

REPRESENTATION IS NOT SUFFICIENT: FIVE ESSAYS CONSIDERING ACTIVE REPRESENTATION BY WOMEN IN U.S. NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

By

BRIANNA RAE YODER

(Under the Direction of Rebecca Nesbit)

Women make up 70% of the U.S. nonprofit workforce, raising important questions about the existence and extent of active representation in that sector. This five-chapter dissertation uses the theory of representative bureaucracy to examine women's issues and representation within nonprofit organizations through a feminist theoretical lens. Chapter 1 presents the relevant foundational scholarship surrounding representative bureaucracy, feminist theory, and nonprofit organizations. Chapter 2 considers whether increasing the number of women in leadership in these organizations positively impacts female executive director pay. Quantitative analysis revealed little evidence of active representation by women, regarding executