset-based, youth and family-focused development programs in Uganda (Ssewamala &

Ismayilova, 2008, 2009). Finally, adapting various components and employing lessons learned from the work by Ssewamala and colleagues, we conclude by providing a road map for an asset-based development program targeting youth in Kenya and Tanzania. The three East African countries are of interest to development practitioners because they not only share a common geographic boundary, with similar post-independence social and economic (and to a lesser extent political) policies and programs, but they have related ethnic and tribal groups separated from each other during the Berlin conference (1884-1885) and the subsequent European meetings (Blanton, Mason, & Athow, 2001; Ndege, 2009).

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania: Youth-development Challenges

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania are three countries originally called the East African countries—which also constituted the East African Community following political independence from the United Kingdom (with Tanzania—then called Tanganyika—becoming independent in 1961, Uganda in 1962, and Kenya in 1963). [Recently, two other countries, Rwanda and Burundi, have joined the East African Community. This paper, however, is focused on the original three countries with a shared common border, and people with similar cultures and traditions.]

Poverty is rampant across the three East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. All three countries report low levels of GDP per capita (Kenya US \$1,600, Uganda US \$1,300, Tanzania US \$1,400). The region's population is distinctly young, with a median age of 15 years in Uganda and approximately 18 years in both Kenya and Tanzania. Generally, life expectancy in these countries is low; from 2005-2010 the combined male and female life expectancy at birth for Kenya and Tanzania was 55 years. For Uganda, it was even lower at 52 years (UN DESA, 2011). These three countries with fledgling and tenuous economies experience similar problems vis-à-vis the young demographic: poverty is ubiquitous thus the rates of formal education (specifically post-primary education and training) are low, resulting in high unemployment rates among the youth (CIA, 2011; Oketch & Rolleston, 2007; UNECA, 2011).

The following section explores the investments the three countries are making in young peoples' human capital through these multi-sector interventions primarily in the health and education arenas.

Youth and Health

One of the biggest health challenges facing all the three East African countries is the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The HIV and AIDS pandemic has been identified as a major barrier to addressing socio-economic development in the region. The effects of HIV and AIDS have largely been felt among the age bracket most engaged in the labor market. Complications of living with HIV/AIDS have been shown to have a direct bearing on household income and assets (Kagotho, 2012; Yamano & Jayne, 2004). Although public education has diminished stigma associated with the disease, death resulting from complications of HIV and AIDS is still perceived as not meeting social expectations (Nzioka, 2000). The social disapproval and isolation that ensues from stigma negatively impacts a household's ability to access its social capital. Thus, individuals living with HIV and AIDS are sometimes unable to access resources such as information and knowledge needed to navigate their environment and engage in the labor market.

The number of children and youth who have lost one or both parents to HIV and AIDS and/or those who have been directly impacted by the disease in all three countries is high, with conservative estimates placing the numbers at over 1.2 million in each country (UNICEF, 2011). Several support systems are available through which children and youth affected by the disease receive care and support. In some cases, extended family may opt to care for these orphaned and vulnerable children. These guardians, although willing to provide care, are also encumbered by their own financial and emotional stresses, which may impede them from providing adequate care to their charges. In other instances, orphaned children have inadvertently found themselves providing care to their younger siblings—resulting in child-headed households. At the very least, this alternative allows the continuation of the family unit by allowing them to remain in their homes and maintain the family unit even after the death of their parent(s).

A child-headed household, however, has several disadvantages, including one or all of the children dropping out of school, and lack of parental/adult guidance and support. In cases where the older child is unable to maintain the household, the children may end up living on the streets of urban and semi-urban regions.

Acknowledging these filial challenges, a system of institutionalization, in which children are declared wards of the state and placed in Charitable Children's Institutions (CCIs), or Children's Orphanages as they are often referred to, is operable in all three countries. Governmental ministries charged with securing the well-being of children oversee CCIs where children are placed when families and communities are unable or unwilling to take on care responsibilities. Several criticisms have been lobbied against institutionalization, including the high costs associated with providing care and the institutions' inability to meet the psychosocial, emotional, and cognitive needs of children (Drew, Makufa, & Foster, 1998; UNAIDS, UNICEF, & USAID, 2004).

While HIV prevalence is still high in all three countries, it has declined considerably since the 1990s. The governments of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda continue to autonomously—and in conjunction with international organizations and private donors—launch several initiatives aimed at improving the life conditions of youth impacted by HIV and AIDS in their countries. For example, in all three countries, national agencies responsible for the coordination of HIV and AIDS-related policies and programs are in operation. Kenya's National Aids Control Council (NACC) established in 1999, Uganda Aids Commission (UAC) established in 1992, and Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS) established in 2001 are some of the agencies resulting from the governments' efforts to recognize that HIV and AIDS can only be addressed through a multi-pronged, multi-sectoral approach.

Uganda. In Uganda, governmental and locally-led interventions since the early 1990s have resulted in a dramatic decline in HIV and AIDS infection rates—for both the youth and adult populations. Data from the 2004-2005 Uganda HIV and AIDS Sero-behavioral survey indicate that HIV prevalence for both groups dropped from 18% in 1992 to 6% in 2002

(UAC, 2010). This success was attributed to a high-level of political commitment, a multi-sectored approach, and a policy of open dialogue and communication about HIV and AIDS that included the youth, especially using schools as an entry point. Current data from UAC indicates that approximately 1 million Ugandan's are infected with HIV, which represents 6.4% of the entire adult population and 0.7% of the child population (2010). Uganda's National HIV and AIDS Strategic Plan 2007/08–2011/12 delineates comprehensive evidence-based HIV prevention interventions designed to intensify the national HIV and AIDS response in reducing new infections, while expanding efforts toward universal access to HIV and AIDS treatment and related services (UAC, 2007).

Regarding children and youth affected by HIV and AIDS, the government has committed to provide support to vulnerable and HIV and AIDS-orphaned children and young people. Specifically, the government has declared it will increase the provision of quality psychosocial support to orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC), promote and support sustained formal and informal education, including vocational and life skills development, and also increase access to basic needs for OVC (UAC, 2007). These strategies are intended to improve the proportion of OVCs receiving public support, and hopefully, in the long-run, reduce the number of HIV and AIDS-affected children and young people requiring assistance (UAC, 2007). It is important to note that among the three countries, Uganda reports the lowest number of children orphaned by AIDS.

Kenya. With a prevalence rate of 7.1%, the number of those infected remains high with 1.4 million Kenyans reportedly living with HIV. Data from the HIV & AIDS/STI surveillance system indicates that prevalence has declined steadily since the late 1990s when rates as high as 14% were recorded (NASCOP, 2006). The current approach to HIV and AIDS management is multi-sectoral in nature with all major ministries in the government charged with integrating HIV and AIDS into their operations (NACC, 2009).

The National Plan of Action on Orphans and Vulnerable Children developed by the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development calls for economic empowerment by providing educational opportunities and life skills training

to affected children (Ministry of Gender Children and Social Development, 2008). However, it is estimated that less than 30% of youth ages 14-18 will receive support from this policy initiative. Other initiatives, such as the means-tested Cash Transfer Program for Orphaned and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC) targeting families that provide kinship-care to children and youth impacted by the disease, have also proved limited in their reach (Ministry of Gender Children and Social Development, n.d). It is estimated that the cash transfer program currently reaches approximately half a million OVC across the country, yet there are more than 2.5 million single and double orphaned children and youth (Ministry of Gender Children and Social Development, 2008; NACC, 2009).

Tanzania. Approximately 5.8% of adults (15-49 years) are HIV positive in Tanzania (TACAIDS, ZAC, NBS, OCGS, & Macro International Inc., 2008) with approximately 1.3 million children orphaned by HIV and AIDS. As in Uganda and Kenya, Tanzania applies a multi-sectoral approach in addressing HIV and AIDS (TACAIDS, 2008). Under the National Costed Plan of Action for Most Vulnerable Children, the government has put in place several multi-sectoral programs that target the most vulnerable children in Tanzania. Led by the Department of Social Welfare under the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, a decentralized approach that goes down to the village level has been adopted to identify and provide services to children (Correll & Correll, 2010; USAID, n.d.). Programs initiated include scholarship programs targeting children in secondary and tertiary institutions (United Republic of Tanzania, 2008) and health and nutrition programs. Taking a grassroots perspective, the government has established Vulnerable Children's Committees (MVCCs) which identify the children in most need of intervention (Correll & Correll, 2010; Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2009). Elected by local communities, MVCCs identify and facilitate services for the most vulnerable children.

Recognizing the importance of kinship care and the economic and social strains these families face in electing to provide care to vulnerable children (Linsk & Mason, 2004; Ssengonzi, 2007), all three governments have put into place programs that support these children and the households in which they live. The next section provides a discussion of

how the educational systems in East Africa have developed to address the complexities brought about by poverty and HIV and AIDS.

Youth and Education

The education sector offers a lot of possibilities in tackling the health and developmental impacts of HIV and AIDS. For example, higher education is associated with lower infection rates (NASCO, 2008). It is estimated that a strong educational foundation would reduce the number of HIV infections by 30% for individuals between the ages of 15-24 years (Global Campaign for Education, 2004). In addition to predicting safer life choices, education modifies behavior by offering an avenue via which health-related information may be transmitted. In addition, education is considered a worthwhile investment and a gateway out of poverty. Over the last decade, all the three East African countries have made substantial investments in the improvement of their educational systems—including the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and behavior modification programs in schools and in-service training programs to educate teachers on issues related to HIV and AIDS.

Indeed, the UPE policies across the three countries, which basically include free or subsidized education, have made tremendous inroads in guaranteeing an education for children and youth, including those from AIDS-impacted households and communities. It is important, however, to note that while all three countries have instituted free or subsidized primary education through UPE, the education systems are still under constant criticism for not doing enough to cater for the educational needs of children and youth from poor families—hence a need to supplement these programs with additional social and economic supports and programming. One of these programs could be asset-based intervention at the household level.

Uganda. Uganda provides free primary education (also known as Universal Primary Education—UPE) to school-going children. Introduced in 1996, the UPE policy has been reportedly successful in increasing access to primary school. Nationwide enrollment increased from 3.1 million in 1996 to 7.5 million in 2007 (EMIS, 2008). Although primary education is free, the transition rate from primary to secondary school

is still low. Only 30% of students enrolling in primary education complete primary (grade) seven. In addition, not all the children who complete primary education are able to join secondary education. For example, in 2005 only 50% of the candidates who completed primary education joined secondary education in 2006 (Mbabazi, 2008). In 2010, Uganda had a net secondary school enrolment rate of 21% and 22% for females and males respectively (UNICEF, 2012).

In 2007, the Ugandan government started implementing Universal Secondary Education (USE), primarily in selected government secondary schools, to enable children who graduate from primary to advance to secondary education. By implementing USE, Uganda became the first African country to adopt a policy of free universal education at the secondary school level (Chapman, Burton, & Werner, 2010). In spite of the great promise the policy holds, secondary education is not universal and is encumbered by funding and mismanagement issues, all of which contribute to decreased access, especially among economically vulnerable households.

Kenya. In response to the Millennium Development Goals, Kenya re-instituted (in 2003) Free Primary Education (FPE) for all children from standard one to standard eight (the last grade in primary education). This policy resulted in primary school enrollment increases from 75.5% in 2003 to 87% in 2007. FPE has made enrollment into public primary schools easier for OVC. However, the nationwide primary to secondary school transition rate has been poor, as only 60% of children who completed primary education enrolled in secondary education in 2007 (Ministry of State for Planning, 2008). In addition, secondary school completion rates are also low, with a drop-out rate of 27% (Saitoti, 2004). The high cost of secondary school is often cited as one of the prevailing factors contributing to low completion and high drop-out rates.

Relatively low government assistance for secondary school education means that OVC are at risk of dropping out of school due to lack of financial and resource assistance. Although the government does not guarantee free secondary education, it has in place a subsidy program targeted to government/public secondary schools. This program covers tuition costs for students enrolled in non-boarding public schools while setting tuition ceilings in boarding public secondary schools. While all

public schools are expected to comply with these guidelines, a form of cost-sharing is still imposed on families who are expected to contribute towards non-tuition related expenses.

Tanzania. In 2001, Tanzania also instituted Free Primary Education. The structure of Tanzania's education system mirrors that of Uganda, with seven years of primary education, six years of secondary education, and three years of post-secondary education. By 2002 the Free Primary Education program had resulted in an additional 1.6 million children enrolling in primary school (UNICEF, 2005). Data collected in 2006 indicates a primary school completion rate of 74.3%. Akin to Uganda and Kenya, Tanzania also reports low transition rates from primary to secondary school. UNESCO estimates that approximately 45.2% of primary school students transitioned to secondary school in 2005 (Childinfo, n.d).

In spite of government efforts to guarantee free or subsidized education, vulnerable children are still less likely to be enrolled in or to successfully complete school. Especially vulnerable are orphaned children, those living in poverty, and those in rural areas (Childinfo, n.d). The death of an adult caregiver for example, has a negative impact on primary school enrollment and completion. In addition, children living with relatives are less likely to be enrolled in school, compared to those living in parent- and grandparent-headed households (Ainsworth, Beegle, & Koda, 2002).

Although free/universal primary education has increased student enrollment in all three countries, an overall lack of government support for subsidizing secondary school education presents a barrier to most families. The key question, therefore, is how can poor families be economically supported and strengthened to afford secondary education, which is not yet free nor universal in all the three countries? In the next section, we introduce the concept of asset-based development. Given the social, economic, and political factors discussed above, we argue that this strategy has the potential to effectively address issues targeting youth in the East African region.

The Potential of an Asset-Development Program

Siblings, grandparents, and other relatives have been called upon to provide care to orphaned and vulnerable

children. Due to the sheer number of children who require kinship foster care, the resilience of these family systems is beginning to wane (Ministry of Gender Children and Social Development, 2008; UNAIDS et al., 2004). Multinational and local organizations provide assistance to these families in the form of food, cash grants, and other material resources (Drew et al., 1998; UNAIDS et al., 2004). These services have drawn criticism as they tend to encourage overdependence on donations, which does little to empower families. In addition, as support is more often than not in the form of one-time cash grants, it is not always guaranteed, as families have to continuously prove eligibility. In light of unsustainable and restricted support, there is a need to implement sustainable strategies that are collaborative in nature and that work to strengthen the family economically, socially, and emotionally.

The remaining sections of the paper focus on asset-based development interventions currently underway in Uganda. The potential of extending these youth-focused programs informed by asset-based development, which denotes an integrated approach to human, social, and economic capital development, into Kenya and Tanzania is explored. Grounded in the work of Michael Sherraden (1991), asset-based development, which is increasingly important in western industrialized countries, is equally—if not most—important in SSA, the poorest region on earth, where it has arguably received the least attention and programmatic implementation.

Sherraden theorized that financial, material, and human capital assets have economic, psychosocial and health behavior effects. Specifically, assets include financial, social, educational, and material resources and investments, such as savings accounts and farm animals. Such assets not only “work” to develop human and economic capital, but they also transform social behavior. Therefore, according to Sherraden’s concept of *asset-effects*, assets shift landscapes of individual and collective opportunity, in part by influencing self-conception, perceived possibility, and social trust. Without understanding the way in which assets function in society—including both the positive, as well as the negative effects, precisely, a lack of access to assets—we cannot understand how social and economic development occur. Sustainable and equitable development can be possible with an asset-accumulation approach.

Learning from an asset-based development program by Ssewamala and colleagues called Suubi-Uganda and Suubi-Maka (meaning *hope*, in Luganda, a local language spoken in Uganda), these asset-development interventions test an asset-based development model (2004-to date). Offering matched child development savings accounts (CDAs) to participating children at nationally-registered financial institutions, the Suubi programs have three key components: (1) they promote monetary savings intended for educational opportunities for youth; (2) they provide financial management classes and mentorship from a near peer; and (3) they promote income-generating projects for youth and their families. With a focus on households affected by HIV and AIDS, the Suubi programs provide youth and their families the tools necessary to circumvent financial barriers and accumulate assets.

Thus far, the results indicate that the Suubi-Uganda and Suubi-Maka programs have been effective in producing several desirable outcomes, such as short- and long-term financial outcomes (saving for education and microenterprise development), academic performance and aspirations, self-esteem and self-rated health, attitudes toward sexual risk-taking (including HIV-related risk taking behavior), and mental health (including child depression) (Ssewamala, Alicea, Bannon, & Ismayilova, 2008; Ssewamala, Han, & Neilands, 2009; Ssewamala & Ismayilova, 2008, 2009).

We believe that asset-based development, the theoretical principle on which the Suubi programs are founded, is applicable to Kenya and Tanzania, once appropriate culturally-specific modifications have been considered. The final section integrates lessons learned and looks at ways in which these programs could be adapted for each country's specific social and economic environment.

Taking Asset-Based Development to Scale

Across the continent, facets of social welfare systems are still in the developmental phase (Oduro, 2010). Several of the programs discussed above, such as cash transfer programs targeting orphaned children, are still in the pilot stages. Taking these systems to scale should not only involve extending coverage to include all members of the target vulnerable populations, but must also accommodate asset-based innovations

that lead to long-term economic security.

A challenge that has beleaguered the expansion of asset-based programs has been the issue of sustainability (The Aspen Institute, 2003). In other words, how do providers sustain programs that incentivize and encourage savings through subsidized accounts, intensive case management and, in the case of programs implemented in Uganda, involve extensive community outreach initiatives? Michael Sherraden, in addressing the issue of sustainability, proposes sourcing diverse streams of funding, including those from private and public sources (Sherraden, 2000). This will require a long-term resource commitment from the key stakeholders, including community groups, financial institutions, and national or local governmental agencies.

In the United States, asset-based interventions are incorporated into the traditional welfare system with states allowed to designate their Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) grants towards funding asset-based program (DHHS, 2012; Edwards, 2005). Although the Suubi programs do not currently receive direct government funding, research in the United States indicates that these programs can be integrated into the existing welfare system with encouraging results (Zhan, Sherraden, & Schreiner, 2004). It should be made clear at this point that programs such as Suubi-Uganda and Suubi Maka are not designed to supplant traditional safety net programs or minimize the role of local and national governments in maintaining social welfare systems. Incorporating asset-based programs into these evolving social welfare systems would help communities move beyond short-term cash-based assistance towards leveraging available resources for long-term economic security.

Political will in supporting interventions aimed at vulnerable children in the East African region is clearly visible as evidenced by the establishment of government sponsored programs aimed at identifying and providing care to children impacted by HIV and AIDS. Already established institutions on the ground could provide a road map for the expansion of asset-based programs (Correll & Correll, 2010; Ministry of Gender Children and Social Development, 2008; UAC, 2007). Government initiatives aimed at providing support to children impacted by HIV and AIDS could be used as a gateway

to identifying vulnerable and most vulnerable children in all three countries. Using established mechanisms such as MVCC in Tanzania could facilitate the identification and selection process. Further, government recognition of the critical role family economic empowerment interventions play in stabilizing vulnerable households is another clear indicator that the time has indeed come to expand programs such as Suubi. Unlike these government initiatives that are cash based, temporary, and narrow in scope, asset-based interventions offer a long-term solution to tackling chronic poverty by providing households with assets including education, and the potential of microenterprise.

Finally, providing financial literacy and connecting under-served communities with financial intermediaries, such as banks, has been a mainstay of asset-development programs (Cytron & Reid, 2005). There exists a strong relationship between access to financial intermediaries and financial well-being among low and moderate income families (Barr, 2004). Emergent banking technologies in the region offer a platform through which asset accumulation could be facilitated. Facilitation—a key component of asset-based interventions—is defined by Barr and Sherraden (2005) as supports that enable the savings process. Technologies such as mobile banking (a virtual money transfer system) have the potential to make bank services more accessible and thereby engage underserved youth residing in unbanked and under-banked communities. The emerging innovations in banking technology show promise in enhancing asset-accumulation and should be considered in the formulation and development of new asset-based programs.

Conclusion

Poverty remains a key driver of several poor socio-economic conditions among young adults/youths in several SSA countries. To address the current youth-related challenges, the governments of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have taken a multi-sector approach to creating empowerment opportunities for poor, vulnerable, and socially excluded youth. There is a demonstrable need for interventions that transcend traditional programs and lead families toward self-sufficiency. The

similarities in the policy response to poverty, especially as it relates to youth and HIV and AIDS across these three countries, is a clear indicator that the promising results realized in youth asset-development programs in Uganda could be effectively replicated across the region.

Extending asset-based development programs, including youth savings accounts, to unemployed and underemployed youth will help fill the capacity building gap that exists. Specifically, youth savings accounts have the potential to help create strategies that will open up global technologies to youth who could then engage and benefit from the global economy. While the Suubi programs have so far been promising asset-development initiatives in terms of positively impacting the outcomes outlined above (Ssewamala et al., 2008; Ssewamala et al., 2009; Ssewamala & Ismayilova, 2008, 2009; Ssewamala, Sperber, Zimmerman, & Karimli, 2010), extending similarly designed programs to communities in Kenya and Tanzania will require country-specific variations. Adapting these programs to fit and operate within the local institutional framework while tapping into emerging innovative technologies will be critical to their success.

Asset-based programs have shown promising results in Uganda (see Ssewamala and colleagues 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). The positive impacts on educational outcomes, asset-development, and health behaviors and outcomes are a clear indication that this is an innovation that can be tested in similar settings. Investing in youth, especially those who are vulnerable due to poverty and disease, including HIV and AIDS, has positive implications for family economic outcomes and national economies.

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The Masaryks of Czechoslovakia: Contributions in Sociology, Social Welfare and Politics

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This article profiles contributions to sociology, social welfare and politics by members of the Masaryk family of Czechoslovakia, with primary emphasis on the career of Alice G. Masaryk (or Masaryková), an applied sociologist and founder of Czech social work. As the daughter of Tomáš G. Masaryk, an academic philosopher and early sociologist who became the first President of Czechoslovakia in 1918, her life and work are inextricably linked with the country's history and with one of the remarkable families of their era. Research for this article involved searching literature from several disciplines and reviewing historical publications and documents from relevant periods. The Masaryk legacy has renewed relevance as social work practice and education become reestablished in the Czech Republic.

Key words: Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Masaryk, social work history, sociology

This article profiles for contemporary readers the background and contributions of members of the Masaryk family of Czechoslovakia in sociology, social welfare, and politics. It emphasizes the career of Alice G. Masaryk (or Masaryková, the feminine form of her Czech surname), pioneering sociologist and founder of Czech social work early in the 20th century. Despite her significant achievements, she is no longer well remembered internationally within either discipline, and even in the Czech Republic her contributions are still being reclaimed and reassessed (e.g., Kubícková, 2001; Lovcí, 2003, 2007). As the daughter of Tomáš G. Masaryk, a professor and social reformer who became the first President of Czechoslovakia after

its independence in 1918, A. G. Masaryk's life and work are inextricably linked with the country's history and with one of the remarkable families of their era.

In advocating for the importance of historical research in the profession, Danto (2008) notes that "historical research in social work has a distinctive chronicle itself. At least since the 1950s, history has found a curious niche in the social work canon, based largely on its concern for the past within a present-centered profession" (p. 8). Danto goes on to outline the major sources used in historical studies. Among primary sources, she lists memoirs, autobiographies, and serial publications such as newspapers, magazines, and conference proceedings. Archives include original and microfilmed letters, and secondary sources encompass both biographical works and interpretive articles. Broadcast media now presumably include websites. All of the types of sources discussed by Danto informed this article exploring the contributions of A. G. Masaryk and her family.

Research for this article involved a search through early 2013 using the keywords "Alice Masaryk" and "Masaryková" for articles and books indexed in the following databases: Academic Search Complete, Historical Abstracts, Social Work Abstracts, Social Services Abstracts, Sociology Abstracts, PAIS Archive, and Google Scholar. Members of the Masaryk family spent substantial time in the United States, so the author also searched influential U.S. social sciences serial publications for periods from 1900 through 1960, including: *The Survey*, *Survey Graphic*, *Social Service Review*, and the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, as well as 'chroniclingamerica,' a website indexing U.S. news articles dated before 1922.

Because members of the Masaryk family became acquainted with Jane Addams through visits in Chicago and Europe, the author also explored the microfilmed *Jane Addams Papers* (Addams, 1984) for relevant correspondence (cited as JAP, followed by reel and frame numbers). In addition, autobiographical and biographical works concerning Masaryk family members proved very helpful (e.g., Lockhart, 1956; Masaryk, 1927; Mitchell, 1980; Skilling, 1994, 2001). Research for this article was limited by its primary reliance on sources in English. Citations of sources in Czech or Slovak are based on

published summaries or reviews in English or German (e.g., Bednářová, 1998; Lemmen, 2008; Lovcí, 2007).

Overview of Interdisciplinary Influences and Contributions

Both Tomáš and Alice Masaryk experienced a confluence of disciplines and venues in their educations and later professional lives. The elder Masaryk attended German-language secondary school and universities, completing his dissertation on the nature of the soul according to Plato, before eventually securing an academic appointment in philosophy in Prague. However, much of his prolific academic work emphasized social questions, including suicide, social class, gender equality, democratic participation, and the role of religion in society. Masaryk could today be considered a pragmatic philosopher, an applied sociologist, a crusading journalist and political advocate, and even a feminist (Masaryk, 1971, 1994; Skilling, 1994). His writings are still a focus of contemporary scholarship in sociology, political science, and theology (e.g., Bradatan, 2007; Drulák, 2006; Orzoff, 2004; Randall, 2006).

Tomáš Masaryk's literary contributions across multiple emerging disciplines ranged from academic scholarship to the popular press (see Orzoff, 2004), and he engaged in political agitation and international diplomacy that ultimately led to Czechoslovak independence and his own 17-year term as president. Under his administration and with guidance from his daughter Alice, Czechoslovakia quickly developed progressive social programs that are discussed in later sections of this article.

As a visionary leader whose career spanned academe and politics, he established a rapport with U.S. President Woodrow Wilson that helped engage U.S. support for Czechoslovak independence (Smith, 2000). During later periods of German occupation and East-bloc communism, the Masaryk name and contributions were suppressed (Limerick & Mintalová, 2008; Skilling, 1994). However, when dissident author Vaclav Havel was elected president of Czechoslovakia and then of the Czech Republic, observers noted patterns in the country's democratic political leadership that linked Havel with Masaryk's legacy

(Brook, 2005; Cabanel, 2009; Lustig & Lustig, 1990; Woolfolk, 1994).

Masaryk's eldest child, Alice, was born in imperial Austria-Hungary in 1879 and was nearly 40 at the time of Czechoslovak independence. She died at age 87, in exile in the United States during the cold war. Alice Masaryk centered her personal and professional lives around twin goals: advancing Czechoslovakia's visibility and reputation as a democratic nation, and promoting social welfare and social work education domestically and internationally. The former goal arose from her close partnership with her father, while the latter became her more individual contribution.

Alice Masaryk, like her father and many Czech contemporaries, studied at German universities, taking her Ph.D. in Berlin with a dissertation about English history and government. However, she had originally planned to study medicine and retained a commitment to public health throughout her career. Her contributions to social reform and social services are claimed by both sociology (Keith, 1991) and social work (Kubícková, 2001), as is the work of Addams and other American reformers who mentored her (Deegan, 2002, 2010; Romano, 2002). Like Alice Salomon of Germany, she was among the first European women to earn the Ph.D. and to found a school of social work (Hegar, 2008). She engaged with others from many disciplines in international organizations, had a brief career in elective politics, and provided central support to her father as president. Ultimately, Alice Masaryk's potential scholarly contribution was limited by her relatively few publications, some of them available only in Czech (e.g., Masaryk, 1935). However, her work to establish social work education in Czechoslovakia and internationally, as well as to build her country's social services infrastructure, deserves much wider recognition than it has received in the social work literature to date.

Historical and Political Context

Societal and historical context about central Europe is necessary background for any consideration of the 20th century contributions of the Masaryk family. Although speakers of Czech and Slovak were national minority groups in the

Austro-Hungarian Empire for several centuries before their independence, Czech and Moravian history includes ancient and medieval periods of prominence and self-rule. When Karl of Luxembourg was crowned King Karel of Bohemia and named Holy Roman Emperor as Charles IV in 1347, the Czech-speaking lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia gained considerable influence in Europe. For example, the eldest daughter of Charles IV and sister of Czech King Václav (Wenceslaus), Anne of Bohemia, was married to Richard II of England in 1382. Charles IV founded Charles University in Prague, where the protestant reformer Jan Hus, who had translated the Bible into Czech and sought changes in Catholic worship and theology, served as rector (Masaryk, 1927; Stoddard, 1911).

The Czech reformation preceded Luther's work in Germany by a century, with the result that by 1458 the region was ruled by Europe's first protestant king, Jirí (George) of Bohemia. Alice Masaryk, a student of history, credits King Jirí with having "offered Europe a new order for the relations of states to one another and proposed a league of rulers for the preservation of peace" (Mitchell, 1980, p. 168). The history of the region during this and the subsequent Hapsburg period is somewhat divisive (e.g., Orzoff, 2009). Popular interpretation during the 19th century was shaped by the work of historians Frantisek Palacký of Moravia (1798-1876) and Ernest Denis of France (1849-1921), according to Cabanel (2009), who concludes that "Palacký fully belonged to the category of historian-founders of a nation; it is the narrative that they provide of a nation that largely contributes to its (re-)creation after a long period of slumber" (p. 34).

The nationalist narrative emphasized the suppression of Czech culture under Hapsburg rule after 1526, particularly after defeat of Czech forces by Austria at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 (Orzoff, 2009; Pelikan, 1991). Although Tomáš Masaryk disagreed with many of Palacký's perspectives (Skilling, 1994), he at times endorsed the view that an independent future for the Czech lands was linked to their 15th century history of Protestantism and rebellion (Cabanel, 2009; Masaryk, 1927; Pelikan, 1991). He wrote:

If, as I hold, Palacký's philosophy of our history is essentially true, ... our Reformed Church was

suppressed by an alien dynasty with the assent of the Catholic Church, and that the Hapsburg Counter-Reformation yawns as an abyss between the Reformation period and the present day. (Masaryk, 1927, p. 435)

Alice Masaryk's published work (1904) reflects a similar perspective on Czech history, which she suggests influenced many later emigrants to reject religious affiliations in favor of freethinking.

As agitation for political change shook central Europe beginning about 1848, national consciousness, on the rise throughout the region, inspired Czech-speakers to seek more autonomy within the Hapsburg Empire. A period known as the Great Awakening brought resurgence in use of the national language and attention to Czech history, and nationalism continued to gain ground through the early 20th century, as reported by observers at the time ('Bohemia,' 1910; Miller, 1918; Stoddard, 1911). Nationalists found opportunity in the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires at the end of the First World War, and in 1918 the Czech-speaking regions united with Slovakia, historically administered from Budapest, to achieve national independence that would have not have transpired without the efforts of the Masaryk family.

Tomáš Masaryk and Charlotte Garrigue

Tomáš Masaryk, with his family members and adherents, was preeminently involved in the struggle to create the state of Czechoslovakia. He had been born into the working class in Moravia, close to Slovakia where his family had roots. As a youth, he was able to pursue a German-language gymnasium education only by leaving home for the city of Brno, followed by university study in Vienna and Leipzig. After tutoring and lecturing in Vienna, he returned to Prague as a married professor, having met his American wife, Charlotte Garrigue, when she spent a year in Europe. Tomáš Masaryk added his wife's surname to his own, usually signing himself as T. G. Masaryk, and passed the double name to their children (Capek, 1995; Skilling, 1994).

Charlotte Garrigue's ancestry traces back to French Huguenots and the first English settlement in Massachusetts (Mitchell, 1980; Skilling, 2001). As a Unitarian, she influenced the religious views of her husband, by that time a nominal Catholic. His interest in Jan Hus and the Hussite movement shaped his interpretation of Czech history, while philosophical humanism guided his public positions and governmental policies (Cabanel, 2009; Masaryk, 1927, 1971, 1994; Pelikán, 1991; Randall, 2006). Charlotte, a feminist who translated Mill's *The Subjection of Women* into Czech, also shared with her husband her commitment to women's rights and equality (Bednárová, 1998; Skilling, 1994, 2001). She was musically talented and ultimately revered as Czechoslovak First Lady, but her physical and mental health was fragile, and she died in 1923.

T. G. Masaryk experienced a volatile academic career, in part because he championed unpopular causes as an author and journal editor. For example, he defended a Jew charged with ritual murder and challenged the authenticity of a forged document concerning Czech history that was widely accepted during the Great Awakening (Masaryk, 1927; Skilling, 1994; Woolfolk, 1994). In addition to pursuing scholarship, teaching, and journalism, he served terms in the Parliament (Reichsrat) in Vienna and became a central figure in the new Realist party (Skilling, 1994). His writing about social and political questions ultimately established his reputation as an early sociologist with controversial views about many political topics, including the unreliability of the Russian fellow-Slavs and the desirability of an independent, joint future for Czechs and Slovaks (Capek, 1995; Masaryk, 1994; Pelikan, 1991; Skilling, 1994).

T. G. Masaryk spent the summer of 1902 lecturing at the University of Chicago and he returned to the U.S. in 1907, where he forged political connections with Czech and Slovak emigrants that later would support national independence (Capek, 1920; Masaryk, 1927). When his prominence in that movement put him at risk for arrest by the imperial government, he fled to Italy, then to Switzerland and England, where he worked in exile during the First World War. Although age 64 when he escaped from Austrian jurisdiction, he spent the war lobbying entente governments and mobilizing Czech and Slovak ex-patriots to support the Czechoslovak cause through

organizations such as the Bohemian National Alliance in the U.S. (Capek, 1920; Masaryk, 1927). He also played a central role in the formation and success of the Czechoslovak Legion made up of soldiers allied with the triple-entente powers whose military exploits helped shape world opinion about claims for Czechoslovak statehood (Capek, 1995; Masaryk, 1927).

By the end of the war, T. G. Masaryk was an international figure and the clear choice of the new National Assembly to serve as Czechoslovakia's first president, a post he held until the age of 85 in 1935. In recent years, revisionist historians have highlighted how carefully Masaryk and his supporters scripted the campaign for independence and a future Masaryk presidency (e.g., Orzoff, 2009). Masaryk himself, who called his lieutenants "the Mafia," relates candidly their efforts to manipulate western opinion in favor of Czechoslovak nationhood (Masaryk, 1927). However, the calculated ambition and conscious use of propaganda by the new country's leadership do not diminish the magnitude of their successes.

The Garrigue Masaryk Offspring

T. G. Masaryk's political career ultimately engaged all members of his family. Alice, the eldest child, stayed closest to her parents, to the extent that one biographer published a joint study of her and her mother Charlotte (Skilling, 2001) and another recently characterized her life as lived "in the shadow of her famous father" (Lovcí, 2007). She was arrested in 1915 and jailed in Vienna "in her father's stead," on the pretext that she knew the location of his papers or other secrets of the independence movement (McDowell, 1916, p. 116). After 1918, she combined working in social services and social work education with managing her father's presidential household, due to her mother's chronic illness and early death. Her career is explored more fully in later sections of this article.

A second daughter, Olga, accompanied her father into exile in Switzerland in 1914, and he credits her with helping with his work in exile (Masaryk, 1927). A contemporary U.S. press report described her as "closely associated with her father in the movement for the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and the establishing of its people into independent states" ('What women,' 1918, p. 13). She married in Switzerland and

had two sons who died in England during the Second World War, one of illness and one as a Czech pilot with the British Royal Air Force (Lockhart, 1956; Mitchell, 1980). The Masaryks' son Herbert had died of typhus during his father's exile in 1915, a factor in the breakdown of Charlotte's health the same year. Herbert left a widow and two daughters whose children became the only surviving descendents of T. G. and Charlotte Masaryk (Mitchell, 1980).

Jan, as the most politically engaged of the Masaryk offspring in the years following independence, served as a Czechoslovak diplomat in Washington and London. Like his father, Jan was married (briefly) to an American, the daughter of Charles R. Crane of Chicago, a family friend and political patron (Lockhart, 1956). During and after the Second World War, Jan was Foreign Minister, first in the Czech Provisional Government headquartered in London and then, after his father's death and eventual Czech liberation from German occupation, in Czech President Beneš' cabinet. *Time Magazine* placed him on its cover in 1944 and described him as Czechoslovakia's second most powerful man, after Beneš (Czechoslovakia, 1944). His service extended into the early years of Communist Party rule, and his death in 1948, possibly by suicide, possibly by political assassination, has long been controversial (Lockhart, 1956).

A. G. Masaryk's Career through 1918

Alice Masaryk's early interest in political democracy was reflected in her dissertation topic: The English Magna Charta that in 1215 first limited the power of the sovereign and established rights of the nobility. Immediately after taking her degree, she went to America at her father's instigation and, like him, cultivated relationships with Czech and Slovak immigrants (Mitchell, 1980; Skilling, 2001). Based on her months as a resident at the University of Chicago Settlement, she published her first work in English about their lives (Masaryk, 1904).

Like much settlement work, A. G. Masaryk's engagement with the immigrant community was part urban ethnography, part social reform effort. Lawlor and Mattingly (2001) characterize ethnography as follows:

Ethnographic research involves the creation and ongoing renegotiations of relationships between researchers and informants. These relationships are complex and uniquely constructed, drawing on elements of seemingly different types of relationships, such as those created through friendship, intimacy, family membership, and professionally bounded clinical encounters. Prolonged engagement contributes to the complexity as relationships deepen and shift over time and participants accumulate a substantial reservoir of shared experiences. (Lawlor & Mattingly, 2001, p. 147)

A. G. Masaryk's (1904) early article about Czech immigrants presents both demographic data and her perspectives as a participant-observer who knew both the immigrants' region of origin and their everyday reality in Chicago. However, the ethnographic method, basic to anthropology and academic sociology, also suggests a degree of objective distance that settlement workers rejected: "Ethnographers struggle with enacting a researcher stance that simultaneously promotes interrelatedness and minimizes the extent to which their presence intrudes on and subsequently alters the everyday life experiences they seek to understand" (Lawlor & Mattingly, 2001, p. 148). In contrast, Masaryk's article (1904) suggests that she adopted the settlement house tradition of social reform by advocating for public reading rooms in immigrant neighborhoods, for example.

The closest professional tie Alice developed while in the U.S. was with Mary McDowell, head resident of the University of Chicago Settlement, who later wrote about her life and contributions in the *Survey* (1916, 1930). In subsequent years, they carried on an extensive correspondence (Cape, 2005). During her time in Chicago, A. G. Masaryk also stayed briefly at Hull House, and she later referred to having made numerous subsequent visits (Mitchell, 1980). Addams' published papers document exchanges of letters, organizational business, and discussions of anticipated meetings between them (e.g., JAP, 1984, 13-1258; 13-1305; 20-1398; 20-1447; 22-1220). Parallels and intersections in the careers of Addams and Masaryk form part

of the focus of other work by the author of this article (Hegar, 2008).

Masaryk appears to have viewed her experiences in Chicago as a transformative period in her life, and both Crawford (1921) and McDowell (1930) attribute innovations she later introduced in Czechoslovakia to her participation in settlement house work, as discussed further below. Upon returning from Chicago to Prague, A. G. Masaryk initially worked as a teacher and organized lectures and discussions among university students on social theory and practice. Her role in establishing the Sociological Section at Charles University in Prague ultimately established her place as an early sociologist (Keith, 1991; Lovcí, 2003), work that was cut short when she was arrested and imprisoned in Vienna in 1915 after her father had escaped Austrian jurisdiction.

News of her arrest and imprisonment was reported in the *Survey* (McDowell, 1916), as well as in major U.S. newspapers (e.g., 'Alice Masaryk in prison,' 1916; 'Stock yards will mourn,' 1916), and prominent settlement house leaders organized a letter-writing campaign on her behalf (JAP, 1984, 9-1369; 38-801). Along with McDowell and Addams in Chicago, Alice Masaryk was acquainted with Julia Lathrop, Grace Abbott, Lillian Wald, and other social reformers. Their campaign generated tens of thousands of messages to Vienna and may have contributed to her release after eight months of imprisonment (McDowell, 1916; Unterberger, 1974).

Detailed correspondence written to her mother from prison later appeared in two issues of *Atlantic Monthly* (Masaryk, 1920a, 1920b). Her father noted in his memoirs that the episode had served a political purpose:

The arrest of my daughter Alice was of great service to us in England and America. ...Throughout America, women petitioned the President to intervene and appealed directly to the American Ambassador in Vienna. These movements in America and in England made our rebellion better known. (Masaryk, 1927, p. 92)

Following A. G. Masaryk's return to Prague in 1916, she was unemployable in any academic role. During this period, when her father was a refugee working in England for Czechoslovak

statehood, she was forced to maintain a very low profile as she worked with Dr. Anna Berkovcová to establish the first school of social work in the region. However, Berkovcová, who ultimately headed the school, credited her colleague Masaryk as its founder (Mitchell, 1980, pp. 98-99).

A. G. Masaryk in the Interwar Period: 1919-1939

Shortly after Czechoslovak independence and the opening of the school of social work near Prague, A. G. Masaryk was appointed by her father to a voluntary position as director of the new national Red Cross (Lovcí, 2003; Mitchell, 1980). In this new role, she began to study and develop the social service infrastructure of Prague, first by instigating a social survey. Social surveys, undertaken at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries in Germany (Suin de Boutemard, 1990), London (Booth, 1902), and numerous U.S. cities (Crawford, 1921), explored the nature and causes of poverty and other social problems. In Chicago, Hull House residents had gathered data for a Chicago survey as part of a "Special Investigation of the Slums of Great Cities" ordered by Congress in 1893 (Holbrook, 1895). Crawford (1921) observes that Masaryk drew on her exposure to similar studies in the U.S. as she began her work in Prague, though she also may have learned of German social surveys as a student in Berlin.

The Prague Survey commenced after A. G. Masaryk convened a council of public sector, university, and religious leaders, along with staff of international agencies working in Prague (Crawford, 1921). Czech workers, assisted by those from the American Young Women's Christian Association and other international organizations, adapted social survey methods to local needs, and A. G. Masaryk authored the introduction to the multi-volume study (Crawford, 1921; Skilling, 2001). During the immediate post-war period, she was responsible for numerous other initiatives, such as inviting the British Red Cross to dispatch a mission in Slovakia that provided war relief and civilian aid, including establishment of a children's home, hospital, and convalescent home for soldiers (Limerick & Mintalová, 2008).

Czechoslovakia had enacted women's suffrage upon independence, and Pergler (1919) reports that in 1919 A. G.

Masaryk was among eight women elected to the National Assembly, though she served only briefly. Czechoslovakia quickly implemented a great deal of progressive social legislation and by 1918 had statutes prohibiting child labor and instituting an eight-hour work day (Gruber, 1924). By 1921, broad child welfare provisions had brought existing children's homes and institutions under state regulation, and initiatives in social housing had begun. In 1924, the quasi-governmental publishing outlet "Orbis" could claim that,

as regards the social insurance of the workers, the care of the unemployed, of war victims, children, and other helpless persons, housing, and the cooperative movement, the Czechoslovak Republic holds an honourable place amongst the most progressive States of Europe. (Gruber, 1924, p. 25)

This view was seconded by international observers (e.g. McDowell, 1930, p. 633).

Although A. G. Masaryk had had broad support from all political parties when elected to the National Assembly (Comstock, 1926), she soon left the parliament to concentrate on directing the Red Cross. At her initiative, that organization was instrumental in developing voluntary social services, which under Austria-Hungary had been organized partially within ethnic language communities (Zahra, 2008). Mitchell quotes her view that:

the Red Cross must take care of a whole nation—or about fourteen million people. The Red Cross will also have to work hand in hand with schools and other humanitarian institutions. This is where the duty of the Red Cross as a democratic social institution lies. (1980, p. 119)

Gruber (1924) also notes this innovative peacetime role for a Red Cross society in his discussion of Czechoslovak public social policy, which acknowledges that "the State authorities are actively supported by the Red Cross which apart from its humanitarian institutions in case of war, has greatly contributed to relieving the State from war-time and post-War social evils" (1924, p. 25). McDowell, of University of Chicago Settlement,

comments on Masaryk's leadership of the organization:

The Czechoslovak Red Cross goes further, and busies itself with the kind of normal, constructive, educational service that has come to be called "settlement work." In that, Alice is greatly the inspiration; what she learned so long ago in Chicago fulfills its purpose in the neighborhoods of her own country. (McDowell, 1930, p. 632)

Masaryk authored a book about the work of the Czechoslovak Red Cross (1935), and her leadership of it is the subject of recent scholarship (Lovcí, 2003, 2007).

Her role as head of her country's Red Cross society also reinforced A. G. Masaryk's commitment to international cooperation. Post-war correspondence between Emily Balch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WIL) and Jane Addams suggests that A. G. Masaryk was involved in establishing the WIL in Czechoslovakia; by 1922 there was a WIL Corresponding Society (JAP, 1984, 15-1510) and by 1926 a full National Section (JAP, 1984, 18-908).

During the interwar period, social work developed rapidly, and A. G. Masaryk had roles in both domestic and international arenas. For example, she often was able to secure international philanthropic support for local institutions (e.g., 'Useful Memorial,' 1921). By 1927, Czechoslovakia had three two-year, post-secondary schools for social work, one in each region of the county, and social work was firmly established:

Social workers in the period between the two wars worked in the fields of municipal social care (poor care), youth care, social-pedagogical care (school care), vocational counselling, institutional care of physically disabled youth and adults, mother and baby health care, care against tuberculosis and children's health care. At the same time they worked in various voluntary clubs concerning social care. They were an important part of the system of social care. (Chytil, 1998, p. 52)

Masaryk also made key contributions to the International Social Work Fortnight held in Paris in 1928, a precursor to later

international organizations, chairing the organizing committee that met in Paris in 1926 and Prague in 1927 to plan the 1928 conference. As the elected President of the Fortnight, she delivered opening and closing addresses (Sand, 1928), and she subsequently presided as President of the Second International Conference of Social Work in 1932 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany (Mitchell, 1980).

In addition to her international roles in social work, A. G. Masaryk traveled frequently in the role of good-will ambassador for Czechoslovak, speaking and writing for international audiences, including a 1938 peace rally in London where she exhorted listeners to remain true to the ideals of the League of Nations (Mitchell, 1980, p. 149). The U.S. press gave her considerable recognition, both as a member of her prominent family and as a leader in social welfare. *The Survey*, the leading journal of social reform at the time, devoted a 1921 issue to Czechoslovakia, for which she contributed greetings to the readers (Masaryk, 1921). When a later *Survey* issue highlighted T. G. Masaryk's presidency and family, an article by McDowell (1930) profiled her career. Her public appearances and significant milestones were noted in both the popular and professional press (e.g., 'Alice Masaryk Alive,' 1916; 'Alice Masaryk in Prison,' 1916; 'C'est la Guerre,' 1939; 'Child Welfare,' 1919; 'Dr. Alice G. Masaryk,' 1939; McDowell, 1916; 'Tribute to an educator,' 1947).

A. G. Masaryk's Exile and Retirement in the U.S.

Following the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Germany in 1939, A. G. Masaryk was forced to resign her leadership of the Red Cross ('C'est la Guerre,' 1939). She left Prague for her sister Olga's home in Geneva, then proceeded to London where Jan Masaryk was working for the Czech government in exile, and finally journeyed on to the U.S. There she toured and spoke about the political situation; at one point she attempted to complete a lecture tour begun by her brother Jan, with less-than-satisfactory results (Keith, 1991; Mitchell, 1980). She became ill and required hospitalization, beginning a period of poor physical health and depression. She lived for periods of time at the University of Chicago Settlement and in New York,

and although she was able to return to Prague after the end of the war, she ultimately retired to the U.S. in 1948.

After 1956, A. G. Masaryk lived in Masaryktown, Florida, named by Czechoslovak immigrants for her father. Struggling with deterioration of her sight, she worked on her memoirs with the help of a nurse/companion and a secretary, and she and her sister Olga participated in the formation of the Masaryk Publications Trust to translate and publish her father's books and related literature (Mitchell, 1980). After suffering a stroke and progressive blindness, she moved in 1966 to a nursing facility founded by the Czech-speaking community near Chicago, where she died the same year.

A. G. Masaryk's Legacy

Mitchell quotes A. G. Masaryk as saying shortly before her death, "I loved two things in the world, my father and my country" (1980, p. 240). A journalist friend of T. G. Masaryk described qualities in him that also resonated in his daughter: "A nationalist he was, in the sense that national freedom seemed to him an indispensable postulate of the international cooperation for humane ideals of which he dreamed..." (Sneed, 1927, p. 20). A. G. Masaryk was a nationalist in the same sense. While her family ties and patriotism led her in the direction of Czechoslovak nationalism, her idealism and wide-ranging friendships pulled her toward internationalism.

There was, of course, a powerful strain of internationalist and pacifist thought in many European and English-speaking countries among the women who established themselves early in the 20th century in the new fields of social work and sociology, as well as in politics after it became open to women (Hegar, 2008; Kniephoff-Knebel & Seibel, 2008). Many, like A. G. Masaryk, were active in the International Conference of Social Work, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and other campaigns for social change.

A. G. Masaryk's legacy in Czechoslovakia was subsequently disrupted by war and seismic political shifts. Academic and popular awareness of her contributions diminished, due both to governmental efforts to blot out the influence of her family

and to political barriers restricting international communication (Limerick & Mintalová, 2008; Skilling, 1994). Social work and social work education, as they had developed during the Masaryk era of 1918 to 1935, also experienced major discontinuity. The development of social work as an academic discipline and professional field was interrupted for decades, first by war and occupation, then by a dominant political philosophy that lacked openness about social problems (Hering, 2004). According to Nedelníková (2004), "In a land with no social problems, social work lost its legitimacy, leading to changes in the system of social protection, the abandonment of university schooling in social work, and the liquidation of non-governmental social work organizations" (p. 38). In particular, the international social work ties that A. G. Masaryk had cultivated ended abruptly for those in a divided Europe.

Only since about 1990 have social work and social work education resumed an uninterrupted revival, and the discipline is now experiencing rapid change and expansion of opportunities that would be familiar to social workers in most post-industrial, western countries. Nedelníková (2004) reports that by 1997,

professional associations outlined the activities that social workers carry out, including specific administrative work, social support, counselling, mediation and conflict resolution, social supervision, social analysis, conceptual activities, and social work management, as well as theory and methodology development. These activities are performed by social workers in the public service in a variety of branches, as well as in private institutions. (pp. 41-42)

In a climate of renewed recognition and expansion for social work, interest in the profession's earlier history also has revived, as evidenced by recent publications concerning A. G. Masaryk's career, both in the Czech and Slovak Republics (Kubícková, 2001; Limerick & Mintalová, 2008; Lovcí, 2003; 2007) and internationally (Hegar, 2008; Lemmen, 2008; Skilling, 2001). The Masaryk legacy deserves to be remembered, a goal that is furthered when the name is linked with contemporary examples of service and sacrifice for principled causes. In a

fitting tribute, the U.S. Embassy in Prague has awarded the Alice Garrigue Masaryk Award annually since 2004 to "persons and institutions in the Czech Republic who have made exceptional and continuing contributions to the advancement of human rights through courageous promotion of social justice, the defense of democratic liberties and an open civil society" (U. S. Department of State, 2010).

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Sweden's Parental Leave Insurance: A Policy Analysis of Strategies to Increase Gender Equality

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Sweden's parental leave insurance is recognized internationally as the premiere parental leave policy addressing gender equality. Since 1974, when the policy changed from maternal to parental leave, policy makers have employed a variety of strategies including inducements, rules, and rights, to increase more gender-equal leave taking. Using Stone's (2006) strategy conceptualization, together with the gender systems approach (Crompton, 1999) which frames the gendered and socially constructed nature of earner/caregiver, this analysis examines how each of Sweden's incremental reforms in parental leave policy moved toward the goal of gender equality, with particular attention to father participation in caregiving.

Key words: parental leave, gender equality, policy analysis, caregiving, strategies

Sweden's parental leave insurance is recognized internationally as the premiere parental leave policy design addressing gender equality (Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2010). Situated in the policy context of Sweden's social democratic welfare system (Esping-Anderson, 1990), gender equality in caregiving responsibilities and participation and wage equity in the labor economy is the main focus of the policy (Palley & Bowman, 2002). The parental leave policy strategies have recently become increasingly gender specific, targeted at increasing fathers' participation. Literature about Sweden's parental leave insurance abounds, but what is missing is a theoretical analysis of the approaches used to increase father participation such as Stone's (2006) strategies conceptualization. The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, June 2013, Volume XL, Number 2

purpose of this paper is to use Stone's strategy conceptualization, together with the gender systems approach, to analyze Sweden's incremental reforms in parental leave policy, particularly the emphasis on father participation in caregiving and moving closer to the government's goal of gender equality in caregiving and labor market participation.

History of Sweden's Parental Leave Insurance

Sweden is a social democratic welfare regime, according to Esping-Anderson (1990). Three key factors define Esping-Anderson's (1990) categorization of a social democratic welfare regime: universalism, social equality, and decommodification. Universalism characterizes the access to benefits, namely that all citizens are endowed with the same access. Universalism is the opposite of means-tested, where access is determined by income. Esping-Anderson (1990) asserts that universalism is used to cultivate cross-class solidarity. Social equality means that all citizens have equal benefits. Decommodification is the principle that citizens can freely opt out of work when they consider it necessary, without potential loss of a job, income, or general welfare. Sweden's welfare system demonstrates all three social democratic regime characteristic factors.

Policy Overview

When the Swedish government, headed by the Social Democrats, introduced parental leave insurance in 1974, it replaced the standing maternity leave policy. The legislation provided parents financial benefits to take care of their children for up to six total months, to be divided as decided upon by the parents. The parental leave policy uses gender-neutral language, providing support for same-sex parents as well as heterosexual ones. These benefits, known as parental leave insurance, were then and continue to be determined by a parent's employment income at the time of leave taking, or a low-base benefit for those not working (Forsakringskassan, 2010). In the 1980s and 1990s several iterations of the parental leave legislation increased the amount of leave time to twelve months and brought the earnings-related benefits to the current level of 80% of the income for parents working at the time of leave taking.

While the policy's aim from the beginning was to provide the opportunity for time at work and time taking care of children for both men and women, by the early 1990s men were only taking about 10 percent of the allotted time (Duvander & Johansson, 2010). Starting in 1995, several major reforms attempted to increase men's leave taking. A Liberal Party Minister introduced the first of these reforms in 1994, reserving a month of the given leave time for each parent; it was coined the "daddy month" and "mommy month," inferring that the reform was created to make the father take at least one month (Duvander & Johansson, 2010). If the designated parent did not use the month, then it was forfeited (Duvander & Johansson, 2010). A second reserved month for each parent was added in 2002, bringing the total leave time to 16 months. In 2006, another reform passed, targeting high earning fathers' participation by raising the income ceiling for benefits. In 2008, a gender equality bonus introduced by the newly elected Conservative-Liberal coalition government gave a tax credit which was paid into parents' accounts. The effect is that the more evenly distributed the leave taking is between parents, the more tax credit the parents receive (Swedish Government Offices, 2010).

Constructing Parental Leave Insurance as a Gender Equality Policy

A Problem Analysis

Fundamentally, Sweden's parental leave insurance policy is not just about providing individual families with resources to make choices about employment and caregiving; it is a social policy with the defined aim of increasing gender equality for the Swedish people. The question remains: what problem is this policy is addressing? In other words, using Chamber's problem analysis framework (2008), what is the problem definition? What is the cause? What is the supporting ideology? And finally, who benefits and who suffers?

Problem Definition

Although the problem's definition in the context of Sweden's family policy has been refined over time, there has

been one underlying theme: inequality is when women are primarily responsible for the care of children and leave the labor market, while men take care of the economic needs of children, but not the caregiving.

Cause of Problem

Unequal responsibility for caregiving and labor market participation creates and perpetuates gendered parental care, and forces women to lose traction in the labor market (Duvander & Johansson, 2010). The cause of the problem is that without policy strategies that encourage fathers to leave the labor market, mothers do most of the leave taking. In addition, women who try to both work and raise children end up doing both, while the father's main task continues to be that of financial provider.

Supporting Ideology

Haas (1992) asserts that Sweden's government developed the parental leave insurance policy based on three concerns: (1) worry over low birth rates; (2) the need to encourage women's employment; and (3) a desire to liberate men from gender stereotypes.

The issue of low birth rates was a reality for many countries in Western Europe, including Sweden during the earlier part of the twentieth century (Hajte, 1974 cited in Haas, 1992). Social scientists Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, who wrote the book *Crisis in the Population Question* in 1934, shaped the public discourse about population growth in Sweden and became the champions of state support for women in motherhood and employment (cited in Haas, 1992). The Population Committee of the Social Democratic Party created legislation supporting parents but also providing rights for Swedish children. The key point of the legislation seen from a historical perspective is the importance Sweden places on children. Haas (1992) argues that an attitude toward children as "precious national resources in need of economic security and nurturing by both parents" may be a prerequisite for the development of equal parenthood (p. 25).

Haas (1992) outlines how women's employment became a priority in Sweden in the 1960s. Although women were

granted employment rights in the 1930s, they often did not work outside the home. Not until the economic boom of the 1960s, when male workers could not fill the demand for labor, was women's full employment realized. Equality in the workforce came to the forefront as women joined men in the labor market. Since then, many changes in labor policies and government agencies have supported women and gender equality in the labor market. For example, in 1972 Social Democrats served on a special panel of the Advisory Council for Equality of Men and Women to oversee policies. Another example is a five-year plan designed by the government in 1988 to reduce sex segregation in the labor market.

The growing understanding of the need to liberate men from the rigid expectations of economic and social success developed out of Sweden's social and scientific discourse in the 1960's reexamining essentialist definitions of mother and father as pertaining to gender roles in caregiving and labor market participation (Haas, 1992). In addition to many labor policy changes, the ideological support for changing men's roles also gained traction, with a few men's centers opening to discuss the impact of traditional male stereotypes on men (Haas, 1992). This changing understanding of gender roles ultimately led the Swedish Parliament to appoint a family policy commission to investigate how to change the social policy to support fathers and mothers taking parental leave.

In addition to the concerns of low fertility, women's employment, and men's liberation from gender roles, Haas (1992) argues that additional political, ideological and economic factors played a role in the promotion of gender equality. The gender liberation movement was mainly organized by feminists (Crompton, 1999) but male activists also contributed (Haas, 1992). The political wave of change supporting gender equality in parenthood joined the ideological currents of thought, which provided the ongoing momentum.

During the last century, Sweden's Social Democratic party has dominated the political landscape, but gender equality has not been a one-party issue. Even Sweden's conservative parties have historically supported gender equality in parenthood. For example, in 1976 the most conservative party in the governing non-socialist coalition increased the commitment to

gender equality and specifically increased men's responsibility in the home (Haas, 1992). Although recently the Christian Democrats have attempted to return to more traditional roles by increasing advantages to women taking all the leave time (Duvander & Johansson, 2010), the trend has not changed from gender equality.

Gender inequality in parenthood is the problem Sweden's parental leave policy addresses. The cause of this problem is socially constructed gender roles that identify men with the labor market and not caregiving, and women primarily with caregiving and less with the labor market. These roles lead to fathers staying in the labor market and not taking parental leave, while women take most of the leave. Feminists and the social democratic party, as well as the economic conditions leading up to the policy changes, are the ideological forces behind the policy. Gender inequality in parenthood, specifically in the taking of parental leave, leads to the fathers' loss of caregiving opportunities; children miss the opportunity for primary care from their fathers, and mothers detach from the labor market.

Theoretical Frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks help to analyze Sweden's incremental reforms in parental leave policy. The gender systems approach (Crompton, 1999) provides the needed lens to look at the gendered division of labor and gender relations. Second, a strategy analysis (Stone, 2006) assists in the identification of policy instruments Sweden used to target increasing paternal leave taking. These frameworks illuminate the ways Sweden's policy serves to change the behavior of parents with the goal of addressing the issue of gender equality in parents' responsibilities in child care and participation the labor market.

Gender Systems Approach

What is paramount to Sweden's parental leave policy is the goal of gender equality; it is framed in a very particular way. In other words, the policy was not a way to just to pay women to stay home and care for children. The purpose of the policy from the beginning was to tie men to caregiving and

women to employment, by providing government support of time to care and time to work. Feminist policy analysts use a gender systems approach to elucidate the gender relations and gender division of labor embedded in policies. The gender systems approach (Crompton, 1999) helps to theoretically situate Sweden's parental leave policy and to conceptually represent the gender reconstruction embedded in the policy and its strategies.

A feminist analysis is relevant to the issue of gender equality in parenthood, as seen in the parental leave policies. However, feminists differ on how they approach the issue of work and motherhood (Ray et al., 2010). Several feminist welfare state scholars (Ellingsaeter, 1999; Pfau-Effinger, 1999; Sainsbury, 1999) in the last fifteen years, including Rosemary Crompton (1999), developed a gender systems approach through which to look at the formation of economic and social reproduction norms. A gender systems approach includes two central characteristics: "First, they recognize the complexity of the structuring of gender relations and the multiplicity of their origins; thus economic determinism is avoided. Secondly, gender essentialism is rejected, and gender relations are viewed as socially *constructed*" (Crompton, 1999, p. 204).

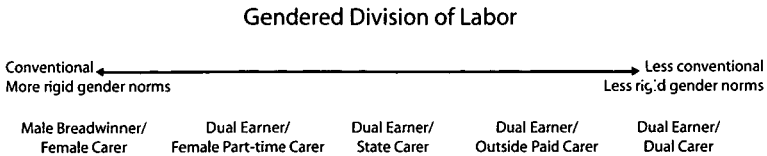
The gender systems approach posits a continuum of the gender division of labor (See Figure 1). In this continuum of the gender division of labor, there are several different pathways between the traditional male breadwinner and the female carer. For example, Pfau-Effinger (1999) suggests that Sweden can be described as moving from a 'male breadwinner/female carer' to a 'dual earner/state-carer' model. However, policies, political forces, and feminist political involvement change over time. With those changes come changes in gender relations and the gender division of labor. Gender systems theorists argue that the dual earner/dual carer model is "most likely to be associated with both gender equality and equality more generally" (Crompton, 1999, p. 208).

Stone's Solutions: Understanding the Policy Instruments

Stone (2006) conceptualizes the ways policies affect change as strategies or solutions. These are ways "of exerting power, of getting others to do what they otherwise might not do" (Stone,

2006, p. 261). Stone frames this power dynamic as a relationship between the policy giver and the policy receiver. The most identifiable policy strategies that Sweden used in parental leave insurance policy are inducements, rights, and rules.

Figure 1. A Model of the Gendering of Earner and Carer (Adapted from Compton, 1999)



Inducements are penalties or rewards to act in ways that people might otherwise not choose. Stone (2006) asserts that one element in inducements is how the policy receiver and giver relationship changes depending on the kind of inducement. For example, if the inducement is a reward, then a bond is created when the policy receivers do what they are supposed to and the policy giver (the government) fulfills its promise. This fulfilled promise cultivates a sense of loyalty and mutual aid. In contrast, penalty inducements create an adversarial relationship between the giver and receiver, breeding resentment.

Rights as a policy strategy are more subtle in their definition. Stone (2006) identifies two traditions of rights, positive and normative. Positive rights are those backed by the state. There is an expectation that the right will be upheld, based on past tested claims. Normative rights, on the other hand, can be understood as rights that people may have but may not actively claim or enforce, as well as rights that derive power from outside enforcement, such as religion.

The last of Stone's (2006) strategies are rules, which are both informal and formal. Stone (2006) argues that policy analysis must account for the interaction of these informal and formal rules. Rules "prescribe action to be taken in certain situations or contexts" (Stone, 2006, p. 286). The political nature of rules acts as a force to include and exclude people from different treatments or activities.

Policy Analysis of Parental Leave Insurance: Gender System Approach and Strategies

Using both the gender system approach and Stones' (2006) conceptualization of policy strategies, the following analysis frames how Sweden's parental leave policy design strengthens men's ties to caregiving and women's ties to employment, in a 'dual earner/dual carer' model. This section will analyze each policy and reform, looking at how it attempted to increase gender equality, and second, will suggest which of Stone's strategies the policy exemplifies (See Table 1). The purpose of this analysis is to examine how the policies were tweaked multiple times to create change in fathers' leave taking, which was not naturally occurring.

Table 1. Gender Systems & Strategy Analysis of Parental Leave Reforms

Year	Legislative Reform	Gender System Approach	Stone's Type of Policy Strategy
1974	Paid parental leave	Introduces a change in construction of gender in labor and caregiving	Inducement
1996 & 2002	Reserved Months	Deconstructing parenting/caregiver roles as female only	Rights (Father, Mother & Child) & Inducement "Use it or lose it"
2006	Increase Earnings Ceiling	Removing barriers to father caregiving	Rules
2008	Gender Bonus Tax	Ideal example of the dual carer/dual earner model	Inducement

In 1974, when the parental leave insurance was introduced, fathers' participation was recognized as a potential issue in the effectiveness of the policy. However, specifying fathers' leave taking was deemed to be too radical and was dropped from the proposed policy (Klinth, 2002, cited in Duvander & Johansson, 2010). The gender systems approach recognizes the

complexity and multiple constructions of gender (Crompton, 1999). From this approach, the policy is a step toward changing the construction of gender in labor and caregiving, specifically men as 'breadwinner' and women as 'carer.' Indeed, a majority of the reforms have targeted increasing men's attachment to caregiving and creating state supports to encourage breaks from breadwinning.

In addition, the benefit in 1974 encouraged women, who were assumed to be the ones taking the leave, to gain employment prior to becoming pregnant in order to receive the 90 percent earnings, rather than the low flat rate provided for non-working parents. Again, the policy attempts to change women's behavior to see work and family, together, as the ideal, rather than work or family, moving closer toward the 'dual earner/dual carer' gender systems model.

The 1974 legislation is the first clear example of Stone's inducement strategy. Parents either receive a percentage of their income from their employment at the time of leave taking (which has ranged from 70 to 90 percent) or a low flat rate. This inducement is what Stone (2006) would describe as a reward, meaning that if policy receiver does the intended behavior (i.e., takes the leave) the policy giver (i.e., Swedish government) offers a reward (i.e., parental benefit). As Stone (2006) suggests, this reward-based relationship between the policy giver and receiver can create a bond. Clearly, if a parent is working at the time of leave taking, the economic benefit is not equal to full employment, but is a reward in the context of not working.

The addition of reserved months for each parent was the next major policy reform. In 1995, one month was introduced, and in 2002 another was added. These reserved months are to be used by each parent. If they are not used by the designated parent, they are forfeited. These designated month reforms are ways of deconstructing parenting/caregiver roles as female only. The parents still can decide how to divide up the rest of the allotted leave time, and of course, they can decide when each parent takes the leave. For example, a heterosexual couple could decide to have the father take the leave after productive breastfeeding is established.

The reserved months are examples of the strategy of rights, both positive (supported by the state) and normative (not

enforced by law, but by society). By designating those times for each parent, each parent has a positive right, supported by law, to take that given parental leave time. Ferrarini and Duvander (2010) argue that fathers' custodial rights are one of the main pillars of Sweden's dual earner/dual carer model. Normatively speaking, this is also an example of a right that could now be referred to in society and gives support to an alternate division of leave taking. This reform is particularly important in the reframing of caregiving in gender equal ways; fathers now have a law to both change their behavior and support their behavioral change in society.

In addition, these reserved months can also be framed as the child's right to have access to both parents and, specifically, children's rights to their fathers' time (Duvander and Johansson, 2010). This right of the child ties directly to the importance Sweden's society places on children as a resource of the future (Haas, 1992).

The last two policy instruments implemented were the raising of the income ceiling for benefits and a gender equality bonus. In 2006, the raising of the income ceiling for benefits was introduced to increase fathers' participation, because fathers are more likely to have high incomes. The argument was that if the income ceiling were raised, fathers with high incomes would be more likely to take the leave, because they would get more of their income in benefits (Duvander & Johansson, 2010). This raising of the income ceiling exemplifies a rules strategy used to decrease barriers to father participation in caregiving, particularly for high income earning fathers.

The last reform, the gender equality bonus introduced in 2008, attempted to incentivize the equal sharing of leave. It is a perfect policy example of the dual carer/dual earner model, because it tries to support parents creating that dual role in a monetary way. Because fathers are slow to take leave, the bonus is an example of an inducement that specifically targets changing the behavior of fathers; more specifically, the inducement encourages fathers to take off more time, which in turn theoretically stimulates mothers' participation in the labor market.

Conclusion

Overall, each of the policy strategies attempts to increase the gender equality of parenthood, specifically labor market participation and caregiving, recognized as the dual earner/dual carer model. In the framework of the gender systems approach, Sweden's parental leave policy is reconstructing the gender roles previously prescribed. In addition, the gender systems analysis of iterations of the parental leave policy revealed that since the conception of its parental leave policy in 1974 and with each of the four subsequent reforms and additions to the policy, Sweden has been slowly and steadily making its way from the conventional end of the gender systems continuum to the less conventional. And lastly, the analysis shows that the parental roles of caregiving and wage earning are mitigated by complex and multiple constructions of gender. Therefore, in policy creation, targeted aims at the barriers to the dual carer/dual earner ideal must be precise in order to make the desired change.

Sweden's parental leave policy was framed in a very compelling way from the very beginning as gender equality in parenthood. This policy was intended to change the gender balance of caregiving and earning by using the strategies of rules, rights, and inducements in a variety of ways and over decades. Each policy reform effort attempted to increase children's access to both of their parents and to tie men to caregiving and women to participation in the labor market, thereby achieving the aim of gender equality.

Clearly, Sweden's diligence in increasing the gender equality of parental leave taking and parenthood in general demonstrates the country's commitment to its goal. However, policy implementation is only one way to make social norms change. Even in the context of Sweden's socially progressive and social democratic welfare regime, the goal of gender equality in parenthood is yet to be fully realized.

Thirty years after the first parental leave legislation, Sweden's government, which supports gender equality in many overarching social policies, is still trying to encourage parents to take leave more equitably. In 1974, fathers used 0.5 percent of all parental leave days available (Duvander & Johansson, 2010). By 2009, fathers increased their use to 22.3

percent (Duvander & Johansson, 2010). This change in paternal leave taking shows that strides to toward the dual earner/dual carer model in Sweden are being made. However, the reality that Sweden's fathers do not yet take 25 percent of the leave available indicates that in addition to identifying and implementing particular policy strategies that increase paternal leave taking, society must remove social, economic and workplace barriers, such as non-father friendly workplaces (Haas & Hwang, 1995), and continue to address the complex and multi-layered constructions of gender that perpetuate more rigid gender parenting roles.

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Remarital Chances, Choices, and Economic Consequences: Issues of Social and Personal Welfare

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Many divorced women experience a significant decline in financial, social, physical, and psychological well-being following a divorce. Using data from the NLSY79 (n= 2,520) we compare welfare recipients, mothers, and impoverished women to less marginalized divorcees on remarriage chances. Furthermore, we look at the kinds of men these women marry by focusing on the employment and education of new spouses. Finally, we address how remarriage and spousal quality (as defined by education and employment) impact economic well-being after divorce. Our results show that remarriage has positive economic effects, but that is dependent upon spousal quality. However, such matches are rare among divorced women with children and in poverty. The implications of our results for social welfare issues are discussed.

Key words: children, economic well-being, poverty, remarriage, spousal quality

Divorce can be a stratifying mechanism for many American men, women, and children. This stratification can take place on a number of dimensions (Amato, 2010), including psychological health, physical health, financial well-being, and access to resources such as friendship networks and social supports (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007) and declines in physical well-being (Hughes & Waite, 2009). Central to this paper is the substantial negative effect of divorce on income, wealth, poverty status, and overall economic well-being (Hughes & Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, June 2013, Volume XL, Number 2

Waite, 2009; Peterson, 1996; Smock, Manning, & Gupta, 1999; Waite, Luo, & Lewin, 2009). These effects are significantly more negative for women than men (McManus & DiPrete, 2001). Importantly, many divorced women care for children, making them particularly vulnerable to a significant economic downturn following a divorce. Children from divorced families are disproportionately impoverished, stressed, less educated, and more likely to engage in risky behavior (Coleman, Ganong, & Fine, 2000), which can have effects beyond childhood and adolescence (Wolfinger, 2003). Issues with children after divorce can also significantly stress parents, as divorced parents report more difficulty raising children and addressing problem behaviors than married biological parents (Sweeney, 2010).

Because divorce is a stratifying life event, many people try to recover the benefits lost because of it. Although there are a variety of potential solutions to this problem, one quick and common approach is to remarry (Cherlin, 1992; Waite & Gallagher, 2001). The positive effects of (re)marriage on individual well-being are well documented (Frech & Williams, 2007; Hughes & Waite, 2009; Waite & Gallagher, 2001) and include significant positive effects on economic well-being. As such, remarriage is a social welfare issue—despite the fact it is not typically cast in such a light (Baldock, Manning, & Vickerstaff, 2007). In the United States marriage is strongly associated with access to resources, social standing, economic advantage, and overall well-being (Cherlin, 2009). Interestingly, the effect of marriage for personal and social well-being (Amato, Booth, Johnson, & Rogers, 2007) has been the impetus for U.S. anti-poverty programs which encourage marriage among marginalized groups such as the poor, welfare recipients, and single mothers (McLanahan, Amato, & Furstenberg, 2007).

Our paper focuses on the remarital chances of divorced women in the U.S., who typically see large economic declines after divorce (McManus & DiPrete, 2001) and become single mothers because of marital dissolution (Goldscheider & Sassler, 2006). Because of our concern about social welfare issues surrounding divorce and remarriage, we are particularly interested in economically marginalized women, whom we conceptualize as women who use welfare assistance, are below the poverty line, and who care for children (which

reduces per-capita income and increases the risk for poverty). We expect that these characteristics will strongly influence if and when divorced women remarry. Aside from this, however, is the question of what kind of men disadvantaged divorcees remarry. Overall, remarriage may have positive benefits for divorced women (Cherlin, 1992, 1999), but the magnitude of the effect should depend on a husband's personal characteristics (which we refer to as spousal quality, following the sociological literature and for the sake of parsimony). Finally, we assess whether a remarriage and husband's characteristics improve economic standing through applying a random effects model and we emphasize the importance of working toward greater levels of social justice for economically marginalized divorced women.

Marriage, Divorce, and Social Welfare

In its broadest definition, social welfare consists of access to resources that help fulfill social needs. These resources can be economic, social, or service-oriented (Baldock et al., 2007). Marriage and family, as an important social institution, helps individuals access such resources (Baldock et al., 2007). Several examples regarding the link between marriage and personal welfare in the U.S. stand out. Economically, marriage is associated with substantial increases in income and the opportunity to build wealth (Heimdal & Houseknecht, 2003; Lichter, Graefe, & Brown, 2003; Painter & Shafer, 2011; Vespa & Painter, 2011). Intergenerational transfers of wealth and economic resources are more likely if someone is married (Fu & Wolfinger, 2011). Socially, married couples typically have large friendship networks and get more kin support than single people (Treas, 2011). Similarly, religious groups often provide significantly more social support to married couples and families with children than other individuals (Wilcox, 2004). Politically, marriage has been framed as a social welfare issue in the United States. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWORA or welfare reform) passed in 1996 included provisions for marriage promotion and education. More recently, the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 provided hundreds of millions of dollars for programs under the banner of the

Healthy Marriage Initiative (HMI), which promoted marriage as a way to prevent poverty and improve child welfare (DHHS, 2009).

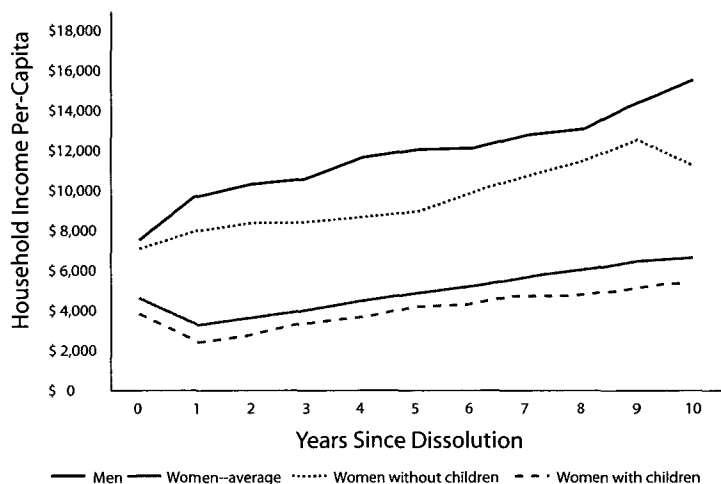
While marriage is not the sole determining factor of social or personal welfare in the U.S., it does have significant effects, provides children with various advantages, and is a stratifying mechanism in the United States. Social science research indicates that marriage has important effects on various dimensions of well-being including quality-of-life, health, social, psychological, and socioeconomic outcomes (Amato, 2010; Cherlin, 2009; Sweeney, 2010), which suggests marriage and family are crucial aspects of social and personal welfare in the U.S.

It is clear that divorce takes away many marital benefits. Of course, most people divorce their spouses for very good reasons, such as abuse or infidelity, even though lack of high personal satisfaction (e.g., individuals who still say they are satisfied with their lives) has become an increasingly common reason for dissolution (Amato, 2010; Amato et al., 2007; Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007). Whatever the reason, it is clear that there are substantial negative consequences associated with ending a marriage, including financial consequences, loss of social ties, reduced resources, complex social relationships, and poorer health than continuously married men and women (see Amato, 2010 for a complete discussion). Figure 1 provides one way to view the negative economic impact of divorce on women, including women with children. While men see an increase in their per-capita income after divorce, women, on average, see a decline. However, the picture worsens when we consider the disparate experiences of women with and without children. Women with children see a substantial decline in their economic well-being after divorce and it does not substantially improve with time.

Although the theoretical link between marriage and well-being should apply to remarriage, it seems the reality is not as straightforward. Marital dissolution can have long-lasting effects on a myriad of outcomes—even after remarriage. Furthermore, the positive benefits of remarriage appear to be variable and partially contingent on first marriage experiences. Thus, we argue that remarriage *is* a social welfare issue—and one of significance, given that nearly 50% of all marriages

will end in divorce and nearly two-thirds of American divorcees marry a second time (Bramlett & Mosher, 2001; Copen, Daniels, Vespa, & Mosher, 2012).

Figure 1. Median Per-Capita Income Before and After Marital Dissolution, by Sex and Parental Status (in 2008 \$)



Remarital Benefits

Several scholars, such as Cherlin (1992), have suggested remarriage can help alleviate problems caused by divorce. However, this is a contested empirical question. Several examples stand out. Hughes and Waite (2009) found that the health benefit from remarriage was smaller than the health improvement from first marriage and that remarriage only partially ameliorated the negative effects of divorce on health. Similarly, Amato and Hohmann-Marriott (2007) found any mental health benefit of remarriage was limited to men and women in extremely bad first marriages. How remarriage affects the economic fortunes of divorcees is understood to a lesser degree. However, the limited evidence available suggests that the economic benefits of remarriage are quite strong for women (Ozawa & Yoon, 2002). Yet, remarried women are more likely than continuously married women to report that they feel financially unstable (Malone, Stewart, Wilson, & Korsching, 2010), possibly because of the increased roles they take in the

financial decisions of their new family (van Eeden-Moorefield, Pasley, Dolan, & Engel, 2007).

However, the benefits accrued in remarriage cannot simply be captured by considering whether a woman remarries or not. We explore a potential source of variation in the positive impact of remarriage by addressing the potential impact of a husband's characteristics on economic well-being (Lichter et al., 2003). Marrying a highly-educated or stably employed man produces various advantages not commonly experienced by women who do not remarry or remarry men with poorer economic qualifications. For example, college graduates tend to have greater economic stability and more financial resources than high school dropouts (Oppenheimer, 2003), which has positive returns on family income, short-term and long-term economic well-being, and both intra- and inter-generational mobility (Ozawa & Yoon, 2002; Schwartz & Mare, 2005). In turn, these returns have substantial positive effects for the couples and families, such as increased stability and access to resources (Lewis & Oppenheimer, 2000; Sweeney, 2002).

Searching for a Remarriage Partner

Critical to our research questions is how divorced women find second husbands. Typically, researchers have employed marital search theory (England & Farkas, 1986; Oppenheimer, 1988) to understand matches between spouses. This framework argues that people seek out the highest quality spouse possible given their own characteristics and the kinds of partners available in the marriage market. Numerous characteristics such as socioeconomic status, marital history, race/ethnicity, religion, and parental status play into the calculation of if, when, and whom to marry. For example, desirable characteristics like high socioeconomic status increase the probability of remarriage (Schwartz & Mare, 2005), while less desirable characteristics such as having a child out-of-wedlock can hinder marital prospects (Lichter & Graefe, 2007). The availability of partners with desirable characteristics is also a factor in marital decisions. If numerous potential spouses are available, marriage is likely, while a paucity of desirable suitors has a negative effect.

As we apply this theory to our paper, economically marginalized women may have great difficulty in remarrying or

finding a spouse with good economic attributes such as stable employment or being highly educated. While this is only one way to operationalize partner quality, it does represent an extremely good chance for divorced women to see substantial increases in their economic well-being and access to social supports (Kalmijn & Graaf, 2003). In addition to the stigma divorced women face (Gerstel, 1987; South & Lloyd, 1995; South, Trent, & Shen, 2001), economically marginalized divorcees are not economically advantageous marriage partners for men and often have children, which has a substantial negative effect on remarriage itself (Goldscheider & Sassler, 2006). Yet, these are the exact women who may experience the strongest benefit of remarriage, in light of the potential economic boost conferred by a second marriage (Ozawa & Yoon, 2002). This is especially significant since divorce is often a catalyst for high rates of poverty among women and children (McManus & DiPrete, 2001; Peterson, 1996; Smock et al., 1999).

A woman's decision about a potential remarriage partner can be affected by personal attributes, as well. For example, many women with high socioeconomic status may choose to forgo a second marriage because of bad first marriage experiences and/or solid financial standing (Sweeney, 1997). Similarly, divorced mothers might be very protective of their children and be highly selective of whom they are willing to marry (Goldscheider & Kaufman, 2006). Divorced women who receive public assistance may be less willing to remarry than other women because marriage can limit or eliminate welfare benefits (Lichter, Batson, & Brown, 2004). This can make remarriage a financially risky proposition because a new husband's financial contribution to the family may or may not make up for lost public assistance (Lichter et al., 2003).

There are two additional considerations about divorced women's remarriage behavior. The first issue is *when* divorced women remarry. Divorcees with the most financial difficulty may quickly remarry in order to ease economic pressures (Sweeney, 1997). However, many economically marginalized women may seek out any remarriage in order to help support themselves and/or their children—even if they marry a man with relatively low socioeconomic status. As a result, a woman's need to find financial support quickly will make her less selective about her husband's characteristics, affecting

the number of women who marry well-qualified men. Second, divorced women may be reluctant to marry again. This hesitance may be rooted in gender distrust because of abuse, infidelity, or other bad first marriage experiences (Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Manning, Trella, Lyons, & Du Toit, 2010), the stress associated with dissolution and divorce (Amato, 2010), or, in rare cases, increased happiness post-divorce (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007; Waite et al., 2009). However, our expectation is that most divorced women will want to remarry because marriage remains a valued institution, even among those who dissolved their first one (Cherlin, 1992, 2004).

Current Study

While several studies have addressed remarriage formation among women (e.g., Kalmijn & Graaf, 2003; Mott & Moore, 1983; Sweeney, 1997, 2002a), little research has focused on the kinds of men with which divorced women repartner (but see Gelissen, 2004; Shafer, 2009). Further, an emphasis on characteristics such as poverty, welfare receipt, and caring for a child have remained relatively ignored. Yet, these are significant characteristics and all the more important given the negative relationship between divorce and financial well-being. As a result, we take our analysis a step further by addressing the impact of remarriage and remarrying a man who is stably-employed and well-educated on economic well-being for these women. Thus, our analysis considers the chances of remarriage and why it matters for women. We hypothesize that economically marginalized women who use welfare, are in poverty, and/or are single mothers, will be less likely to remarry, less likely to remarry economically stable men, and more likely to enter into marriages which offer little to no economic benefit.

It is important to note that we limit our analysis to heterosexual remarriage and do not include other family types, such as cohabiting or homosexual families. Although cohabitation is the most prominent non-marital family form in the United States and plays an important role in American family life, we address only remarriage because cohabitation requires less commitment, is often viewed as a part of the post-divorce courting process, and rarely results in couples combining their

economic resources (Wu & Schimmele, 2005; Xu, Hudspeth, & Bartkowski, 2006).

Method

Data

We use the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979 cohort (henceforth NLSY79), a nationally representative longitudinal sample of 12,686 men and women born between 1957 and 1965. The data were collected annually from 1979 to 1994 and biennially between 1994 and 2008—the last wave of publicly available NLSY data. Importantly, NLSY79 includes a full marital and relationship history, key demographic information about the spouse, variables on socioeconomic status, and other important personal information. We limit our data to women who have experienced a divorce from their first marriage because higher order marital dissolution is extremely selective (Teachman, 2008). Women who divorced and remarried prior to 1979 are excluded from our analytic sample because we lack information on their first marriage and first year of remarriage. Our final analytic sample consists of 2,520 women who divorced between 1979 and 2008.

The data are in an event-history format, where respondents are at-risk for a remarriage from the time they separate or divorce until they remarry or are no longer observed in the data (either through attrition or the end of the observation period). Available evidence suggests that individuals who are separated from their spouse actively search for a new partner, even if their union has not been legally dissolved (Sweeney, 1997). Of course, many separated couples will reunite (Bumpass, Sweet, & Martin, 1990), which caused us to only include years that a respondent is separated from their spouse if it is followed by a divorce without reunion. If a respondent does not report separation from their spouse, the at-risk period begins in the year of divorce. Thus, individuals contribute observations to the model until they exit the data through remarriage or attrition (by non-response or the end of the data in 2008). Each year a respondent is not remarried is treated as a separate observation as a person-year. Our sample includes a total of 20,591 person-years.

Demographically, our sample is 39% Black, 42% White,

and 18% Latino. Thirty-four percent of respondents did not complete high school, 37% are high school graduates, 22% have some college education, and 6% completed post-secondary education. For our key variables, 14% of the women in the sample received welfare, 32% were in poverty, and 68% had co-residential children.

Measures

Dependent variables. We have four dependent measures. The first variable is a dichotomous event variable indicating if the respondent remarried in a given year. Our second and third dependent variables are multinomial and focus on the quality of a woman's second husband. We include variables which measure whether a husband has full-time employment and if the new husband attended college. There are three possible outcomes for these variables: (1) remarried and new husband meets this condition; (2) remarried, but husband does not meet this condition; and (3) not remarried. Husbands are considered full-time employed if they average 40 or more hours of work per week. A spouse is college educated if he has 13 or more years of education.

Our final dependent variable is used in our analysis of how remarriage and spousal characteristics affect economic well-being. In this model we use a time-varying measure for percent of poverty level. We calculated this measure by using total family income from all sources and adjusting these figures to 2008 dollars and dividing by income at 100% of poverty. 100% of poverty was calculated from the Census' official poverty line based on family size, as indicated by the number of adults, biological, step, or adopted children in the household.

Duration. Our models all make use of longitudinal data which require a measure of duration. We use years since separation or divorce. If a respondent reported that she was separated from her spouse, we begin to count the duration to event or censoring from that time. We also control for age in our models, which is time-varying from year-to-year and can strongly affect the chances a woman will remarry (Shafer, 2009). The correlation between the duration variable and age is not prohibitively high at 0.51.

Key independent variables. We have three key independent variables: welfare receipt, poverty status, and the presence of a co-residential child from a prior marriage. Respondents in NLSY79 are asked if they received welfare assistance in the previous year and the source of that assistance. Individuals who reported AFDC or TANF (after welfare reform) assistance, WIC, food stamps, or housing assistance were coded as having received welfare. This variable is a dichotomous measure and is time-varying. Poverty status is a time-varying dichotomous variable constructed using family income, family size, and the Census' official poverty line in each year. Importantly, we lagged these two variables so they indicate that the respondent received welfare assistance or was in poverty in the prior year. This was done for two reasons: (1) it allowed us to assess changes in the effect of marriage on poverty status; and (2) it allowed us to address the potential attractiveness of poor women in the remarriage market better than if we measured welfare receipt and poverty status concurrently with a potential marriage (Lewis & Oppenheimer, 2000; Oppenheimer, 2003). Finally, the presence of a co-residential child or children is measured by a time-varying dichotomous variable indicating if the respondent was a primary caregiver for any biological or adopted children from a previous marriage in the prior year.

Control variables. As we noted earlier, marital search theory suggests that a number of personal characteristics affect entry into marriage and whom one marries (see Kalmijn, 1998 for a full discussion). In addition to affecting a woman's remarriage prospects, these variables are also associated with the likelihood they will use welfare, be in poverty, and/or have children. As a result, we include a number of control variables in our analyses. Socioeconomic status affects marital likelihood (Sweeney, 2002), welfare use, and poverty status. Employment status was measured by a set of time-varying control variables indicating if the respondent had full-time work (35 or more hours a week), part-time work (less than 35 hours a week), or was unemployed. We also include time-varying measures of educational attainment for less than 12 years of schooling (less than high school graduate), 12 years (high school graduate), 13-15 years (some college), and 16 or more years (college graduate).

Religious individuals are less likely to divorce (Call & Heaton, 1997) and some religious groups have a higher proclivity toward remarriage (Kalmijn & Graaf, 2003). As a result, we control for religious affiliation with dichotomous variables for Mainline Protestant, Conservative Protestant, Catholic, and other religious affiliation. Minority racial and ethnic groups are more likely to divorce (Teachman, 2002) and less likely to remarry than Whites. Further, racial and ethnic minorities are at a distinct socioeconomic disadvantage in the United States (Cherlin, 2010). As a result, we include variables for non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic White. We control for family structure at age 14 (single parent family, two biological parents, stepparent present, or other structure) because of its strong effects on marital behaviors (Wolfinger, 2007). Divorce, remarriage, socioeconomic status, and welfare usage all vary across geographic areas (United States Census Bureau, 2008). Urban-rural and South-non South differences are particularly striking. As a result, we include controls for urban and southern residence. Finally, cohabitation may be an alternative to or route into remarriage (Xu et al., 2006). Thus, we include a variable for the number of years the respondent has cohabited since separation or divorce.

Analytic Method

We use two methods in our paper. First, we use event-history methods to model the transition to remarriage and the chances of finding a husband with positive economic attributes. We use a specific class of event-history models, discrete-time logistic regression in our analyses, allowing us to determine when an individual marries, the attributes of their spouse, and how both time-varying and time-constant variables affect these outcomes. These methods are also useful because the assumptions of the model are not restrictive, can account for right censoring, and measure risk of event at each time-point (Allison, 1984). We address our emphasized characteristics—welfare receipt, poverty status, and having children—by making comparisons with women who do not receive welfare, are not in poverty, and do not have children. In essence, our study compares the remarriage patterns of marginalized and less marginalized divorcees.

Next, to assess how remarriage and spousal choice affect economic well-being, we used fixed effects models in order to incorporate time-varying characteristics for remarriage, new husband's attributes, and a woman's time-varying characteristics on percent of poverty (Hoffmann, 2004). Using a Hausman test, we considered the possibility that our data may be better suited for a random effects model. However, the Hausman showed that fixed effects were more appropriate ($H = 1868.52$; $p < .001$). Our data for this analysis are different than that used for our analysis of remarriage. In this model we use years since divorce as a meaningful time metric and women are included from the time of marital dissolution to the dissolution of their second marriage or until the data ends in 2008. Fixed effects models can only include time-varying variables, as all time consistent differences between individuals are controlled out (Köhler, Kohler, & Kreuter, 2005; Singer & Willett, 2003); we only include variables for time since divorce, time since divorce-squared, years remarried (0 = not remarried), and husband's attributes (stable employment and college attendance) in our models. Correlations between these variables are not prohibitively high. All analyses were run in Stata 12.0.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

In our sample, 54% of all women got remarried. Women on welfare and women in poverty were less likely to remarry, with 44% and 37% entering a second marriage, respectively. Women with children were about as likely to remarry as women generally.

Of women who did remarry, 66% of all women married a man with full-time employment. Considerably fewer women who used welfare married a stably employed man (48%), while only 15% of impoverished women did so. Similarly, while half of divorced women married a man who attended college, only 27% of welfare recipients and 14% of impoverished women made similar matches. Mothers were similar to the percentages for the full sample of women (65% and 45%, respectively) on both outcomes. Thus, our descriptive results show that the

Table 1. Odds Ratios for Remarriage and Relative Risk Ratios for Marrying a Spouse with Given Characteristics.(continued next page)

	Remarriage	Spouse Full-Time Employed		
	Remarried vs. not remarried	FT spouse vs. not remarried	PT/ Unemployed spouse vs. not remarried	PT/ Unemployed vs. FT spouse
<i>Time</i>				
Yrs since dissolution	1.120 **	1.403 ***	1.012	0.722 ***
Yrs since dissolution squared	0.969 ***	0.937 ***	0.984 *	1.050 ***
Yrs since dissolution cubed	1.001 ***	1.002 ***	1.000 *	0.999 ***
<i>Age</i>	0.980 ***	0.931 ***	1.050 ***	1.128 ***
<i>Key Independent Variables</i>				
Rec'd welfare in prior year	0.959	0.695 *	1.494 **	2.151 ***
In poverty in prior year	0.426 ***	0.241 ***	0.791 *	3.287 ***
Co-residential child from divorce	0.937	1.014	0.921	0.908
<i>Employment (ref.= full-time employed)</i>				
Part-time employment	1.208 **	1.367 ***	0.954	0.698 **
Does not work outside home	1.278 *	1.335 *	1.073	0.804
<i>Education (ref.= high school graduate)</i>				
< High school	1.031	1.116	0.919	0.823
Some college	0.941	0.977	0.954	0.977
College graduate	0.803 *	0.797	0.880	1.104
Yrs cohabited after divorce	0.857 ***	0.849 ***	0.872 ***	1.027
South	1.206 **	1.317 **	1.071	0.814
Urban	0.862 *	0.883	0.825	0.934
<i>Religious Affiliation (ref.= other)</i>				
Conservative Protestant	0.974	0.867	1.076	1.240
Catholic	0.885	0.876	0.877	1.001
Mainline Protestant	0.883	0.906	0.809	0.893
<i>Race/Ethnicity (ref.= Non-Hispanic White)</i>				
Non-Hispanic Black	0.584 ***	0.509 ***	0.666 **	1.309
Hispanic	1.036	0.912	1.181	1.294
<i>Family Structure at age 14 (ref.= other)</i>				
Two parents	1.170	1.263	1.031	0.816
Step-parent present	1.259	1.315	1.177	0.895
Single parent	0.993	0.967	0.992	1.026
Observations (years)	20,591	20,591	20,591	
Observations (respondents)	2,143	2,143	2,143	
-2 log likelihood	1,172.22	1,566.78	1,357.92	
Pseudo R-squared	0.119	0.135	0.117	

Source: National Survey of Youth, 1979 cohort ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05 (two-tailed test)

Table 1. Odds Ratios for Remarriage and Relative Risk Ratios for Marrying a Spouse with Given Characteristics.(continued from previous page)

	Spouse Attended College		
	College educated spouse vs. not remarried	Spouse not college educated vs. not remarried	Spouse not college educated vs. college educated spouse
<i>Time</i>			
Yrs since dissolution	1.135 *	1.113 *	0.980
Yrs since dissolution squared	0.967 ***	0.970 ***	1.003
Yrs since dissolution cubed	1.001 ***	1.001 ***	1.000
<i>Age</i>	1.005	0.963 ***	0.958 ***
<i>Key Independent Variables</i>			
Rec'd welfare in prior year	0.714	1.070	1.499
In poverty in prior year	0.358 ***	0.460 ***	1.286
Co-residential child from divorce	0.817*	1.041	1.275*
<i>Employment (ref.= full-time employed)</i>			
Part-time employment	1.134	1.267 **	1.117
Does not work outside home	1.171	1.349 *	1.152
<i>Education (ref.= high school graduate)</i>			
< High school	0.892	1.069	1.198
Some college	1.392 **	0.696 ***	0.500 ***
College graduate	1.460 **	0.354 ***	0.243 ***
Yrs cohabited after divorce	0.860 ***	0.854 ***	0.994
South	1.232*	1.178*	0.956
Urban	1.137	0.720 ***	0.634
<i>Religious Affiliation (ref.= other)</i>			
Conservative Protestant	0.917	1.016	1.108
Catholic	0.902	0.879	0.975
Mainline Protestant	0.817	0.943	1.155
<i>Race/Ethnicity (ref.= Non-Hispanic White)</i>			
Non-Hispanic Black	0.490 ***	0.675 ***	1.378
Hispanic	0.843	1.208	1.432*
<i>Family Structure at age 14 (ref.= other)</i>			
Two parents	1.271	1.106	0.870
Step-parent present	1.229	1.269	1.032
Single parent	1.192	0.873	0.732
Observations (years)			
Observations (respondents)			
-2 log likelihood			
Pseudo R-squared			

Source: National Survey of Youth, 1979 cohort *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

prospects of marrying an economically well-qualified man are not particularly good in remarriage generally; they are particularly poor for the most economically marginalized women.

Estimating the Odds of Remarriage and Marriage to an Economically Stable Husband

We report the odds ratios for remarriage and relative risk ratios for marrying a full-time employed spouse and spouse who attended college in Table 2. Our results show that some economically marginalized divorced women are slower to and less likely to remarry. Women in poverty have 57.4% lower odds of remarriage in any given year after divorce than women not in poverty. We found no significant differences between welfare recipients and non-welfare recipients, nor between mothers and women without children. Among our other variables, less than full-time employment and Southern residence lead to a higher likelihood of remarriage, while increased age, cohabitation, and urban residence decrease it. Additionally, Black women were less likely to remarry than White women.

Turning to the analysis of marriage to a full-time employed husband, our results indicate that economically marginalized divorcees are less likely to remarry a stably employed man and often marry a man with less than full-time employment quickly. The odds of marrying a part-time or unemployed man were 1.151 times higher for welfare recipients and 2.287 times higher for impoverished women, than for their respective comparison groups. This indicates that when women who use welfare or are in poverty marry, they tend to find under-employed or unemployed spouses.

Our analysis of marriage to a college-educated husband yields similar results. Women in poverty and mothers are less likely to find husbands who attended college than they are to not remarry. In our comparisons of marital outcomes, our results show that, in any given year, mothers have 27.5% higher odds of marrying a man who did not attend college than a man who has some college education. No statistically significant differences for this comparison were observed for welfare receipt or poverty.

Table 2. Fixed Effects Models for Poverty Ratio

Time since divorce	3.444*** (0.884)	3.537*** (0.886)
Time since divorce-squared	-0.116** (0.036)	-0.119** (0.036)
Years remarried (0= not remarried)	4.361*** (0.385)	4.394*** (0.385)
Husband full-time employed		-1.608 (13.254)
Husband college educated		40.165* (16.168)
n (person years)	32,795	32,795
n (maximum years observed)	30	30
n (respondents)	2,143	2,143
Intercept	200.565	199.490
Rho (Interclass Correlation)	0.081	0.080
Estimated R-square	0.03	0.03

The Economic Benefits of Remarriage

The results of our fixed effects model are reported in Table 3. Model 1 focuses on the effect of time since divorce, its quadratic form, and years since remarriage on poverty ratio (i.e., a poverty ratio of 100 would be exactly at the poverty line). Our results show that each additional year after divorce is associated with an increase in the poverty ratio of slightly more than 3%, although the size of this increase moderates over time. Looking at our measure of years since remarriage, we found that each additional year since remarriage provides more than a 4% increase in economic well-being. In Model 2, we added variables for husband's characteristics. The results for time since divorce and remarriage are substantively similar to those presented in Model 1. While stable employment does not have a significant effect on economic well-being, marrying a husband who attended college has a substantial positive effect. In fact, we observe a 40% increase in poverty ratio from marrying a college educated man.

Discussion

While several studies have addressed remarriage formation among women (e.g., Koo, 1980; McNamee & Raley, 2011; Sweeney, 1997), the impact of economic vulnerability on remarriage chances and the kinds of men divorced women remarry has not received significant attention. We extend the literature further by focusing on the impact of these matches on previously-married women (but see Ozawa & Yoon, 2002). Additionally, we address this question because of its important social welfare implications. Simply put, remarriage provides one opportunity to access important economic, social, political, health, and other resources to women who often experience extremely negative effects of divorce. Our analyses focused on three areas. First, we addressed which women remarry with a specific focus on three marginalizing post-divorce characteristics: poverty, welfare receipt, and caring for children. Next, we modeled the impact of these three characteristics on the economic quality of a new husband. We operationalized spousal quality as marrying a man with steady employment or who attended college (Qian, Lichter, & Mellott, 2005). Finally, we used fixed effects models to assess how remarriage alone and remarriage to men with given characteristics affects economic well-being in remarried families.

We have three main findings from our paper. First, poverty, but neither welfare receipt nor having children, has a significant negative effect on the likelihood of remarriage. On the one hand, these results suggest that many women who could benefit from remarriage are not any less likely to remarry than women who are less economically vulnerable. On the other hand, women who are in poverty are the least likely to enter remarriage—which may result in a number of difficulties for themselves and any children they may have. However, while (re)marriage may confer benefits, the size of the benefits received through marital unions depends, in part, on spousal quality.

Second, economically marginalized women had low likelihoods of marrying a full-time employed man or college-educated man. In terms of marrying a stably employed man, women who receive welfare or who are impoverished are much more

likely to marry a man who is employed part-time or unemployed than to find a husband with full-time employment. In our analysis of marriage to a college-educated man, we found that women with children had a higher likelihood of marrying less-educated men than women without children. Again, these marriages appear to happen relatively quickly. No other differences were observed for our key variables. Although each group had different patterns with respect to the kinds of men they marry, our results show that economically marginalized women are more likely to marry less economically qualified men than their non-marginalized counterparts.

Third, we found that remarriage has a small positive effect on the economic fortunes of divorced women. However, when we included husband's economic characteristics, our results showed a substantial positive effect of marrying a college-educated man on economic well-being. Yet, this is the group that economically marginalized women are least likely to marry. Women in poverty have a particularly low likelihood of doing so, and mothers are significantly more likely to marry a man who did not attend college than one who did. Thus, a characteristic which has the most substantial impact on economic well-being after divorce is the one marginalized women are least likely to find in the remarriage market.

Our findings, however, should be tempered by the limitations of our analyses. Although NLSY79 has several strengths, our sample is limited in other ways. The data come from a cohort of individuals born between 1957 and 1965 and are not representative of women from other birth cohorts. Our data also lack information on several factors which have been linked to remarriage formation such as divorce initiation, attitudes about divorce and remarriage, and other important spousal characteristics, such as prior marital status and having children (e.g., Sweeney, 1997, 2010). As a result, there may be important selection factors for which our paper cannot account. Nevertheless, we feel that our data are of sufficiently high quality, especially when considering the lack of data about remarriage in the United States (Sweeney, 2010), that our results are useful in understanding an issue with significant social consequences.

Implications

Our paper has important implications for family and welfare policy. For one, the U.S. government has linked welfare receipt and anti-poverty policies to marriage since 1996's welfare reform. The Healthy Marriage Initiative (HMI) promotes marriage formation and discourages divorce through a variety of methods (DHHS, 2009). In recent years, some of these efforts have been directed at divorced women (Manning et al., 2010). While having women marry and stay married may be a worthwhile goal, the evidence suggests that spousal quality is an important component of even the most rudimentary definitions of marital success and economic well-being within a marriage (Huston & Melz, 2004). Our results indicate it is unlikely that marriage promotion efforts as part of PRWORA and HMI will truly address the problems of disadvantaged divorced women. In other words, the prospects of a marriage producing solid economic benefits are limited, given the kinds of men disadvantaged divorced women remarry—which may ultimately undermine how successful a marriage may be. These insights also have important implications for clinicians working with divorced women who want to remarry at some point or are in serious relationships. These issues are particularly applicable as clinicians seek to help economically marginalized clients explore their relational options and better understand the potential obstacles or undesirable outcomes they might encounter in that process.

Defenders of marriage promotion policies may argue that they are less anti-poverty programs than programs intended to sell the benefits of traditional family life to a group skeptical of marriage. However, a significant literature suggests that poor women have extremely positive impressions of marriage—so much so that out of respect for the institution they avoid relationships they feel do not stand on solid financial or emotional footing (Cherlin, Cross-Barnet, Burton, & Garrett-Peters, 2008; Edin & Kefalas, 2005). Although our paper cannot address this question due to a lack of sufficient data on the remarriage plans of divorced women, we would argue that there is little evidence to support the notion that the previously-married value marriage any less than the never-married. In fact, high rates of remarriage have been interpreted by family scholars

as evidence of marriage's institutional strength in the United States (Cherlin, 1992, 2004). Thus, the problem is not that poor women, even if they are divorced, do not want to get married. Instead, the problem stems from the personal characteristics, *often the cause of divorce*, which make marrying or remarriage difficult—a point our paper addresses more straightforwardly.

Although there is a healthy debate about the degree to which the government should promote marriage, enact policies that affect the family, or support traditional family forms, the mounting evidence suggests that marriage promotion policies do not always promote social justice, social welfare, or personal well-being. For example, women who live below the poverty line are almost 60% less likely to remarry than women who are not in poverty. But, our findings are even starker when we move beyond the consideration of whether or not divorced women remarry, but consider the kinds of men they might partner with and the benefits these kinds of marriages offer. Perhaps anti-poverty programs for divorced women would be more beneficial if they were aimed elsewhere. For example, our results show that welfare receipt does not have negative effects on remarriage or chances of marrying a college-educated spouse. Therefore, in addition to the clinical implications mentioned above, we recommend that social service agencies, social workers, and other helping professionals who can advocate for divorced women should do their best to help this group utilize services and receive all benefits possible. Such action could have substantial effects on the lives of both women and their children as divorced women consider and pursue remarriage.

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Black Women in the "Black Metropolis" of the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of Professional Occupations

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Little research has examined the employment of Black women as teachers, nurses, and librarians in the urban Black communities of the early twentieth century. The present study fills this void, analyzing Census data on the largest urban Black communities at the start of the Great Migration to cities. The results show that, in spite of the supposed advantages of the northern "Black Metropolis," Black communities in the urban North were relatively limited in their potential to offer opportunities for Black women to enter pursuits that were, at the time, mainstays of a nascent class of Black professional women.

Key words: Black women, professional occupations, urban communities, early twentieth century United States

The Black communities that were created in northern cities by the first wave of the Great Migration (circa 1915-1930) were widely viewed as places in which Blacks might find relief from the oppression and hardships of the Jim Crow South. Situated in the nation's urban-industrial mainstream, these communities were believed by many to hold unprecedented opportunities for Blacks to become employed in the skilled occupations that provided a route into the middle class of American life. Perhaps the strongest and most hopeful expression of this "Promised Land" story of the urban North was an idea called the "Dream of Black Metropolis" (Meier & Rudwick, 1976, p. 252).

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The Dream of Black Metropolis was the belief that, in the large Black communities of major northern cities, Blacks could individually and collectively leverage the advantages of large and spatially concentrated Black populations to produce economic, social, and political benefits. Such supposed advantages included: an exploitable market of Black consumers for Black-owned businesses; a vital base of Black supporters for institutions that produced and disseminated unique forms of Black cultural expression; and a potentially formidable bloc of Black voters and social activists that could pressure the White-dominated power structure to deliver necessary public services to Black neighborhoods. In prosperous decade of the 1920s, the most ardent proponents of the Dream of Black Metropolis—namely, members of the Black professional and entrepreneurial elite—claimed that in the largest Black communities of the urban North, Blacks could achieve economic self-sufficiency, social autonomy, and political sovereignty (e.g., see Massey & Denton, 1993, pp. 115-116; Meier & Rudwick, 1976, p. 252).

The Perspective of the Black Metropolis

The idea that the socioeconomic status of Black Americans was enhanced in the sizable Black communities of northern cities during this time has inspired the scholarly perspective of the Black Metropolis (Gregory, 2005). While not endorsing the aforementioned separatist vision, this perspective holds that the concept of the Black Metropolis—defined as a Black “city in a city” positioned within a nationally prominent urban center—can inform historical and sociological understanding of the Black experience in cities in the early twentieth century.

The perspective refutes the notion that the large Black communities that arose in the urban North were dysfunctional ghettos, emphasizing the specific advantages to Blacks of locations outside the South during this time. Such advantages included not only access to material resources, but also “political and cultural freedom of expression” and the possibility of “useful interactions with whites” (Gregory, 2005, p. 129). Owing to these advantages, the perspective asserts, the large Black communities of urban centers in the North and West generated and supported institutions—such as professional

practices, businesses, churches, newspapers, nightclubs, and theaters—that functioned independently of the larger society and uplifted these communities economically and socially.

However, this assertion appears to be based on a narrative that, while rich and compelling, is disproportionately influenced by contemporary anecdotal reports of the exceptional Black communities of New York and Chicago. Thus, it is unclear if the perspective of the Black Metropolis is applicable to a wide range of urban Black communities. One study, examining Blacks' employment in occupations that were commonly associated with the Dream of Black Metropolis in the early twentieth century, suggests that the perspective has an uncertain empirical foundation (Boyd, 2012). In particular, the study showed that, contrary to popular belief, opportunities for Blacks to enter many professional and entrepreneurial occupations after the first wave of the Great Migration were not significantly better in the urban communities of the North than in those of the South.

Black Women in the Black Metropolis

The results of this line of investigation are incomplete, however, for the findings are based mainly on analyses of occupations that were, in the early twentieth century, dominated by men. Most notable among these occupations were professional and entrepreneurial pursuits in which there were few women, in general, and very few Black women, in particular—for example, the professional occupations of doctor, dentist, and lawyer, and the entrepreneurial occupations of banker, insurance agent, and retail merchant. The number of Black women in these occupations was so small in many cities, in fact, that the relevant data were often incomplete (that is, available for only a handful of cities) or did not exist at all. Hence, analyses of these women for a wide range of occupations and urban centers were precluded. It follows that we know relatively little about the employment of Black women in occupations that were linked to the idea of the Black Metropolis in large Black communities of the early twentieth century.

Of course, this is not to say that we have no knowledge of Black women's employment in these communities. Several

studies, focusing on the northern cities that had the largest Black communities after the first wave of the Great Migration, have analyzed the concentration of these women in the lowly pursuit of domestic service. These studies have described the low pay, long hours, and degrading working conditions of the Black women who labored as cooks, maids, child-care providers, and laundresses in the homes of upper-status Whites (Drake & Cayton, 1962, p. 242; Marks, 1989, pp. 45-48; Trotter, 1993, p. 60). Thus, research on Black women in the large Black communities of northern cities that arose during the first wave of the Great Migration has mainly examined the employment of these women in pursuits that were at or near the bottom of the occupational structure.

To be sure, this orientation reflects the fact that, at this time, most employed Black women toiled in the lower echelon of the labor force. But even in the early twentieth century, Black women worked in a wide range of occupations, including professional occupations (discussed below) that have yet to be analyzed in studies of the Black Metropolis. Black women in these occupations—teachers, nurses, and librarians, for example—contributed to the socioeconomic progress of Black communities (e.g., see Shaw, 1996) and, therefore, such occupations, while overlooked in past research, should be considered central to the Dream of Black Metropolis. Arguably, then, there is a need to expand the scope of research on the employment of Black women in the cities that were major destinations of first wave of the Great Migration. Specifically, there is a need to enlarge this scope to include those occupations that provided Black women with their greatest opportunities to be employed as professional workers.

The Present Study

This investigation will advance our knowledge of how Black women fared in the large urban Black communities of the early twentieth century by examining the proportion of the employment of these women in occupations that the U.S. Census Bureau defined as “professional services.” Table 1 shows the professional services occupations in which the largest numbers of women were employed in 1930, the year generally used to denote the end of the first wave of the Great

Migration (Marks, 1989; Tolnay, 2003). Not surprisingly, most of the women who were employed in the professional services category were "teachers (school)": 56.0 percent of all women in this category (853,967 of 1,526,234) and 72.4 percent of Black women in this category (45,672 of 63,027). On the basis of these statistics, a contemporary study observed, "School teaching ... is the principal Negro profession" (Myrdal, 1944, p. 318). It is likely, furthermore, that many of the women who were employed as "musicians and teachers of music" or as "artists, sculptors, and teachers of art" were also teachers of some kind, but it is impossible to know the exact numbers with these data. The vast majority of Black women who worked as teachers during this time taught in schools or other settings that were racially segregated, especially in the South (e.g., see Myrdal, 1944, pp. 318-320).

Table 1. The Professional Services Occupations in which the Largest Numbers of Women were Employed: United States, 1930.

U.S. Census occupational categories	Total women	Black women
Teachers (school)	853,967	45,672
Trained nurses	288,737	5,581
Musicians and teachers of music	79,611	2,836
Librarians	27,056	180
Social and welfare workers	24,592	827
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art	21,644	200
Professional services (total)	1,526,234	63,027
Total employed women (U.S.)	10,752,116	1,840,642

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1933a, Table 3).

In analyzing the employment of Black women in these occupations, the study will test two competing hypotheses. The first hypothesis is based on the perspective of the Black Metropolis. This perspective suggests that the opportunity structure of the urban North was much more favorable to Black women than was that of the urban South. In the urban North, the perspective asserts, Black women could access the resources of larger and more spatially concentrated Black communities (Gregory, 2005, p. 124) and could also, as noted

above, find relief from the *de jure* racial restrictions that characterized the urban South and, perhaps, develop useful relationships with Whites (Gregory, 2005, p. 129). Hypothesis 1, then, is that the proportion of Black women employed in the above professional occupations was greater in northern cities than in southern cities.

The second hypothesis is derived from research that advocates a "revisionist view" of the urban Black communities of the early twentieth century. This research shows that the advantages of the urban North for Blacks after the Great Migration were far more limited than the famous "Promised Land" story has suggested. While not denying the possible benefits of northern cities (e.g., greater political and civil rights; greater freedom of cultural expression), this research maintains that overpowering obstacles may have prevented Blacks from fully realizing the potential economic rewards of such locations (Eichenlaub, Tolnay, & Alexander, 2010; Marks, 1989, pp. 174-176). These obstacles included: the exclusion of Blacks from workplaces, public accommodations, and neighborhoods by intense racial prejudice and discrimination (Lieberson, 1980; Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1978); the disintegration of the social organization of Black communities by the cultural and psychological upheavals of an urban milieu that was alien to many of the southern migrants (Frazier, 1966); and the saturation of the labor market opportunities and occupational niches of Blacks by the heavy influx of migrants from the South (Lieberson, 1980, pp. 379-381). Thus, Hypothesis 2 is that the proportion of Black women employed in the aforementioned professional occupations was not significantly different in northern and southern cities.

Units of Analysis

Consistent with the focus of the perspective of the Black Metropolis on cities with the most substantial Black populations, the units of analysis will be the urban centers that held the nation's 25 largest Black communities in 1930 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1933b, Table 23). Fourteen of these cities are outside of the South. Called "northern" for sake of simplicity, they are Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Kansas City (Missouri), Los Angeles, New York,

Newark (New Jersey), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Saint Louis, and Washington, DC. Baltimore and Washington, DC, are classified as northern cities on the basis of a widely accepted sociological definition of the South (Reed, 1972, pp. 13-15). According to the perspective of the Black Metropolis, the Black communities of these 14 northern cities—the principal destinations of the first wave of the Great Migration—were the places that, at the time, offered the best opportunities for pursuit of the Dream of Black Metropolis (Gregory, 2005, p. 113). The 11 southern cities are Atlanta, Birmingham, Dallas, Houston, Jacksonville (Florida), Louisville, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Norfolk, and Richmond.

Data and Variables

The main dependent variables, calculated at the city level with Census data for 1930 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1933c, Table 12), measure the proportion of the employment of Black women in the six professional services occupations discussed above. These variables are computed as, $OR_x = (B_x / O_x) / (B_o / O_o)$, where: OR_x is the relative probability (that is, the odds ratio) of Black women's employment in occupation X; B_x is the number of Black women employed in occupation X; O_x is the number of non-Black women employed in occupation X; B_o is the number of Black women employed in all other occupations in the workforce; and O_o is the number of non-Black women employed in all other occupations in the workforce. OR_x is preferable to other measures of employment (e.g., a measure of occupational representation) because it is unaffected by the relative size of the workforce of the group examined (Logan, Alba, & McNulty, 1994; Wilson, 2003).

The analysis will also include two supplemental dependent variables, both of which are based on the Census-defined occupation, "nurses (not trained)." This pursuit, classified by the Census Bureau as a "domestic and personal services" occupation, provides a potentially interesting contrast with the professional services occupation, "trained nurses." The proportion of the employment of Black women as "nurses (not trained)" (calculated in the manner described above for OR_x) will be examined, along with another dependent variable, the *nursing ratio*. This ratio (NR) will be operationally defined as

the likelihood of the employment of Black women as trained nurses (OR_{TN}) divided by the likelihood of the employment of these women as untrained nurses (OR_{UN}), that is, $NR = OR_{TN} / OR_{UN}$. The values of the nursing ratio reflect the probability that Black women were employed as trained nurses relative to the probability that they were employed as untrained nurses. The perspective of the Black Metropolis holds that the opportunity structure of the urban North was superior to that of the urban South and, therefore, predicts that the values of the nursing ratio were, on the average, higher in northern cities than in southern cities.

The main independent variable is a dummy variable for region (1 = North, 0 = South). Hypothesis 1 predicts that the slope coefficient of this variable will be positive and significant. Hypothesis 2 predicts that the coefficient will be non-significant.

The other independent variables are suggested by studies reviewed earlier. The absolute size of a city's Black population in 1930 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1933b, Table 23), logged to amend its skew, is included to take account of the potential of a Black community to generate and sustain a variety of ethnicity-based institutions and subcultures (Fischer, 1975, p. 1325). A large Black population was supposedly a valuable "internal resource" for pursuit of the Dream of Black Metropolis in the early twentieth century (Gregory, 2005, p. 124). A large Black population could potentially give rise to an exploitable market of Black consumers for Black entrepreneurs, a formidable bloc of Black voters for Black politicians, and an enthusiastic audience of Black patrons for Black entertainers and artists.

The residential segregation of Blacks from Whites in 1930, measured by the index of dissimilarity, is also included as an independent variable to take account of the extent to which Blacks lived in neighborhoods with other Blacks. The studies cited earlier indicate that residential segregation by race became one of the most prominent features of urban centers in the early twentieth century (e.g., Massey & Denton, 1993). Ranging from zero to one, the index values reflect the proportion of Blacks (or Whites) that would have to move to create an "even" residential distribution of Blacks and Whites in the city—that is, a distribution in which the racial composition of each neighborhood is the same as the racial composition of the

entire city (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 20). The values of the index of dissimilarity, computed by Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor (1999) with Census data, were accessed from the website, <trinity.aas.duke.edu/~vigdor/segregation>, which is maintained by the last author. Although these values are based on wards, they "provide a reasonably accurate view of segregation levels" for cities during the study period (Cutler, Glaeser, & Vigdor, 1999, p. 499).

Values of the index were missing for Birmingham, Dallas, Houston, and Norfolk and were estimated with linear interpolation using the index values of other time-points in the data set cited above. The ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression results obtained in the analyses that included the estimated values (Table 2) were virtually identical ($r = 0.991$) to OLS regression results obtained in analyses that excluded the missing values (available on request). The substantive interpretations of the two sets of estimates, moreover, were exactly the same.

Results and Discussion

The estimates of the regression analyses in Table 2 show that, for three of the six professional occupations examined, the employment of Black women was significantly more likely in the large Black communities of the urban North than in those of the urban South. Hence, there is mixed support for Hypothesis 1, which predicted, based on the perspective of the Black Metropolis, that in the wake of the first wave of the Great Migration, opportunities for Black women to enter these occupations were greater in northern cities than in southern cities.

The employment of these women as musicians and teachers of music and as artists, sculptors, and teachers of art was, in accord with this perspective, significantly more likely in the urban North than in the urban South (b 's = 0.31 and 0.08). Perhaps this was because, in the large Black communities of northern cities, Black women had unique opportunities to become affiliated with the entertainment and artistic subcultures that arose in such places after the first wave of the Great Migration. The perspective of the Black Metropolis holds that these subcultures were particularly vibrant in the large Black communities of the urban North and had no counterparts in the urban South (Gregory, 2005, pp. 124-142). In the northern

communities, there were greater opportunities for Black musicians to entertain White and racially mixed audiences and for Black artists to exhibit their work in White-owned art galleries and to secure the support of White patrons. There were also greater opportunities for Black musicians and artists to have useful interactions with Whites in these and other creative fields. Such opportunities, the perspective of the Black Metropolis argues, were virtually nonexistent—and almost unimaginable—in the South in the early twentieth century (Gregory, 2005, p. 124).

Table 2. Regression Analyses of the Employment of Black Women in the 25 Largest Urban Black Communities, 1930 (continued next page)

<i>Occupations</i>	Region (1 = North)		Black population (logged)		Residential segregation	
	<i>Slope</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Slope</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Slope</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Musicians and teachers of music	0.31**	< 0.01	-0.01	0.40	0.18	0.19
Social and welfare workers	0.20**	0.01	-0.10**	0.01	0.52**	0.01
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art ^a	0.08*	0.03	< 0.01	0.47	-0.01	0.46
Trained nurses	0.01	0.45	0.01	0.36	0.19	0.12
Teachers (school)	-0.03	0.37	< 0.01	0.47	-0.34	0.12
Librarians ^b	-0.06	0.13	-0.01	0.40	0.14	0.19
Nurses (not trained)	-0.93**	< 0.01	0.15	0.14	0.62	0.19
Nursing ratio	0.20	0.06	-0.01	0.43	0.25	0.25

Notes: Occupations are ranked by the value of the partial slope coefficient of the region dummy variable. All p-values are one-tailed.

** $p \leq 0.01$, $p \leq 0.05$ (one-tailed tests)

a Missing Birmingham, Jacksonville, Nashville, and Pittsburgh.

b Missing Birmingham and Jacksonville.

Also consistent with the Black Metropolis perspective, the employment of Black women as social and welfare workers was significantly more likely in the urban North than in the urban South ($b = 0.20$), indicating that in the former region, Black women had greater opportunities to perform social

work in Black communities. Perhaps in the less traditional and less restrictive cultural and political milieus of northern cities, Black women encountered fewer obstacles to entering the field of social work. Perhaps, too, there were, in these cities, special needs for social welfare services in Black communities—for example, the need to help the southern migrants adjust to their new surroundings (Grossman, 1989)—that created opportunities for Black women to become social workers.

Table 2. Regression Analyses of the Employment of Black Women in the 25 Largest Urban Black Communities, 1930 (continued from previous page)

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>Intercept</i>	<i>Adj. R2</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Musicians and teachers of music	0.22	0.67	< 0.01
Social and welfare workers	1.05	0.61	< 0.01
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art ^a	0.01	0.21	0.07
Trained nurses	-0.09	0.03	0.32
Teachers (school)	0.57	0.04	0.29
Librarians ^b	0.13	-0.07	0.68
Nurses (not trained)	-0.72	0.43	< 0.01
Nursing ratio	0.15	0.18	0.07

Notes: Occupations are ranked by the value of the partial slope coefficient of the region dummy variable. All p-values are one-tailed.

** $p \leq 0.01$, $p \leq 0.05$ (one-tailed tests)

a Missing Birmingham, Jacksonville, Nashville, and Pittsburgh.

b Missing Birmingham and Jacksonville.

If White social workers, wishing to avoid contact with Blacks, were unwilling to provide such services, then the resulting dearth of social workers would have enhanced opportunities for Black women to provide social welfare services in Black communities. This racial avoidance explanation, while speculative, is bolstered by the significant, positive association of the likelihood of Black women's employment as social and welfare workers with residential segregation by race ($b = 0.52$).

The association implies that the opportunities for Black women to become social and welfare workers were most auspicious in those cities in which Whites made their greatest efforts to spatially distance themselves from Black communities.

However, contrary to the perspective of the Black Metropolis, the employment of Black women as school teachers, trained nurses, or librarians was no more likely in the urban North than in the urban South. Thus, in support of Hypothesis 2, the opportunities for Black women to enter the occupations that were mainstays of a class of Black professional women (Shaw, 1996) were no better in northern cities than in southern cities. True, the nursing ratio for Black women was, in agreement with the Black Metropolis perspective, greater in the urban North ($b = 0.20$). Yet, this regional difference was only marginally significant ($p = 0.06$), and it was due mainly to the significantly lower likelihood of Black women's employment as untrained nurses in northern cities compared to southern cities ($b = -0.93$). Perhaps the opportunities for Black women to avoid the lowly pursuit of untrained nursing, a domestic and personal services occupation, were greater in the urban North because of the more diversified industrial economies of the region.

Conclusions

The regional equality of the employment of Black women as school teachers and trained nurses undermines a key assertion of the perspective of the Black Metropolis. These occupations were the professional services in which the largest numbers of Black women were employed in the early twentieth century (Table 1). Thus, the findings suggest that the overall chances of Black women becoming professional services workers in municipally-supported institutions, such as schools and hospitals (as well as libraries), were not substantively different in northern cities than in southern cities after the first wave of the Great Migration. It follows that, during this time, the large Black communities of the urban North, despite their numerous advantages, were far more limited in their potential to offer opportunities for Black women to become professional services workers than the perspective of the Black Metropolis has

implied. This conclusion accords with the "revisionist view" that challenges the conventional wisdom that, in the aftermath of the Great Migration, urban centers outside the South were springboards for Blacks' socioeconomic advancement (Eichenlaub et al., 2010).

Why were the opportunities for Black women in northern cities relatively limited? Perhaps it was because of greater barriers to enter professional occupations in these cities. Consider the case of teaching. The formal educational requirements for school teachers were often much higher in the North than in the South. In point of fact, it was common in the early twentieth century for southern schools to hire uncertified Black teachers, who could then be paid substandard salaries (Myrdal, 1944, p. 320). In addition, because of the *de jure* racial segregation of schools in the South, Black teachers in the region had "a complete monopoly on the jobs in Negro schools." Conversely, in the North, where schools were less likely to be racially segregated, it was more difficult for Black teachers to secure employment because of racial discrimination (Myrdal, 1944, p. 319).

It follows, too, that during the early twentieth century, the best prospects for Black women to become professional workers were found in a narrow range of occupations that were anchored in the large Black communities of northern cities. These were occupations that were affiliated with the entertainment and artistic subcultures of these communities—namely, musicians and teachers of music, and artists, sculptors, and teachers of art—and occupations that delivered much-needed public services to their residents—namely, social and welfare workers. To some extent, then, the Black Metropolis of the urban North did offer superior opportunities for Black women to enter professional services occupations in the early twentieth century. But these opportunities were limited to occupations in which relatively few Black women were employed (Table 1), that is, occupations that had little potential to substantially expand the class of Black professional women during this time.

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Appendix

Table A. Occupations in the 25 Largest Black Communities, 1930.

Occupations	Mean	SD
Nurses (unskilled)	0.81	0.56
Musicians and teachers of music	0.37	0.21
Teachers (school)	0.34	0.18
Social and welfare workers	0.29	0.21
Trained nurses	0.13	0.10
Librarians ^a	0.07	0.09
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art ^b	0.07	0.07
Nursing ratio	0.24	0.24
Black population (logged)	11.24	0.63
Residential segregation	0.50	0.17
Region (1 = North)	0.56	0.51

^a Missing Birmingham and Jacksonville.^b Missing Birmingham, Jacksonville, Nashville, and Pittsburgh.

Specialists, Generalists, and Policy Advocacy by Charitable Nonprofit Organizations

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Previous research finds modest levels of engagement in policy advocacy by charitable nonprofits, despite legal regulations permitting nonprofit advocacy and the significance of public policy to nonprofit constituencies. This paper examines nonprofit involvement in policy advocacy using survey data from Boston, Massachusetts. Nonprofit participation in policy advocacy is associated with professionalization, resource dependence, features of the institutional environment, and organizational characteristics such as size and mission. Drawing from population ecology theory, we examine an additional aspect of organizational mission: whether a nonprofit serves a specialized or general population. We find that nonprofits serving specialized populations are more likely to participate in policy advocacy than nonprofits serving the general population.

Key words: nonprofit organizations, policy advocacy, population ecology, specialist, generalist, resource dependence

Charitable nonprofit organizations provide a diverse range of services, from homeless shelters and community-based health clinics to after-school enrichment programs and environmental conservation. As governments contract out the provision of important public services to nonprofits, these organizations play an increasingly important role in public policies on the ground (Balassiano & Chandler, 2010; Hoefer & Ferguson, 2007; Salamon, 1995; Smith & Lipskey, 1993; Smith & Pekkanen, 2012). As providers of public services, charitable

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nonprofits are sites for the implementation and enactment of public policy. The capacities and effectiveness of these organizations are impacted by those very same policies, especially in terms of government funding allocations and rules governing client eligibility for government-funded services. Despite the growing importance of public policy for the nonprofit sector, previous research finds that charitable nonprofits engage in modest levels of advocacy, particularly lobbying (Bass, Arons, Guinane, & Cartier, 2007; Berry & Arons, 2003; Jenkins, 2006). The low rate of advocacy by public charities is puzzling, given legal regulations that permit nonprofits to engage in advocacy, and in particular, the potential significance of public policy for the populations they serve. As Berry and Arons note, "the lack of political involvement by nonprofits works against the interests of those people who have no one else to represent them" (2003, p. 25).

In this study we analyze survey data from nonprofit organizations in Boston, Massachusetts, to examine the involvement of charitable nonprofits in policy advocacy—work focused on policy issues related to the interests of groups served by nonprofit organizations. A growing body of research explains advocacy engagement by charitable nonprofits by drawing on explanations from organizational sociology, including attention to professionalization, resource dependence, institutionalism, and organizational characteristics. This paper argues for an expanded conception of organizational mission that considers how the narrow or broad scope of a nonprofit's service population influences nonprofit engagement in policy advocacy.

Defining Nonprofit Policy Advocacy

Policy advocacy is a particular type of activity aimed at changing or preventing changes in the policies that directly impact nonprofit organizations and their constituents (Andrews & Edwards, 2004; Boris & Mosher-Williams, 1998). Although advocacy work is often secondary to the service-focused mission of charitable nonprofits (Berry & Arons, 2003; Kimberlin, 2010), it has great potential to impact nonprofit organizations and their constituents. By engaging in policy advocacy, nonprofit organizations can protect existing government programs that serve nonprofit clients (Chin, 2009),

promote government policies that support nonprofit missions (Boris & Mosher-Williams, 1998), increase opportunities for nonprofits to garner government funding (Mosley, 2010), empower citizens (LeRoux, 2007; Marwell, 2004; McNutt & Boland, 2007), help to set the public agenda (Schmid, Bar, & Nirel, 2008), and impact policy implementation (Nicholson-Crotty, 2009).

Given the increasing importance of charitable nonprofits in the provision of social services, this paper focuses on policy advocacy by charitable nonprofits, service providing organizations with tax-exemption under section 501(c)3 of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code (Freemont-Smith, 2004). This legal status exempts nonprofits from paying federal income tax and enables them to raise funds from private donors whose donations are tax deductible. (For a review of advocacy activity by other tax-exempt organizations see Andrews & Edwards, 2004; Freemont-Smith, 2004; MacIndoe, 2010; or Minkoff, Aisenbrey, & Agnone, 2005.) Charitable nonprofits risk losing their tax-exempt status if found in violation of IRS regulations which restrict them from attempting to influence legislation as a "substantial part" of their activities (Internal Revenue Service, 2012). This ambiguous guideline regarding lobbying expenses is often cited as having a chilling effect on nonprofit advocacy (Bass et al., 2007). In 1976, the IRS established the "501(h) election" a set of specific expenditure guidelines for lobbying activities. Nonprofits can easily opt into the 501(h) election, which can be made irrespective of the extent of nonprofit advocacy. Regardless of their involvement in lobbying and other advocacy activities, charitable nonprofits are prohibited from endorsing or campaigning for candidates for public office.

Theoretical Framework

A review of the growing literature on nonprofit advocacy indicates that previous research focuses on four sets of factors that influence nonprofit advocacy: rationalization and professionalization, resource dependence, institutional factors, and organizational characteristics.

Rationalization and Professionalization

Rationalization refers to the adoption of formal roles, rules

and structures within an organization designed to systematically allocate resources to meet diverse organizational goals (Weber, 1978). As nonprofit organizations become more rationalized, not only their structures, but also their strategies and activities, reflect their increasingly formalized status (Abzug & Galaskiewicz, 2001; Hwang & Powell, 2009). The growth of rationalization in the nonprofit sector can be seen in trends such as the collection of organizational data (Stoecker, 2007), the adoption of outcome measures (Barman & MacIndoe, 2012; Benjamin, 2008; MacIndoe & Barman, forthcoming), and the use of information technology (McNutt & Boland, 1999). With respect to rules impacting advocacy, nonprofit organizations may adopt the 501(h) election, a set of guidelines for lobbying expenditures (Freemont-Smith, 2004). These rules offer nonprofits a legitimate process for reporting lobbying expenses, regardless of the extent of nonprofit advocacy.

Professionalization is an additional feature that often accompanies organizational rationalization. Professionalization refers to the certification of expert knowledge through specialized training and demarcated occupational jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988). Within the nonprofit sector, professionalization refers to a shift from volunteers and part-time staff to full-time paid staff, as well as reliance on leaders with substantive expertise related to the organization's mission (Hoefler, 2000). Previous research finds that the presence of personnel with specific expertise (Mosley, 2010), the use of full-time staff members (Hoefler, 2000), and the adoption of a formal legal status that allows particular types of advocacy activity (Kerlin & Reid, 2010) all facilitate nonprofit advocacy.

(H1.1) Nonprofit organizations that adopt the 501(h) election, a set of rules governing the reporting of lobbying expenses, will be more likely to engage in advocacy.

(H1.2) Nonprofit organizations with more capacity as evidenced by a full-time staff will be more likely to engage in advocacy.

(H1.3) Nonprofit organizations led by managers with a management degree in business or nonprofit management will be more likely to participate in advocacy.

Resource Dependence

According to resource dependence theory “the key to organizational survival is the ability to acquire and maintain resources [from the external environment]” (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. 2). Organizations act to reduce uncertainties that arise as a result of their dependence on other organizational actors for financial and other resources (Hillman, Withers & Collins, 2009; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Charitable nonprofits, like other organizations, are constrained by their need to obtain resources to provide services and fulfill their missions (Bielefeld, 1992; Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998). In recent decades, government funding has become a vital component of nonprofit budgets, particularly human service nonprofits (Salamon, 1995; Schmid et al., 2008; Smith & Lipsky, 1993). As a consequence, research on the role of resource dependence in shaping nonprofit advocacy primarily focuses on how government funding facilitates—or constrains—nonprofit participation in advocacy (Chaves, Stephens, & Galaskiewicz, 2004; Kimberlin, 2010).

Studies examining how government funding influences nonprofit advocacy have produced conflicting results (Nicholson-Crotty, 2009). Some scholars find that the extent of government funding increases nonprofit engagement in advocacy (Chaves et al., 2004; Donaldson, 2008; LeRoux, 2007; Mosley, 2011; O'Regan & Oster, 2002). Nonprofits are thought to engage in advocacy to safeguard funding or look for new sources of funding. Conversely, other research finds that dependence on government funding decreases nonprofit involvement in advocacy (Child & Grønberg, 2007; Guo & Saxton, 2010; Kerlin & Reid, 2010; Schmid et al., 2008). Berry & Arons (2003) found a great extent of misunderstanding among charitable nonprofits about the nature and degree of legally permissible advocacy activities. Along with other researchers (Child & Grønberg, 2007; Kerlin & Reid, 2010), they conclude that nonprofits may avoid advocacy because they fear the loss of their tax-exempt status and the ability to raise tax-deductible donations (Berry & Arons, 2003).

Recent research has also explored how nonprofit reliance on foundation grants impacts involvement in advocacy (Bass et al., 2007). Some studies indicate that foundations make cautious and incremental efforts to effect policy (Ferris, Hentschke,

& Harmssen, 2008) and that foundation funding lags behind other proponents of social change (Jenkins & Eckert, 1986). Other research finds that foundations selectively engage in advocacy and fund social change efforts in particular areas (Bartley, 2007; McKersie, 1997; Silver, 2001).

Competition for resources might also shape nonprofit advocacy work. As competition for government funding has increased, researchers find that nonprofits feel they must engage in advocacy to protect resources (Suarez & Hwang, 2008). Alternatively, nonprofits might not want to stand out from the crowd by participating in political activities that could offend cautious foundation funders. When nonprofits rely heavily on government funding or foundation grants, managers must carefully consider how policy advocacy might jeopardize—or safeguard—such vital funding streams.

Nonprofit organizations can adopt a variety of strategies to reduce their dependence on resource providers. Nonprofits might work to increase organizational slack by establishing endowments (Bowman, Keating & Hager, 2006) or diversifying their revenue streams (Froelich, 1999). Studies of nonprofit budgets have found that revenues tend to be concentrated in a few funding sources (Grønbjerg, 1993; Milofsky & Romo, 1988). Nonprofits that are able to secure revenues from a variety of sources may be more likely to engage in advocacy since they are less reliant on the dictates of a few dominant funders. In addition, according to Bass and his colleagues, "the more money an organization has, and from more different sources, the more likely it can employ policy staff and be heavily engaged in advocacy" (2007, p. 196).

(H2.1) Greater reliance on government funding will increase nonprofit participation in advocacy.

(H2.2) Greater reliance on foundation funding will decrease nonprofit participation in advocacy.

(H2.3) Nonprofits that experience higher levels of competition for government funding will be more likely to engage in advocacy.

(H2.4) Nonprofits that experience higher levels of competition for private funding will be less likely to engage in advocacy.

(H2.5) Nonprofits with concentrated revenue streams will be less likely to engage in advocacy.

Institutional Environment

Like other organizations, charitable nonprofits are embedded in organizational fields of actors including resource providers, government regulators, clients, and organizational partners that shape how they pursue their missions (DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The concept of organizational imprinting suggests that the institutional environment at the time an organization is founded may be particularly influential for subsequent activities (Stinchcombe, 1965). For example, in a study of Indiana nonprofits, Child and Gronjberg (2007) found that nonprofit organizations established in the 1990s, a period characterized as a hostile environment to nonprofits (Cox & McCloskey, 1996), are less likely to engage in advocacy. Nonprofits that perceive hostile policy environments are likely to avoid direct advocacy efforts and focus instead on service provision or grassroots organizing (Nicholson-Crotty, 2009). In contrast, Gormley and Cymrot (2006) find that the perception of threats in the policy environment make nonprofits more likely to engage in advocacy work.

Prior research suggests that the institutional policy environment may have an important influence on a nonprofit's decision to engage in policy advocacy. For nonprofit organizations, the legislative period of the 1990s may be particularly influential. The Istook Amendment, proposed during the 104th Congress (1995-1996), would have placed extensive restrictions on the civic engagement and advocacy work of charitable nonprofits (Cox & McCloskey, 1996). Though ultimately unsuccessful, this legislation is indicative of the restrictive policy environment during this time period which discouraged nonprofit advocacy (Bass et al., 2007).

(H3) Nonprofit organizations established during the restrictive policy environment of the 1990s will be less likely to engage in advocacy.

Organizational Characteristics

Studies of nonprofit advocacy find that organizational characteristics, notably size and mission, significantly influence engagement in advocacy work. Larger nonprofit organizations, as evidenced by staff size or higher budgetary expenditures, are more likely to engage in policy advocacy (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007; Nicholson-Crotty, 2009). Organizational age is often included as a control variable but does not significantly impact advocacy participation (Suarez & Hwang, 2008; Mosley, 2010).

Since organizational mission is thought to align closely with policy arenas, previous research focuses on how the primary field of nonprofit activity (e.g., human services) impacts advocacy (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007; Smith & Pekkanen, 2012). Organizational mission in studies of nonprofit organizations is measured using the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE). The NTEE is a nationally recognized taxonomy of U.S. nonprofit organizations developed in 1987 by the National Center for Charitable Statistics at the Urban Institute (Barman, 2013; Hodgkinson, 1990). The NTEE is used by scholars, government agencies and nonprofit practitioners. Sociologists have also used the NTEE to measure organizational mission in studies of nonprofit advocacy (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007), inter-organizational relations among nonprofits (Blau & Rabrenovic, 1991), and nonprofit commercial revenue (Child, 2010). The Internal Revenue Service uses the NTEE when determining nonprofit tax-exempt status. Finally, the NTEE is utilized by nonprofit practitioners such as Guidestar, a website that promotes transparency in the nonprofit sector by providing public access to nonprofit tax filings, and Charity Navigator, a watchdog organization that rates charitable nonprofits.

The NTEE classifies nonprofits into major groups based on their primary field of activity (Sumariwalla, 1986). Prior research finds that nonprofits with environmental, rights-based, or social change missions are more likely to engage in advocacy than nonprofit organizations with other missions, such as human service nonprofits (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007; LeRoux, 2007; Suarez & Hwang, 2008). This research distinguishes between categories of nonprofit mission (e.g., environmental versus human service) but fails to account for how other aspects of nonprofit mission might impact advocacy. We

discuss additional aspects of organizational mission in the following section.

(H4.1) Larger nonprofit organizations will be more likely to participate in policy advocacy.

(H4.2) Nonprofits with environmental and public benefit missions will be more likely to engage in advocacy.

Specialist/Generalist Orientation

Previous research on nonprofit advocacy takes three approaches to nonprofit mission. First, some studies focus on one type of nonprofit organization, for example human service nonprofits (e.g., Mosley, 2010; Nicholson-Crotty, 2007, 2009). This approach facilitates a focus on one set of nonprofits, however a great deal of variation within mission still exists. For example, human service nonprofits include such diverse entities as child care facilities, soup kitchens, and job training organizations. In a second approach, researchers examine large heterogeneous samples of nonprofits and define nonprofit mission using the NTEE, the established national classification system for nonprofits (e.g., Child & Grønbjerg, 2007; Suárez & Hwang, 2008). In a third approach, scholars have argued for an expanded classification of nonprofits which combines traditional rights-based definitions of advocacy with a broader conceptualization based on civic engagement (Boris & Mosher-Williams, 1998). This critique of organizational mission as an explanation of nonprofit advocacy is seconded by one that notes that the measure of nonprofit mission in national datasets is often based on information obtained at the time of organizational founding (Smith & Pekkanen, 2012). Nonprofit missions can shift over time, making a nonprofit more or less likely to engage in advocacy.

In this paper, we join previous critiques of how nonprofit mission is accounted for in studies of nonprofit advocacy by arguing that organizational mission encompasses more than the major field of nonprofit activity. For example, organizational mission can be circumscribed by geography (e.g., a nonprofit serving a specific neighborhood) or be defined by a particular scope (e.g., a focus on clean energy as opposed to all

environmental concerns). We look to the theory of population ecology in organizational sociology to suggest an additional way to account for variation in nonprofit mission by focusing on whether nonprofits are generalists or specialists (Hannan & Freeman, 1977, 1983).

Distinguishing between nonprofit specialists and generalists—organizations that focus on providing a narrow versus a broad range of services—enables us to consider how this additional aspect of organizational mission might impact nonprofit engagement in policy advocacy. Our conceptualization of nonprofit specialists and generalists draws from Hannan and Freeman's (1977, 1983) theory of population ecology which seeks to explain the survival, growth, and death of organizational populations. A foundational concept in population ecology is the environmental "niche," which is defined as the resource space within which organizations operate (Carroll, 1985; Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Organizational survival is linked to the fit between organizations and their resource environment or niche. Some environments favor organizations that specialize, while others favor organizations that generalize.

In stable resource environments with reliable resource flows and low competition, specialist organizations will outperform generalists, because resources are abundant organizations can specialize (providing a narrow product or service) without concern of being restricted by their resource environment. In contrast, generalist organizations are more successful in competitive, dynamic resource environments (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Generalists are better suited than specialists to turbulent organizational environments marked by varying resource levels and changing preferences. For example, if the preferences of resource providers shift, a generalist nonprofit that provides a broader range of services is more likely to succeed in such a changing resource environment. In contrast, a specialist organization might be at greater risk in a turbulent environment if the services a nonprofit offers, and the services that resources providers are interested in funding, no longer match.

Nonprofit organizations vary in their degree of specialization. Research examining nonprofits employs several different approaches to defining specialists and generalists. For example, studies that define nonprofit specialists and generalists focus

on: the characteristics of the nonprofit service population (e.g., Archibald, 2007), the geographic focus of the nonprofit (e.g., Guo & Brown, 2006); the number or extent of programs and services offered (e.g., Tucker, Singh, & Meinhard, 1990); or the distribution of organizational resources (e.g., Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998). Tucker, Singh and Meinhard (1990) classify voluntary social service organizations as generalists if they operate in a single domain, providing one main service to a specific population. A nonprofit organization offering settlement assistance to new immigrants operates within a single domain and is classified as a specialist organization, while a nonprofit providing medical, legal and counseling services to immigrants operates in multiple domains and is considered generalist. Another approach distinguishes generalists and specialists according to the levels of socio-demographic diversity within a nonprofit's membership base (McPherson, 1983; McPherson & Rotolo, 1996; Stern, 1999). Attention to the specialist or generalist orientation of a nonprofit's service population provides an additional way to explore how nonprofit mission impacts whether an organization will participate in policy advocacy.

(H5) Nonprofit organizations serving a specialized population will be more likely to engage in advocacy than nonprofits that serve the general population.

Methods

Data and Sample

We examine nonprofit participation in policy advocacy by analyzing survey data from executive directors of nonprofits in Boston, Massachusetts. Nonprofit managers were asked about a range of organizational attributes and practices, including their participation in advocacy activities. The sample, stratified by mission, size, and geographic location, was drawn from the Business Master File maintained by the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS) at the Urban Institute. The sample focused on service providing nonprofit organizations and excluded organizations without a primary focus on providing services, as well as religious organizations that are not required to register with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS),

smaller nonprofits that are not required to file a tax return with the IRS, and mutual benefit organizations which only provide services to members (as opposed to the general public). Aside from the exclusions noted above, the distribution of nonprofit mission and organizational size in the sample is comparable to nonprofits across Massachusetts (MacIndoe & Barman, 2009). The University of Chicago Survey Lab administered the online survey between September 2008 and February 2009 and achieved a sixty-three percent response rate ($N = 379$).

Dependent Variable

The dichotomous dependent variable measures nonprofit participation in policy advocacy through responses to the survey question: "Does your organization engage in policy advocacy by officially supporting certain positions on policy issues or on issues related to the interests of certain groups?" About half (48.8%) of nonprofits participated in public policy.

Independent Variables

Rationalization/Professionalization. The model includes three dichotomous measures: (1) if a nonprofit took the 501(h) election; (2) if a nonprofit has full-time, paid staff; and (3) if the nonprofit director has a master's degree in business administration or nonprofit management.

Resource dependence. The model includes five measures: (1) whether a nonprofit reported government funding as their first or second largest revenue source; (2) whether a nonprofit reported foundation funding as their first or second largest revenue source; (3) a scale ranging from 0 to 3 capturing nonprofits' reported competition for government funding with other nonprofits, for-profits, and/or government agencies; (4) a scale capturing nonprofits' reported degree of competition for private funding; and (5) a measure of nonprofit revenue diversification, the Hirschman-Herfindahl Index (HHI), which takes on values between 0 and 1. Higher values indicate that nonprofit revenue is more concentrated in fewer sources. The HHI measure is calculated using six types of nonprofit revenue available in the NCCS data (contributions, program revenues, dues, investment income, special event income and other income) (Carroll & Stater, 2009; Frumkin & Keating, 2011).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable & Source ^{a,b}	Mean	Min	Max	S.D.	Operationalization
<i>Dependent Variable</i>					
Participation in Policy Advocacy ^a	0.49	0	1	0.50	Does your organization work to support positions on policy issues or on issues related to the interests of certain groups?
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
Professionalization and Rationalization					
501(h) Election ^b	0.06	0	1	0.24	Nonprofit takes 501(h) election to report advocacy expenses
Full-time staff ^a	0.78	0	1	0.41	Nonprofit has paid full-time staff
Management degree ^a	0.23	0	1	0.49	Executive director has MBA or MA in non-profit management
Resource Dependence					
Government funding ^a	0.42	0	1	0.47	Government funding is top 1 or 2 source of revenue
Foundation funding ^a	0.32	0	1	0.49	Foundation funding is top 1 or 2 source of revenue
Competition for government funding ^a	1.06	0	3	0.90	Competition with nonprofits, for-profits and government agencies
Competition for private funding ^a	1.24	0	3	0.81	Competition with nonprofits, for-profits and government agencies
Funding diversification ^b	0.48	0	1	0.36	Hirschman-Herfindahl Index, higher value: more concentrated
Institutional Environment					
Restrictive policy environment ^b	0.32	0	1	0.47	Nonprofit established during 1990s
Organizational Characteristics					
Age ^b	23	1	86	18.70	Age in 2009 based on IRS rule date
Size ^b	13.22	8.66	19.10	1.79	Natural log of annual expenses
Field of Activity ^c					
Arts ^b	0.21	0	1	0.41	e.g. museums, performing arts orgs.
Education ^b	0.20	0	1	0.40	e.g. adult education, libraries, after-school education programs
Environment ^b	0.05	0	1	0.22	e.g. environmental preservation, botanic gardens
Health ^b	0.05	0	1	0.22	e.g. community health clinics, hospices, substance abuse
Human Services ^b	0.24	0	1	0.43	e.g. food banks, housing, YMCAs, shelters, family services
Public Benefit ^b	0.25	0	1	0.43	e.g. neighborhood associations, rights orgs.
Specialist/Generalist ^a	0.54	0	1	0.5	Nonprofit serves a specialized population

a=Data source: BANS Survey, Boston Area Nonprofit Study. b=Data source: NCCS data, National Center for Charitable Statistics. c=Classified using National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities.

Institutional environment. The model includes one measure that captures how the institutional environment might impact nonprofit advocacy: an indicator if a nonprofit was established during the 1990s, an inhospitable policy environment for nonprofits.

Organizational characteristics. Organizational size is measured as the natural log of annual organizational expenses in 2009. Organizational age in 2009 is calculated using the year of IRS registration. Nonprofit mission is measured using the National Taxonomy for Exempt Entities (NTEE), the national standard for classifying nonprofit organizations by their primary tax-exempt purpose (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007; Hodgkinson, 1990). The taxonomy was developed in 1987 by the National Center for Charitable Statistics at the Urban Institute (Barman, 2013). Following previous studies of nonprofit organizations (e.g., Blau & Rabrenovic, 1991; Boris & Mosher-Williams, 1998; Child, 2010; Child & Grønbjerg, 2007) we use the following major NTEE categories to characterize mission: arts, education, environment, health, human service and public benefit. Please see Table 1 for examples of nonprofits in each mission category. Our sample did not include nonprofits from three additional NTEE categories: international, religious, and mutual benefit organizations.

Generalist/Specialist orientation. In order to define whether a nonprofit is a specialist or a generalist, we follow previous research that classifies specialists according to the range of an organization's service population (McPherson & Rotolo, 1996; Tucker et al., 1990). The variable used in the analysis is constructed from responses to the survey question: "Please indicate which groups your organizations specifically aims to serve through its programs and activities." Respondents were asked to check all that apply from the following list: "general population (no specific subgroups), children/adolescents, disabled, families, minorities (immigrants, cultural ethnicities), seniors, veterans, women and other." In addition to the survey data, the home pages of nonprofit websites were examined to see how nonprofit organizations defined their service populations, and this information was cross-referenced with their survey responses. The variable used in the analysis is coded 0 for nonprofit organizations that selected only the "general population (no specific subgroups)" and coded 1 for nonprofit

organizations that selected one or more specific service populations. Table 2 shows the distribution of specialists and generalists in the sample. Just over half of nonprofits in the sample (54.4%) are specialists, organizations that serve specific populations as opposed to the general public.

Table 2. Nonprofit Generalists and Specialists and Participation in Advocacy

Population Served	All Nonprofits		Participate in Advocacy?	
	N	%	N	%
General population	173	45.6	74	42.8
Specialist population	206	54.4	111	53.9
Total Sample	379	100	185	48.8

Table 3. Nonprofit Generalists and Specialists and Participation in Advocacy

Field of Activity	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	All Nonprofits		Participate in Advocacy?		Nonprofit is Specialist	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Arts & Culture	79	20.8	20	25.3	11	13.9
Education	75	19.8	30	40.0	58	67.7
Environment	19	5.0	11	57.9	2	11.8
Health	20	5.3	9	45.0	9	53.5
Human Services	92	24.3	51	55.4	72	74.0
Public Benefit	94	24.8	64	68.1	54	52.7
Total	379	100	185	48.8	206	54.4

Findings and Discussion

Descriptive Findings

Approximately half (48.8%) of the nonprofits in the study participated in policy advocacy (Table 2, Column 4). In Berry and Arons’ (2003) seminal study of nonprofit advocacy, twenty-four percent of nonprofits in a national survey were politically active. However, our findings accord with more recent

Table 4. Correlations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. 501(h) Election	-																
2. Full-time staff	-.02	-															
3. Mgmt degree	.03	.18***	-														
4. Gov't funding	-.01	.28***	.07	-													
5. Foundation funding	-.03	.22***	.10**	.17***	-												
6. Competition: Govt. funding	-.05	.23***	.07	.37***	.02	-											
7. Competition: Private funding	-.04	.22***	.07	.19***	.09*	.48***	-										
8. Resource diversification	.06	-.04	-.02	.03	.13**	-.05	-.06	-									
9. Restrictive policy environment	.03	-.12**	.03	.03	.16**	.00	.01	.18***	-								
10. Age	.09*	.11**	.03	.02	-.12**	.03	.02	-.18***	-.36***	-							
11. Size	.16***	.35***	-.03	.14**	-.13**	.13**	.12**	-.13**	-.33***	.39***	-						
12. Arts	-.05	-.20***	-.02	-.24***	-.06	-.12**	-.09*	-.04	-.03	-.02	-.20***	-					
13. Education	-.05	.09*	.02	-.05	.00	.01	.00	.02	.03	.05	.00	-.29***	-				
14. Environment	.04	-.02	-.09*	-.09*	.00	-.16***	-.07	.13**	-.11**	-.02	-.06	.39***	-.11**	-			
15. Health	.04	.07	.02	.00	-.16**	.04	.09*	-.11**	-.09*	-.02	.20***	-.14**	-.12**	-.05	-		
16. Public Benefit	.10**	.02	.00	.06	.17***	-.06	.00	.11**	.16**	-.13**	-.13**	-.34***	-.29***	-.13**	-.14**	-	
17. Specialist	.06	.05	.01	.09*	.01	.00	-.07	-.01	.06	.00	.16**	-.49***	.23***	-.20***	-.04	.04	-

***p<.001, **p<.05, *p<.10 (two-tailed tests).

surveys of state and metropolitan nonprofit sectors that find rates of nonprofit advocacy that approach or exceed fifty percent of the sample in their respective studies (e.g., Guo & Saxton, 2010; Mosely, 2010). Table 2 shows the division of the sample between generalists and specialists. More specialists than generalists (53.9% vs. 42.8%) participated in policy advocacy. Table 3 shows the distribution of nonprofits in our study by field of activity, participation in policy advocacy, and focus on serving a specialized population. A majority (54.4%) of the nonprofits in the study serve a specialized population (Table 2), with human service and education nonprofits having the greatest proportion of specialists (Table 3, Column 3). A majority of nonprofits in three fields of activity participated in policy advocacy (Table 3, Column 2): public benefit (68.1%), environment (57.9%), and human services (55.4%). These descriptive results show marked differences in specialists and generalists by nonprofit mission.

Logistic Regression Results

Table 4 provides correlations of the independent variables included in the analysis. Table 5 presents results from logistic regressions explaining nonprofit participation in policy advocacy. Logistic regression is appropriate given the dichotomous nature of our dependent variable, whether or not a nonprofit organization engaged in policy advocacy. With logistic regression, the regression coefficients (B_i) represent the increase in the log odds of the dependent variable. This is in contrast to ordinary least squares regression, where regression coefficients represent direct effects of independent variables on the dependent variable (Menard, 2001). When interpreting logistic regression results, it is often useful to calculate the odds ratio, the exponential function of the regression coefficient (e^{B_i}). The odds ratio is the ratio of the odds of an event (e.g., that a nonprofit organization will engage in policy advocacy) occurring in one group (e.g., nonprofits that have full-time staff), to the odds of the event occurring in another group (e.g., nonprofits that do not have full-time staff), with the other variables in the model held constant. It is often more useful to interpret the odds ratios, as opposed to the regression coefficients, when discussing logistic regression results.

Table 5. Logistic Regressions Predicting Nonprofit Involvement in Policy Advocacy (N=379)

Independent Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Odds Ratio	Coefficient (Std. Error)	Odds Ratio	Coefficient (Std. Error)
<i>Rationalization and Professionalization</i>				
501(h) Election	6.26**	1.83 (0.61)	6.32**	1.84 (0.62)
Full-time staff	2.48**	0.91 (0.36)	2.53**	0.93 (0.36)
Management degree	1.94**	0.66 (0.25)	1.94**	0.66 (0.25)
<i>Resource Dependence</i>				
Government funding	2.00**	0.69 (0.28)	2.02**	0.70 (0.28)
Foundation funding	0.97	-0.03 (0.26)	0.97	-0.03 (0.26)
Competition: Govt. funding	1.58**	0.45 (0.17)	1.59**	0.46 (0.17)
Competition: Private funding	0.86	-0.15 (0.17)	0.88	-0.13 (0.18)
Resource diversification	0.82	-0.19 (0.34)	0.85	-0.16 (0.35)
<i>Institutional Environment</i>				
Restrictive policy environment	1.00*	-0.00 (0.00)	0.99*	-0.01 (0.00)
<i>Organizational Characteristics</i>				
Age	1.00	0.00 (0.01)	1.00	0.00 (0.01)
Size	1.00*	0.00 (0.00)	1.00*	0.00 (0.00)
<i>Mission¹</i>				
Arts	0.38**	-0.96 (0.38)	0.49*	-0.72 (0.42)
Education	0.60	-0.51 (0.36)	0.60	-0.52 (0.36)
Environment	5.23**	1.65 (0.59)	5.33**	1.67 (0.59)
Health	0.66	-0.42 (0.55)	0.75	-0.29 (0.56)
Public Benefit	2.22**	0.80 (0.36)	2.42**	0.89 (0.36)
<i>Specialist/Generalist</i>		-	1.63**	0.49 (0.23)
Constant	0.61	-0.50 (1.13)	0.47	-0.75 (1.15)
Log Likelihood Chi-Square ²		438.21		428.16
Degrees of freedom		16		17

**p<.05, *p<.10 (two-tailed tests). ¹Human services is the reference category. ²The chi-square statistic is statistically significant at the .01 level (critical value=10.05, degrees of freedom=1), indicating that Model 2 is a better fit to the data.

Model 1 (Table 5) tests hypotheses concerning rationalization/professionalization, resource dependence, the institutional environment and organizational characteristics. Model 2 tests an additional hypothesis about organizational mission: whether nonprofit organizations that serve a specialized

population are more likely to participate in policy advocacy. An examination of the chi-square statistics for Models 1 and 2 (Table 5, footnote 2) indicates that the addition of the specialist variable improves the fit of the model. By including measures of organizational mission and the indicator of specialization in the regression model, our analysis controls for the effect of specialization on nonprofit engagement in policy advocacy, independent of nonprofit mission. Since the results are consistent across the models and model fit is improved in Model 2, we focus our discussion on Model 2.

In Model 2 (Table 5), we find strong support for the hypotheses concerning the influence of rationalization and professionalization on nonprofit advocacy (H1.1, H1.2, H1.3). Nonprofit organizations that adopt rules concerning the reporting of expenditures on advocacy work (the 501(h) election) are 6.3 times more likely to engage in policy advocacy than nonprofits that do not opt into this set of rules (Odds ratio = $\exp(B[501(h) \text{ Election}]) = \exp(1.84) = 6.32$). Taking the 501(h) election indicates an understanding of the tax treatment of nonprofit lobbying expenditures that may facilitate participation in advocacy more broadly (Bass et al., 2007).

Professionalization is another important predictor of nonprofit advocacy. Nonprofits with a full-time paid staff are 2.5 times more likely to participate in advocacy than nonprofits with part-time or volunteer staffs. The presence of a full-time paid staff indicates an increased capacity to engage in advocacy (Hoefer, 2000). Finally, nonprofit organizations led by executive directors with business or nonprofit management degrees are almost twice as likely to engage in advocacy work (odds ratio = 1.94). Executive directors with management credentials are exposed to a set of professionalized norms concerning policy-making and nonprofit relationships with government that may predispose them to advocacy work. An alternative explanation for our findings concerning rationalization and professionalization may be that nonprofits that are looking to begin or expand their advocacy activities take on professional, full-time staff in order to develop a policy agenda, rather than engage in advocacy due to the presence of staff. In each case, rationalization is a measure of capacity that allows organizations to develop and engage in advocacy work. The analysis indicates that this increased capacity is associated with greater

advocacy, but we do not know the temporal order. Whether (for example) increasing full-time staff precedes or follows nonprofit engagement in advocacy is a question for future research.

In contrast to the support for hypotheses concerning professionalization, we find mixed support for hypotheses drawn from resource dependence theory. Hypotheses concerning government funding (H2.1, H2.3) are supported, while hypotheses concerning foundation funding and resource diversification (H2.2, H2.4, H2.5) are not supported. Nonprofit organizations that identified government grants and contracts as their first or second largest revenue source were twice as likely to engage in advocacy as organizations without a substantial reliance on government funding. This finding concurs with previous research that finds reliance on government funding increases nonprofit advocacy (e.g., Donaldson, 2008; LeRoux, 2007; Mosley, 2010, 2011). Although reliance on government funding increases nonprofit participation in policy advocacy, reliance on foundation funding does not significantly impact nonprofit advocacy.

Interestingly, the importance of government funding is not the full story. We also find that nonprofits reporting higher amounts of competition for government funding were significantly more likely to engage in policy advocacy. This finding suggests that one reason why government-funded nonprofits might participate in advocacy is to distinguish themselves from their competitors in the quest for government support (Nicholson-Crotty, 2009). However, the influence of competition on nonprofit advocacy does not extend to competition for private funding, which does not have a significant impact on advocacy. Finally, our hypothesis that nonprofits with more diversified revenue streams would be more likely to engage in advocacy is not supported. This is curious given previous research that suggests resource diversification may offer nonprofits more independence from resource providers (Bass et al., 2007). To the extent that nonprofit advocacy is an attempt to safeguard existing or to cultivate new sources of government support, it may be that reduced reliance on government funding makes advocacy unnecessary.

We find support for our hypothesis (H3) that the institutional environment at the time of organizational founding

impacts a nonprofit's subsequent engagement in advocacy. Nonprofit organizations founded during the 1990s are slightly less likely to participate in policy advocacy than nonprofits founded at other times. This supports previous findings that the institutional environment can have long-term impacts on advocacy behavior (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007).

We find support for hypotheses related to how organizational characteristics influence advocacy (H4.1, H4.2). Larger nonprofits are significantly more likely to engage in policy advocacy. One interpretation of this finding is that larger organizations possess greater capacity—be it budget, staff, or volunteers—to engage in advocacy work which is typically ancillary to the primary service providing mission of charitable nonprofits. In addition to organizational size, we find that nonprofit mission category matters. The odds ratios in Table 5 indicate that environmental nonprofits are 5.3 times more likely than human service nonprofits to engage in policy advocacy. Similarly, public benefit nonprofits are 2.4 times more likely than human service nonprofits to engage in policy advocacy. Arts nonprofits are half as likely to engage in policy advocacy as human service organizations.

These results concerning the influence of nonprofit mission on advocacy make intuitive sense, since some nonprofits have organizational missions that more easily encompass advocacy work (Smith & Pekkanen, 2012). For example, environmental organizations may engage in advocacy to exert influence over the extensive government regulations that the environmental field experiences (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007). However, it is interesting to note the relatively high levels of policy advocacy reported across other types of nonprofit missions (e.g., Table 3, Column 2: human service: 55.4%, health: 45.0%). Looking to other aspects of organizational mission, such as the nature of the nonprofit service population, might help to explain advocacy by categories of nonprofits that are not statistically significant in the analysis of mission classifications.

We find support for the hypothesis drawn from population ecology (H5) that specialists are more likely than generalists to engage in policy advocacy. The odds ratio indicates that nonprofit organizations that serve specialized populations are 1.6 times more likely to engage in policy advocacy than nonprofits that serve the general population. This finding is important,

as it provides another way to assess the influence of organizational mission on nonprofit advocacy, by examining the narrowness or broadness of a nonprofit's service population. The model results indicate that being a specialist makes it more likely that a nonprofit organization will engage in policy advocacy, controlling for a range of other variables including nonprofit mission. Previous research has also found an association between the narrowness of the interest represented and nonprofit participation in advocacy coalitions (Hojnacki, 1997).

It may be easier for nonprofit organizations serving specialized populations to devote resources to policy advocacy. For such specialist nonprofits, all organizational effort can be expended on behalf of one set of constituents. In contrast, generalist nonprofit organizations that serve the population at large have to contend with multiple constituent groups with divergent, possibly conflicting, interests. This might necessitate that a nonprofit generalist prioritize among the interests of various groups, and justify these choices to organizational stakeholders (e.g., donors, board members, etc.).

Implications

We find that policy advocacy by charitable nonprofits is explained by whether a nonprofit serves a specialized population alongside factors drawn from organizational theory, including increased rationalization and professionalization, reliance on resource providers, the institutional policy environment, and organizational attributes like size and mission. These findings suggest important implications concerning the study of nonprofit advocacy, the evolving role of charitable nonprofit organizations in public policy, and how the engagement of nonprofit specialists in policy advocacy might be influenced by the resource environment.

Incorporate Specialist/Generalist Orientation in Studies of Nonprofit Advocacy

One implication of our analysis is that future research should consider the ways in which the broad or narrow scope of nonprofits' service population conditions their involvement in advocacy and other organizational activities. Mission is an

unquestionably important part of a nonprofit's decision to devote resources to policy advocacy. However, some scholars have raised concerns about nonprofit classifications for understanding the relationship between organizational mission and advocacy (Boris & Mosher-Williams, 1998). Distinguishing between nonprofit specialists and generalists underscores how an additional aspect of organizational mission, the narrow or broad scope of nonprofit services, impacts engagement in policy advocacy. Our study demonstrates that the nature of a nonprofit's service population plays an important role in an organization's decision to advocate.

Policy Advocacy as an Adjunct to Service Provision

An additional implication of this research involves the prevailing view of charitable nonprofits as service providers. Many scholars note the important role that nonprofit organizations serve as intermediaries between citizens and the state, building social capital in communities and empowering residents (e.g., Berry, 2005; Cohen, 2001; LeRoux, 2007; Marwell, 2004; Smith & Pekkanen, 2012; Warren, 2004). While the nonprofit sector increasingly shoulders responsibility for delivering public services (Salamon, 1995), our research joins other work that shows a substantial number of charitable nonprofits are taking on the additional responsibility of policy advocacy. In particular, we show that specialist nonprofit organizations serving narrowly targeted populations are significantly more likely to undertake policy advocacy on behalf of their constituents than are nonprofits serving the general population. As nonprofit organizations have become an integral part of the welfare state through contracting out, this research suggests that policy advocacy on behalf of specific populations may have also been outsourced alongside service provision.

Previous research explores how nonprofits can be conceptualized as interest groups (Berry & Arons, 2003) and how the various constituencies of nonprofits (e.g., clients, employees) also comprise communities of interests (Clarke, 2000). Our research compliments scholarship suggesting that a hybrid form of nonprofit organization is emerging. For example, Minkoff's (2002) study of advocacy by national nonprofit membership organizations found that these organizations increasingly incorporated service provision into their activities as a way

to promote the political and social rights of their minority members. We reach similar conclusions about the blending of service and advocacy by charitable nonprofit organizations, though our research is grounded in a study of service providers that incorporate advocacy into their work (as opposed to membership organizations that incorporate services alongside their advocacy work). Our findings indicate that nonprofit organizations respond to the needs of their constituents by supplementing service provision with advocacy. This finding may be especially salient for specialist organizations that serve historically disadvantaged client bases.

Resource Environments, Specialization, and Policy Advocacy

A further implication of this research involves predilections from population ecology theory concerning how specialists and generalist organizations fare in turbulent resource environments. As previously discussed, our findings show that nonprofit specialists are more likely to engage in policy advocacy than are nonprofit generalists. Practically, this may mean that nonprofit organizations serving minority concerns are more likely to engage in advocacy. Population ecology theory predicts that specialists will thrive in stable resource environments but may falter, relative to generalist organizations, in turbulent environments (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). This suggests that nonprofit specialist organizations may be best positioned to engage in policy advocacy when faced with stable resource environments. However, much policy change is prompted by restrictions in public or private resources. For example, Martin, Levey, and Cawley (2012) describe a “new normal” as state and local governments, operating with diminished resources, increasingly turn to the nonprofit sector as they seek to maintain service provision and to lower administrative costs. For those who see promise in our findings that nonprofits serving specialized populations are more likely to engage in policy advocacy, there should also be a note of caution, as population ecology theory establishes that these organizations (specialists) face greater challenges in difficult resource environments—the precise conditions when policy advocacy is often most necessary to safeguard funding, or to protect the interests of nonprofit constituents.

Study Limitations

The analysis in this paper should be framed by some caveats. Since the focus of this research is service-providing charitable nonprofits, the data from this study do not permit us to assess the advocacy activity of smaller grassroots nonprofits that comprise an important part of the nonprofit sector (Smith, 1997, 2000). In addition, this study is based on a sample of nonprofits located Boston, Massachusetts. While much research on the nonprofit sector is based on analyses of specific regions (e.g., Grønbjerg & Paarlberg, 2001), our study's focus on one city may limit the generalizability of our findings.

Conclusion

This paper examines explanations for the engagement of charitable nonprofit organizations in policy advocacy. Our findings expand previous research on nonprofit advocacy by applying a population ecology lens, which indicates that nonprofit organizations serving specialized populations are more likely to engage in policy advocacy. Population ecology theorizes that specialist organizations should outperform generalist organizations in unstable environments (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Future studies of nonprofit advocacy might investigate how the policy advocacy of specialists and generalists nonprofits is shaped by favorable and unfavorable policy environments. Finally, additional research on nonprofit advocacy could investigate the strategies and resources used in policy advocacy of specialists and generalists nonprofits.

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The "L" Word: Nonprofits, Language, and Lobbying

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Despite the many benefits associated with policy advocacy, many nonprofit organizations do not lobby. Recently, scholars have called attention to the possibility that the vagueness and ambiguity of the term lobbying may hinder policy advocacy activities, though few studies have systematically explored the relationship between nonprofit professionals' perception of this term and political activity. This study explored the social construction of the term "lobbying" by examining nonprofit leaders' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors surrounding lobbying activities. Participants reported having a strong aversion to the term "lobbying" and preferred alternative language to describe their political activities. Implications for practice and research are discussed.

Key words: Lobbying, nonprofit organizations, social construction, policy advocacy

The nonprofit sector has historically fulfilled an important role in shaping American policy through its advocacy efforts (Boris & Krehely, 2002) and has been recognized as an outlet for civic participation for community members, particularly through organizations' lobbying activities (Berry & Arons, 2003; Frumkin, 2002; Mosely, 2011). Although lobbying may help nonprofits advance their mission to serve society

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(Hessenius, 2007), many organizations within the sector do not lobby due to a number of barriers, such as time constraints, limited resources, fear, and lack of knowledge (Bass, Arons, Guinane, Carter, & Rees, 2007; Child & Grønbjerg, 2007; Taliaferro, 2012). A small number of studies have also suggested that perceptions of the term *lobbying* within the non-profit sector may also affect political participation (Bass et al., 2007; Berry, 2005). However, this topic has not been fully explored in the literature. This research contributes to the current understanding of nonprofit policy advocacy by examining nonprofit administrators' perception of the language associated with lobbying and the impact of language and word use on policy advocacy activities.

Lobbying Defined

Within the literature on civic engagement, there is no distinct referent for describing activities aimed at influencing public policy decisions. Lobbying is a type of political activity that Nownes (2006) defines as "an effort designed to affect what the government does" (p. 5), which includes activities aimed at influencing government activity beyond legislative efforts. Other scholars have used a myriad of terms to describe "effort designed to affect what the government does," such as regulatory politics (Hoefer & Ferguson, 2007), advocacy (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007), nonprofit advocacy (Bass et al., 2007), and policy advocacy (Boris & Krehely, 2002). The literature also lacks consensus on the definition of the term *lobby*, though it is often viewed as a subset of activities that falls within civic engagement and/or political advocacy (Boris & Krehely, 2002; Frumkin, 2002; Smucker, 2005). This may include *direct lobbying*, which involves communication activities aimed at individuals who are directly related to the policy process with the intent of influencing policy (Rocha, 2007; Smucker, 2005) and *grassroots lobbying*, where communication is aimed at influencing the opinions of the general public with the intent that a large number of individuals will demonstrate to legislators the importance of their view on a particular policy issue (Nownes, 2006; Smucker, 2005). Lobbying is a separate, but related activity to election campaigning, which is another political activity in which nonprofit organizations participate (Hula & Jackson-Elmoore, 2001; Kerlin & Reid, 2010).

The Internal Revenue Service also provides definitions of lobbying to guide nonprofit advocacy activities. According to the Internal Revenue Code (IRC), lobbying is defined as activities aimed at "carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation..." (IRC, 2010a). Section 4911 of the IRC (commonly referred to as the "h-election"), provides further definitions for nonprofit organizations, describing lobbying as "any attempt to influence any legislation through communication with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of the legislation" (IRC, 2010b). This section also defines grassroots activities as behaviors aimed at influencing "any legislation through an attempt to affect the opinions of the general public or any segment thereof" (IRC, 2010b).

Nonprofits and Lobbying

There are many reasons why nonprofit organizations lobby, such as interests in increasing public awareness, increasing funding for particular programs, and protecting government programs that serve their constituents (Bass et al., 2007). Given that nonprofit organizations act as outlets and agents for civil engagement for the (often disadvantaged and vulnerable) communities they serve (Berry & Arons, 2003; Frumkin, 2002, Reisch & Sommerfeld, 2002), nonprofits also have a moral imperative to lobby. Similarly, political advocacy has been emphasized as having a vital role in improving the social conditions of those seeking human services by social work scholars and practitioners (Rome & Hoechstetter, 2010), and has led to the National Association of Social Workers' (NASW) incorporation of political advocacy in their Code of Ethics for all social workers (NASW, approved 1996, revised 2008). Social workers have traditionally involved themselves with political activities, such as lobbying, in an effort to improve the social and economic conditions of their clients (Ezell, 1993; Schneider & Netting, 1999).

Many nonprofit organizations engage in the policy process and several factors have been found to increase an organization's likelihood to become politically involved, such as staff members dedicated to policy advocacy, technological access, and/or organizational missions that are health, environmental, and/or advocacy-related (Bass et al., 2007; Child

& Grønbjerg, 2007; Suárez & Hwang, 2008). However, a large number of nonprofits do not lobby. For instance, the Aspen Institute's Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy Project (SNAP) found that 50.2% of nonprofits surveyed never or infrequently lobby for or against legislation, and 58.2% never or infrequently testify at legislative or administrative hearings (Bass et al., 2007). Similarly, in Berry and Arons' (2003) study, only 12.1% of nonprofits reported engaging in a high level of activity in lobbying for or against legislation, and only 20.6% reported that they frequently encourage their members to contact policymakers. The reluctance of nonprofit organizations to engage in the policy process has been attributed to several barriers, including include a lack of resources (Bass et al., 2007; Child & Grønbjerg, 2007), a lack of skills (Bass et al., 2007), conservative policy environments (Nicholson-Crotty, 2007), and government initiatives aimed at inhibiting nonprofit lobbying, such as changes in tax laws and Circular A-122 (Bass, et al., 2007; Berry & Arons, 2003; Boris & Krehely, 2002; Frumkin, 2002).

A small number of studies also suggest that misuse, traditional suspicion, and distrust of the term *lobby* may also influence nonprofit managers' political participation (Bass et al., 2007; Berry, 2005). For instance, several scholars have underscored that the terms used to describe lobbying are vague or ambiguous (Berry, 2005; Berry & Arons, 2003), which may create confusion about what activities actually encompass lobbying. Furthermore, the politics involving social policies have a scandalous past (Butler & Drakeford, 2003; Gainsborough, 2010), which may explain why social workers have been historically uncomfortable with the power and questionable ethics often associated with political activity (Ezell, 1993). A second issue relates to the negative connotation that nonprofit managers associate with the language related to the term *lobby* (Bass et al., 2007; Berry, 2005). Despite these assertions in the literature, few studies have systematically explored in depth the relationship between language use and lobbying.

Semantics and Socially-constructed Meaning

The study of semantics, or word meaning, is a highly developed and complex subfield of linguistic inquiry that considers a range of knowledge related to word meaning and use—from

referential denotation, ambiguity of meaning and synonymy, to connotation, pragmatic intention, and stylistic felicity (Hurford, Heasley, & Smith, 2007; Saeed, 2009). The intention of this paper is not to offer a technical, semantic analysis of the term *lobbying*, but to consider how its socially constructed uses have affected patterns of use and avoidance within the nonprofit sector. In terms of Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), that is, the theory of language use that includes speaker's intentions and purposes in selecting utterances, it is essential to understand how the use or non-use of *lobbying* reflects an underlying ideology about the function and role of this named activity in nonprofit organizations.

The verb *lobby* and its associated participle *lobbying* have been socially constructed over the past two centuries in such a way as to evoke strong connotative associations and ideological contextualization (Fairclough, 1989). The verb *lobby* was etymologically derived from the earlier noun, *lobby*, which was primarily denotative and connotatively neutral. However, as early as 1820, the term *lobbying* was used to describe persuasive political activity (Gelack, 2008) and was used to discuss the persuasion efforts of law makers in Congress. In its grammatical conversion from a concrete referent for a waiting area or corridor within an edifice, this relatively neutral, concrete noun was then "metaphorically extended" (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2007, p. 357) semantically to denote an abstract, persuasive social process. Its use as a verb therefore has strong, socialized political overtones that have now become legally instantiated. According to the etymological timeline of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the verbal grammatical use of *lobby/lobbying* has been documented for almost two centuries now in this transitive extension, leading to legal definitions and laws governing permissible and impermissible efforts of *lobbying*. This research contributes to the existing knowledge of nonprofit *lobbying* by examining the possible effects that nonprofit professionals' perceptions of the word *lobby* have on *lobbying* activities.

Methods

This study utilized mixed methods in which participants completed a brief demographic survey and participated in a

focus group or individual interview. The participants included nonprofit administrators in central North Carolina who represented a variety of organizations having diverse foci. The data were examined in an effort to gain an understanding of the practices and perspectives within the nonprofit context. The findings presented here are part of a larger study regarding the lobbying behavior of nonprofit organizations (See Author, 2008; Taliaferro, 2008).

Sample. Purposive and snowball sampling, methods commonly used for qualitative studies (Gosine & Pon, 2011), were used to recruit focus group and interview participants. Administrators were targeted through a database of organizations developed and maintained by the North Carolina State University Institute for Nonprofits. Participants were asked to recommend other nonprofit leaders for inclusion in the study. Key informants who were unable to attend the focus groups due to distance or schedule conflict were invited to participate in an in-person or telephone interview. Only six participants required an interview. Ultimately, study participants included administrators from nonprofit organizations predominantly in the Triangle (Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill), Greensboro, Charlotte, and Wilmington areas of North Carolina. The study garnered responses from 53 participants of which 86% were Caucasian, 10% were African American, and 4% were Hispanic/Latino. The majority of the participants (60%) were female. The participants ranged in age from 22 to 66 years, the average being 53 years. All would be considered middle- to upper-management in their respective organizations, having some level of governance and administrative responsibility. Their professional roles included executive director/chief executive officer/president, communications director, and board member. A full 89% of the participants were employees of nonprofit human service organizations. However, a few board members of smaller organizations were included in the sample due to their very "hands on" roles in the organizations. Therefore, the term *administrator* is used to be inclusive of all of these roles.

Organizational budgets ranged from \$55,000 to \$5,000,000 with a median budget of \$1,000,000. Most of the organizations (83%) had three or fewer staff members with some level of responsibility for public policy. The organizations were

predominantly direct service agencies that provided myriad services. The most often cited program areas were: children, youth, and family; education; health; housing; and low income services. However, organizations providing other services (e.g., employment, violence prevention, palliative care, and disability services) were also included in the sample. Only three organizations classified themselves as advocacy organizations.

Procedures. Five focus groups were held during October and November of 2006. The groups had a minimum of seven and a maximum of 12 participants. The focus group methodology provides a systematic way of exploring the research question, promoting a "thick" analysis of the information (Umana-Taylor & Bamaca, 2004). Six personal telephone interviews lasting from one-half to one and one-half hours were conducted during December 2006 and January 2007. The interviews and focus groups were conducted using semi-structured interview schedules and a topic guide, respectively (Rubin & Babbie, 2007). The focus groups and interviews were audio-taped and transcribed for analyses. Both interviewees and focus group participants were asked several questions, including: "What comes to mind when nonprofit lobbying is suggested?" "Define lobbying." "Discuss how it [lobbying] is different than advocacy." and "Who sets the lobbying agenda in the agency?"

Data Analysis

The transcripts were hand coded by the first author and a research assistant. The data were then organized into meaningful units and categories (Coleman & Unrau, 2005). Inductive coding was used to determine the initial themes and a three-layer process was used to code the data: identifying, organizing, and interrelating themes. First, the significant themes that appeared across most or all study participants' interviews were identified as patterned regularities in the data (Wolcott, 1994). Next, themes were organized according to their frequencies of occurrence, devoting more time to the themes that were common across study participants. Then, various themes were interconnected by contextualizing the topics in a broader analytical framework and making connections to the research literature (Rubin & Babbie, 2007). Through this analysis process, several themes regarding the term *lobbying* emerged from

the data. These included discomfort with the term *lobbying*, reputation preservation, and fear of repercussion. The following section details findings drawn from the focus group discussions and field interviews.

Findings

Discomfort with the Word "Lobbying"

Lobbying was not defined for the participants. Focus group members and interviewees were asked to define lobbying in their own terms. Most of the respondents had an understanding of lobbying and what it could accomplish. Pragmatically, they were not averse to engaging in lobbying activities and expressed the value of lobbying. Participants further understood that they engaged in the activity, though were resistant to call it lobbying. Lobbying had a clear, negative connotation in the minds of many nonprofit participants, who often used less emotionally-charged and value-laden terms such as *education* or *awareness* to describe behavior that could be defined as lobbying. One example was seen through a human services administrator from Raleigh who insisted that he did not lobby but went on to describe his organizations' activities using the following terms:

I have spoken to all the school board members, one-on-one, about that, so I've presented that. I've spoken to a couple of city council members; I've spoken to a couple of county commissioners; I've spoken to the mayor of [town name]....

When probed about the context of the activities, he acknowledged that they were done in his role as executive on behalf of the organization. So, while he was adamant about not calling his actions *lobbying*, by most definitions, they would be classified as such.

Participants were much more comfortable calling their activities education. When asked if their organizations lobby, most of the participants suggested that it was "Education. That's what we call it [Laughter]." Another administrator of a housing agency responded that "It's a very delicate, fine line that we try to walk. I think it's leaning more towards the educative community about issues so they can make an informed

decision on something." Another participant suggested: "I think we're public awareness versus aggressive hard sell with lobbying. It's more making them aware and the public aware of what we're doing."

In addition, alternative terms were often used to create a distinction between their lobbying activities, which they viewed as advancing their organization's mission, and other lobbying activities, which were associated with money exchange and bribery. An administrator from a women's focused organization in Charlotte said:

I don't see it as necessarily going out and lobbying people in the common sense that we all think of lobbying as, you know, guys on Capitol Hill and all that stuff and money changing hands and dinners and that sort of thing. I see it more as advocating for the program and the services and the patients that we serve. So I don't really call it lobbying.

Many participants indicated that they knew their activities were considered lobbying, but purposefully described these actions using other terms to deflect the negative context associated with the term. The following facetious comment reflected the attitudes of the participants: "Oh no, we don't [lobby]... except when we talk to our friends who happen to be legislators about the things we need them to do." In the same vein, another administrator of a nonprofit that received significant government funds said with a wink, "I think I'd noticed that in one of your [survey] questions [asked if we lobby]. I actually wrote in, 'No, we do not lobby, we *educate* [emphasis that of the speaker].'" Another said with a shrug: "We don't lobby, we educate, and I talk to legislators [whom] I know."

Some participants were careful about the words used for their activities because they received government funds and were acutely aware of the prohibition against using government funds for lobbying activities. One administrator of a child-serving organization described it by saying:

One of the things that I felt that my role of the non-profit director here was, was to be an advocate. I'm not allowed to spend [the organization's] dollars on advocacy, so we educate... But I really do believe that

because of the way my organization is now structured ... that our role is ... to look at children's outcomes, but the biggest thing that we can do for the community is to be the voice of early childhood.

Reputation Preservation

This negative perception of lobbying served as a strong deterrent to associate with these activities. Participants asserted that nonprofits need to maintain an image that is beyond reproach, and being associated with lobbying could potentially hinder their reputations. Part of the hesitancy to use the term *lobbying* had to do with the perceived less savory nature of lobbying, as that was an intrinsic part of the participants' definition of lobbying. The egotism of their definition of lobbying was in stark contrast to the altruism typical of nonprofit missions. When asked to differentiate between the terms education, advocacy, and lobbying, one child welfare administrator from Greensboro suggested:

You know, lobbying to me is somebody going to somebody who has the ability to move money for the purpose of self-gratification. Meaning I'm going out and getting the money either for my constituent or on behalf of my constituent to make them even richer. And when I think about what we do, we're not making people rich but we're making them healthier. We're making them more informed, et cetera ... So, I mean, I think there's a major distinction between what we do ... as non-profits.

Participants' perception was that their lobbying involved altruistic effort to reallocate resources and wealth. One education-related nonprofit administrator asserted:

We all try to re-direct resources ... I think our approach should be re-directing resources not to line pocketbooks and those sorts of things. It's lining the pocketbooks of non-profits [as opposed to individuals] so that we can do more than what we do.

It was important to the participants that the perception of their education and awareness activities be externally focused, and

to the benefit of the organization and constituency.

This differed from their perception of for-profit lobbying activities as being corrupt. An administrator from the Wilmington area asserted:

I hate that companies, businesses, corporations, have these cutthroat lobbyists that do anything to get the company's point across... And I hate that we sometimes have to be that way. But I think we need to be when it comes to lobbying. I hate that our system is like that, but I think we have to be just as cutthroat as ... they [are]."

Similarly, a nonprofit administrator from Charlotte described the "traditional" view of lobbying as a "self-gratifying, sleazy activity with lavish dinners, money trading hands, and men in shiny shoes and slick expensive suits."

Many participants associated lobbying with bribery. An environmental organization administrator described her negative feelings about lobbying activities:

Well, on the state level I really felt like I was in the belly of the beast. It was just this horrible way that really deals are made and everything else. And it was, um, was just very cutthroat, and it just didn't feel good. ... You know, you don't have the finances or the money to, to, um, line their pockets. I hate to say that, it's like, you know, you don't really have any clout.

Nonprofit participants were loathe to be associated with those connotations, so they were resistant to the idea of labeling their activities *lobbying*.

It is also important to note that the participants made an explicit distinction between the act and the actor and suggested that it was common knowledge that paid lobbyists are "cutthroat." One immigration-related administrator detailed it in the following terms: "There's 'lobbying' [used finger quotes] and then there's lobbyists. I think lobbyists definitely [have] the negative, you know, connotation." It was clear from the agreement from the rest of the participants that the lobbyist was deemed less desirable than the act of lobbying.

Fear of Losing Resources

Given the negative perceptions of the term *lobbying*, the potential repercussions of engaging in the activity loomed large for the participants. One human services administrator summed up the underlying concern: "Quite honestly, fear. Fear of coming out on the wrong side of a position, coming out on the wrong side of an election." The participants cautiously weighed the potential negative outcomes of a failed lobbying campaign and sometimes found the positives did not outweigh the potential negative consequences in regard to public perception, funding, political capital, and other intangible considerations. The fear of the public's perceptions was also a strong deterrent to lobbying activities.

Of those who were most reluctant to participate in lobbying activities, fear of alienation was a real and imminent influence on participants' behavior. As one administrator stated: "You know, you just can't afford to alienate half the community. [Community decision-makers] may want to [provide social welfare services], but they don't want to [provide social welfare services] if they think you're pushing a political agenda." This participant's comments speak to the hesitancy of her organization, and possibly her own reluctance to engage in lobbying activities. It is important to note that this statement was made with arms crossed and head shaking in the negative.

Another administrator from the Charlotte area discussed how lobbying may place funds or resources at risk: "[Lobbying] could really freak people out. A real concern is that people would not want to bring their funds to [organization name], or they would want to move it someplace else if we did that." Having weighed the benefits of lobbying and potential loss of resources, participants indicated that they were strategic about their advocacy activities. One human services administrator stated: "...so it's just choosing those issues and trying to think how would that affect those people, because you still have to bring in the money from the donors."

Discussion

The interaction between politics and human services involves a historical account peppered with scandal (Butler & Drakeford, 2003; Gainsborough, 2010). It is understandable

that today's nonprofit administrators might want to avoid the appearance of engaging in an activity that has negative associations and overtones of political persuasion, even coercion, bribery, and favor. The avoidance strategy extending to the use of the term may, in effect, speak to a kind of principled stance that has developed within the nonprofit sector that sets it apart from other advocacy institutions in society. The underlying ideology may assume that the missions of non-profits are inherently transparent and positive and therefore must avoid any perception of coercive politicized activity. This kind of institutional and political exceptionalism among nonprofits would differentiate their status and causes from other institutions so that they would view themselves as institutionally "above" the often-negative connotative associations that are evoked by the term *lobbying* in its broader societal context.

A number of participants in the focus groups made important distinctions between "education" and "lobbying," readily admitting to the former but disassociating from the latter. In terms of speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), the verb *lobby* constitutes a type of "request," whereas the speech act "educate" involves the transmission of needed knowledge without the illocutionary force that requires the recipient to take an action on behalf of the agent. The felicity conditions for requests assume that: (a) the speakers believe the action has not yet taken place; (b) the speaker wants the action to be taken or thinks that the action should be taken; (c) the speaker believes that the listener/recipient is able to take the action; and (d) the speaker/agent believes that the hearer/recipient may be willing to take the action for the speaker. In contrast, the felicity conditions for the act of education simply assume that a speaker/agent has knowledge of some type that the listener/hearer does not have and has need of, without any necessary condition about the listener/recipient's capability or willingness to carry out an action for the speaker/agent related to that knowledge.

At the same time, the use of the term *educate* in the nonprofit sector may carry a conversational implicature (Grice 1975, 1989). The label "educate" avoids any of the legal entanglements of "lobby," carries positive rather than negative connotations, and presumes that recipients' education will lead to the desired results of change without an explicit request for

action. In this sense, then, the nonprofit sector maintains its exceptionalist ideology as an institution within the political system.

"Lobbying" as a Dirty Word

The findings from this study support the existing literature, which states that the public perception of lobbying often-times entails deceit and questionable transactions (Bass et al., 2007; McConnell, 2004). Much of the tarnished image of lobbying has been attributed to public scandals involving lobbyists, such as recent incidents involving Jack Abramoff and Tom DeLay (Bass et al., 2007). A further complication relates to the IRC institutionalizing a definition for lobbying, describing it as "activities of which is carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation..." (IRC, 2010a). Berry (2005) states that the use of the word "propaganda" in the legislation is particularly problematic, because the term is "a rather inflammatory word that suggests manipulative and dishonest communication" (p. 571).

This study also found that the negative perception of the word "lobby" was directly related to nonprofit professionals' discomfort with calling their political advocacy activities *lobbying*, with some participants reporting fear of using the term to describe their advocacy activities. This finding supports evidence from the Aspen Institute's Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy Project (SNAP) study (Bass et al., 2007), which suggests that nonprofit administrators are more comfortable with using terms *advocate* and *educate* to describe lobbying activities. Some respondents in the SNAP study clearly described their involvement with lobbying activities, but reported that their organization does not lobby. This was also found true of participants in the current study.

The current study builds upon the SNAP findings by capturing the reasons that nonprofit administrators use alternative terms to describe their lobbying activities. It found that in many cases, nonprofit administrators do, in fact, lobby and know that they are engaging in lobbying activities. However, these nonprofit managers purposefully used such terms as *educate* and *advocate* when they indeed were aware that they engaged in lobbying activities. In other words, the nonprofit managers in this study were not confused about whether

their activities were considered lobbying; they sought benefits in lobbying and then strategically claimed that their activities were *education* to avoid the negative association with lobbying. Essentially, lobbying is a necessary and valued activity. However, among nonprofits, the ideology that drives the word usage, or lack thereof, is the desire to maintain the exceptionalism of nonprofit organizations within the political milieu.

Implications

Findings from this study have several implications for nonprofit educators, practitioners, and researchers. While there are many meanings to the term *lobbying*, federal lobbying legislation was crafted as a response to corruption in politics, thus creating a connotation of the word that implies wrongdoing. Although there is a larger definition of lobbying that reflects democracy and civic engagement, the non-profit sector has continued to focus on the more restrictive meaning of the term that is used by the federal government. Practitioners within the nonprofit sector need to create further and more frequent dialogue on political advocacy that emphasizes the larger, more encompassing meaning of lobby.

It is important for nonprofit educators to reinforce the clear message that lobbying is part of nonprofit management practice and it does not compromise the image of nonprofits to lobby. The good work that is done for individuals, families, and communities via non-profit lobbying should be celebrated and not hidden. If new non-profit practitioners do not enter the field understanding the benefits of lobbying, time is wasted learning the nuances of engaging in lobbying without calling it lobbying. That is time when others with competing agendas can access decision-makers unfettered and control the discourse on important policy issues.

Findings from this research indicate that limited knowledge was one of the larger barriers to nonprofit lobbying. This was the case for nonprofit managers who had limited knowledge about lobbying and therefore were not confident in engaging in lobbying activities. This was also the case for nonprofit managers who were knowledgeable about lobbying, but felt that limits in other stakeholders' knowledge (for example, board members, donors, larger public) imposed barriers to

lobbying, since they feared that negative perception of their activities would result in lost resources. Both scenarios indicate that education on lobbying and advocacy may address these barriers and lead to more effectiveness and more positive outcomes from lobbying activities. To increase leaders' capacity and confidence to engage in lobbying activities within the nonprofit sector, it is suggested that nonprofit leaders participate in professional development opportunities that will expose them to effective lobbying strategies within the broader context of lobbying that reflects democracy and civic engagement. Nonprofit leaders should then reinforce this definition of lobbying through their communication with other stakeholders. Additionally, to illuminate the process further, nonprofit managers should also utilize the IRC h-election, given that it provides clear guidelines of the amount of effort and funds they are allowed to use for lobbying.

Findings from this study have implications for researchers who focus on the political behaviors of nonprofit organizations. First, without a standard definition of lobbying that applies across institutions, research participants may be inappropriately selected or deselected for studies or provide inaccurate data, because the conceptualization of the term *lobby* within a single study sample may vary greatly. Also, negative perceptions of the term *lobby* may cause research participants to underreport the amount of lobbying in which they engage. Finally, given that the operationalization of the term *lobby* varies greatly across individual studies, there may be difficulty in comparing results across studies.

While this study was a relatively small qualitative analysis, it does support and provide a context for larger studies on nonprofit lobbying and advocacy. Nonprofits fill a void created by the lack of government capacity and the lack of private sector will. It is imperative that these organizations utilize their full complement of resources and tools for furthering their respective missions. While the word *lobbying* holds a powerful set of attributes constituting its meaning and thus determining the range of objects to which it may be applied, it cannot be abandoned as a resource for nonprofits.

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Book Reviews

Mignon Duffy, *Making Care Count: A Century of Gender, Race, and Paid Care Work*. Rutgers University Press (2011). 185 pages, \$24.95 (paperback).

As its title suggests, *Making Care Count* is an account of how gender and race shape the history of paid care work over the last century. Additionally, this slim and readable volume based on U.S. census data and individual occupational histories also builds a case for considering care work as a sector that is united conceptually by the role that care workers play in nurturance. Departing from characterizations of care work as “reproductive labor,” which have been used to illuminate the economic and social role of unpaid care work in the home, Duffy develops the idea of nurturant paid care work defined by its emotional content and relational context, rather than its reproductive role in maintaining the larger economic structure. The concept of nurturance is intended to reframe care sector work in terms of relational and emotional dimensions that are often antithetical to market values. Through this conceptualization Duffy lays the groundwork for developing an historical analysis that challenges the commodification of human care.

Sandwiched between two conceptual chapters, Duffy traces the century of paid care work through a race and gender lens that often challenges assumptions with data. Chapter 2 focuses on domestic workers from the late 19th century to the present, tracing the rise and fall and rise again of the use of domestic workers in U.S. homes while exploring the shifts in the employment prospects of white women and women of color and the newer phenomenon of immigrant women in domestic service. This chapter challenges recent analyses that exaggerate the extent of domestic service in their implication of the bourgeois feminist movement that creates workplace opportunity for mainly white, upper class women on the backs of the exploitation of immigrant women of color. To the contrary,

the data show that domestic service has been a long-term—not recent—phenomenon, and although the use of domestic workers has risen since the late 1990s, the overall numbers are far smaller than they were a century ago. Also not new are the racial and socio-economic hierarchies, as well as the assumption that the transfer of labor occurs between women only, reinforcing the idea of “separate spheres.” Not surprisingly, a low point in the use of domestics began after the New Deal period, an era where inequality in general trended downward in the U.S.

Chapter 3 follows the rise of professionalization and its impact on the caring professions and explores the gains and losses to women workers as these processes created new hierarchies that incorporated race/gender discrimination, usefully comparing the different trajectories of the education, health care, and social work professions. Chapter 4 explores the period of increased marketization and care commodification since 1980, in which care work has become less female (as other jobs have disappeared), and relational aspects have been externalized through moves towards “efficiency.” Chapter 5 turns specifically to “dirty work,” focusing on food service, janitorial and laundry workers (typically ignored as care-workers, but included under Duffy’s conceptualization as support staff in nurturant care environments). Here she develops an interesting contrast between jobs in the same field (for instance health care), where highlighting nurturant job qualities (for example, of hospitals’ house keepers) is used to elevate the skill levels of these positions.

One minor flaw that may be recognized by readers from a social work background is the relative short shrift given to social work and social services, or the manner in which these occupations are obscured under mental health. This is not a weakness of Duffy’s book; rather it points to ways in which social service/social work job classifications are often lost in data collection, and the way social work and the non-profit social service sector has historically failed to study itself, thus resulting in fewer occupational studies of social service/social work compared to studies of teachers or nurses.

Making Care Count packs a lot of data and analysis into a concise form. It includes several references to activism in

practice and scholarship, thus it is a great volume for feminist scholars and activists that want to contribute to social change through academic work. It challenges us to rally around the emotional and relational aspects of care work as essential at a time when austerity and cost-cutting put them at risk.

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Nancy Folbre (Ed.), *For Love and Money: Care Provision in the United States*. Russell Sage Foundation (2012). \$35.00 (paperback).

Just about everything you need to know about care work is included in *For Love and Money*. This remarkably comprehensive and groundbreaking book reflects the collaborative work of members of the Working Group on Care Work (including editor/economist Nancy Folbre), sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation (also its publisher). Collectively, the members represent the disciplines of economics, sociology, political science, organization and management, demography, and public administration. The group's primary aim was to create a unified analysis of care work to address the limitations of current scholarship and research that overwhelmingly focus on specialized groups needing either paid or unpaid care provision and services, different constituencies or recipients (children and adults, people with disabilities, or the elderly), or particular sites of care (either households, public institutions, or for-profit firms). They also wanted to address the economic and geographic disparities inherent in current national care policy. In addition to providing a full-bodied discussion of these thorny issues, the contributors offer innovative recommendations and possible solutions, ultimately suggesting, in their support of a national care movement made up of care recipients and care providers, that our best hope for a more effective, inclusive, and humane care system depends on the collective activism of these stakeholders.

In addition to covering issues of definition, measurement, value, and delivery of care, the contributors are particularly insightful in their efforts to undermine mainstream

dichotomies of paid versus unpaid, public versus private, state versus family, and intrinsically- and extrinsically-motivated care. Drawing on empirical data, they argue that providing care for wages not only does not undermine the quality of family life nor weaken family cohesiveness, but rather strengthens both. At the same time, they recognize that until we adequately support unpaid and paid care work, the quality of each is likely to be compromised. A great deal of attention is devoted to gender and economic issues: why it is that women—many poor and of color—still make up the majority of those who provide care in both the private and public sector and why they are so inadequately compensated in both supportive family policies and wages. Indeed, the contributors make a strong case that gender, race, and class equality depend on a substantial shift in how society and government perceive and reward care provision. In Chapter 1, "Defining Care," Folbre and Wright define "care" and "care work" as these concepts inform the book and discuss the limitations of other theoretical alternatives in which the distinction between unpaid/paid care work shapes a "love versus money" dichotomy. They argue instead for a "both/and" perspective (as is reflected in the book's title).

This discussion is continued in Chapter 2, "Motivating Care," in which England, Folbre, and Leana examine intrinsic motivations in care work, pointing out that because women provide most of the latter—both unpaid and paid—care work is highly gendered. They argue that promoting the position that care work should be a product of love and not money is not only simplistic but also serves to rationalize gender inequality.

The next two chapters, "Unpaid Care Work" and "Paid Care Work," provide a quantitative assessment of care responsibilities, making a case that both draw on families and the market (i.e., love and money). Bianchi, Folbre, and Wolf reveal that low income families depend more on unpaid family members to provide care than more affluent families, and Howes, Leana and Smith argue that within the paid care sector, low wages and poor working conditions lead to high turnover, insufficient training, and other factors that can result in low quality care. In the following chapter, "Valuing Care," Folbre compares unpaid and paid care work in terms of labor hours and market prices. Here it is argued that better methods

of assigning a monetary value to unpaid care work would go a long way in undermining the tendency to take unpaid care for granted and in eliminating policies that exacerbate rather than ease its burden.

In Chapters 6 and 7, "The Care Policy Landscape" and "The Disparate Impacts of Care Policy," Gornick, Howes, and Braslow provide a comprehensive inventory of existing public policies affecting care provision and services in the United States and then examine the policies' inadequacies in terms of how they differentially benefit specific classes, races/ethnicities, and geographies. They conclude their analysis by stating that money and geography matter the most. That is, regardless of whether it's early childhood education and care, family leave, foster care, services for adults or children with disabilities or for the frail elderly, the quality and quantity of care are mostly influenced by money (what one can afford) and geography (where one lives).

The last chapter, "A Care Policy and Research Agenda," summarizes the rich analyses and empirical data that preceded it. Here Folbre, Howes, and Leana additionally advance a policy and research agenda that is intended to address many of the care work and care provision issues covered previously. They end by inviting other scholars to join them "in developing a more detailed agenda for policy-relevant research on care for the most vulnerable members of our society." The book's last 22 pages are devoted to an in-depth appendix on methods of measuring care work.

For all its strengths, the book has a few limitations. Although the contributors thoroughly examine the care work crisis we face today, they address only indirectly "the politics" affecting the crisis. Nothing is said, for example, about neoliberal economic programs and their sorry legacy of privatization, job fragmentation, contingency and part-time work, low wages and few or no benefits, and how the latter have affected care workers. Additionally, although they point out the economic advantages of care workers who are lucky enough to be in unions, the unionization question is not given the attention one would expect. For example, no mention is made of recent attempts to revise the Fair Labor Standards Act so that the approximately 2.5 million people currently working as home health care aides would be paid the minimum wage

and overtime, rather than simply dismissed as “elder companions.” Lastly, as this is essentially a theoretical, data-driven book, I found myself missing the on-the-ground accounts of those most affected—care recipients and providers—a perspective often included in Russell Sage books. However, much to their credit, the contributors point out that a combination of quantitative and qualitative research has yielded particularly rich and informative data.

That said, the book, with its comprehensive overview of our current care system and discussion of future possibilities, provides a remarkable resource for social workers, economists, sociologists, political scientists, policy developers, and other scholars and professionals. It has particular relevance for social workers. Its contributors’ emphasis on the care concerns of low-income families and low-wage workers is consistent with social work’s commitment to social justice and oppressed populations. In addition, their attention to context and how it shapes the provision of care reflect a social work person-in-environment perspective. Finally, I would hope their conclusion that society as a whole benefits from “clear, comprehensive, and universal” care policy because it nurtures and maintains human capabilities and develops human and social capital would resonate with all of us—professional and otherwise.

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Margaret Sherrard Sherraden & Amanda Moor McBride, with Sondra G. Beverly, *Striving to Save: Creating Policies for Financial Security of Low-Income Families*. University of Michigan Press (2010). 340 pages, \$65.00 (hardcover).

I remember bringing a nickel to elementary school every Monday morning in the 50s. Our teacher would collect our coins, carefully marking the amount each of us brought in her ledger; she deposited the coins in our new savings accounts and we were proud of our good deed. I never missed a week! I also remember my parents’ quarreling over money and should not have been surprised, when my teacher handed out our bank account books on stage at our 6th grade graduation,

looking inside my slim, green bank account book, I saw a big zero. Tears welled up. The bank must have made a mistake.

As my classmates were leaving the stage I brought my tears to my teacher. "Oh honey," she said, "Didn't your parents tell you? They needed to take all the money out of your account to pay bills." I grew up that day. The meager savings I had dutifully put away from mowing lawns helped my parents take care of the unexpected, cover medical bills, or stretch funds when they did not have enough. When salaries are lower than what it takes to make it though the week, or the month, savings are not going to help you get ahead.

That's my bias. Having studied large, resilient families living in harsh conditions of poverty, it comes as no surprise that the low-income individuals in *Striving to Save* take savings as a serious matter. The mothers in my studies, *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (1974) and *Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South* (1996) were saving all the time. They were squirreling away savings for second-hand winter coats and shoes for their children; they were collecting coins to do several loads of laundry at the laundromat; and they were putting aside money for new brakes on a twenty-year old car that took them to a part-time job.

The study discussed in this book, The American Dream Demonstration [ADD], asks whether low-income families participating in Individual Development Accounts (IDA's) were able to accumulate savings and evaluated the successes and failures. The authors interviewed a random sample of low, medium, and high savers, 59 respondents participating in the program, 25 who were not selected to participate in IDA's—84 in-depth interviews in all, as well as a quantitative survey. We learn the about the obstacles to saving that individuals encounter over the course of their lives and the role of debt, as well as their long term, heart-felt desires to save, and the difference savings could make in their lives. The authors conclude describing how some low-income families who accumulated savings were able to do so. They also argue convincingly that most respondents wanted to improve their lives.

Sherrard, McBride, and Beverly, the authors of *Striving to Save*, document their respondents' intentions to save. We also see respondents "pinching here and there" and borrowing from

their savings when they were inundated with expenses. We learn that most low-income individuals can't accumulate and that welfare reform has "asset tests" similar to other means-tested government programs, as documented by Gwendolyn Mink (1999) and Sandra Morgen, Joan Acker, and Jill Weigt (2010). At the same time, we are not privy to the amazing juggling acts individuals and families pull off to get through a typical week or month, borrowing from food money to pay the electric bill, borrowing from a sister to buy food, cooking for a neighbor to save a dime. These fine-tuned calculations are practiced daily. While the in-depth interviews in *Striving to Save* did not linger long enough to capture such actions, and scholars are quoted saying that the poor "tend to lack the self-control to set money aside for future benefit," the authors come to an encouraging conclusion. Being a participant in an Individual Development Account (IDA) that programmatically matches the savings of low-income workers helped some families develop "a saving habit."

The focus on individual respondents in the ADD is an experiment that detaches the actions of individuals from their larger social and familial contexts. We get valuable insights into what people say and do as individuals, but pulls on their assets are dramatic and often overwhelming. The working poor and hard working part-timers are, more often than not, the poor peoples' charity. Low-income families in over-crowded urban dwellings in my studies in Oakland (in *Laboring Below the Line: The New Ethnography of Poverty, Low-Wage Work, and Survival in the Global Economy*, Frank Mungar, Ed., 2002), in midwestern cities, and in rural areas, face a tremendous pull on their incomes. It is hard to say no to those in need. Despite drug wars that have decimated neighborhoods, and AIDS and drugs that have overburdened grandmothers, aunts, sisters and brothers, relatives with minimal assets become an anchor for others. Needless to say, this drains the assets of those at hand.

This study had its ups and downs. The outcomes were disappointing if the authors really thought they could succeed, given the structural conditions of poverty, dismal pay, few benefits, and little chance of full-time work at minimum wage jobs, and the like. In addition, there were rules and penalties against savings' withdrawals. The savings match was forfeited

if an individual made a withdrawal (positive supports were provided to help individuals resist temptations to withdraw). On the up side, the study gives the reader insight into how low-income individuals think about savings and the challenges they face. The study also saw some success with a selection of respondents building saving goals over the three years that the program took place. It also suggests how a well-designed intervention program might encourage savings. There is little question of the benefits of having a cushion. Nonetheless, the conclusion, following interviews with 59 low-income families, that "there are powerful barriers to saving in low-income households," makes us wish for more.

We might ask: what kind of financial literacy might secure a reserve for people who hug close to poverty levels, who work when they can, who need to earn a few bucks to get by even when their bones creak with arthritis wiping tables at fast food restaurants—people who do not have health coverage and/or good health, and who compete for minimum wage jobs? What people know is that they must keep working. And they keep working. They work hard, but the system does not necessary work hard for them.

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Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class*. The New Press (2010). \$21.95 (paperback).

Labor historian Jefferson Cowie's *Stayin' Alive* is part of a growing interest in the 1970s by historians, sociologists, economists and others interested in understanding the decade's ten-year bridge from the 'anything goes 1960s' to the 'new conservatism,' patriotism and anti-unionism of Ronald Reagan. Infusing the book with discussions of popular culture—the music of Merle Haggard, disco, movies like *Saturday Night Fever*, *Norma Rae*, *9 to 5*, and *Taxi Driver*, and TV shows like *All in the Family* and *The Jeffersons*—Cowie discusses how the U.S. went from being a highly unionized, growing economy in the 1960s to a country mired in high unemployment and de-industrialization, and for blue-collar workers, the 'dead man's town' Bruce Springsteen laments.

George McGovern's abysmal showing in the 1972 election made abundantly clear how the social chaos of the 1960s fractured what fragile labor-civil rights coalition had existed and moved a large element of White union households into the Republican Party, where many of them have remained through several more national election cycles. Yet, as Cowie reveals, the decade started with remarkable promise: farm worker organizing in the California grape fields, Latina garment worker organizing in Texas, the formation of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, a surge in public sector organizing by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, clerical worker organization on college campuses, and the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. But,

By 1974-1975, the various insurgencies, despite their energy and creativity, rarely found a place in the national discourse, achieved little lasting institutional presence in the labor movement, left almost no legacy in American politics, and, most significantly, failed to become an enduring part of the class awareness of the nation's workers. (p. 70)

For part of the decade I worked in a large metalworking plant in Springfield, Massachusetts, so as I read I remembered what it was like back then. Picket lines, layoffs and recalls, high unemployment, and the loud and clear anti-union statement that was President Reagan's firing of air traffic controllers in 1981 dominates my recollections. Cowie summarizes the larger context that got lost while I was in the moment thusly:

Perhaps most importantly, the insurgencies of the first half of the 1970s dissipated with remarkable speed with the mid-seventies recession. The unrest of the early decade was based on the most successful economy in American history—simply put, in terms of class power, most workers never had it so good. Once the rug of economic success was pulled out from underneath workers during the bitter recessions that began with the first oil shock in 1973, they lost their footing in their fights for solutions to their discontents. (p. 72)

While I believe Cowie at times overstates just how 'golden' the early 1970s were, especially for African-American workers and workers toiling in unorganized workplaces, the sharp disjuncture in the middle of the decade sent many (mostly White) unionists off on a hunt to find somebody or some group to blame. Even Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter's endorsement of a United Auto Workers call for national health insurance could not boost his election totals. He barely won the 1976 election against Republican Gerald Ford with 51.1 percent of the popular vote. Even with Richard Nixon's resignation and a horrible economy, approximately 40 percent of unionists did not vote Democratic. Using a cultural touchstone, Cowie describes how television's Archie Bunker, "the national symbol for the bigoted blue-collar worker," in a 1976 episode "brooding over Democrat Jimmy Carter's White House victory, may have had the last laugh when he warned that liberals would not be so happy when Ronald Reagan won in 1980" (p. 9, 195).

While the book is long and may not work in some academic settings, anyone interested in understanding why, during our recent national elections, candidates from the major political parties almost never uttered the words "working class," would do well to read Cowie's lively history. Finally, for a treatment of the same period with a sharp gender focus, I recommend Natasha Zaretsky's *No Direction Home: The American Family and Fear of National Decline, 1968-1980* (2007).

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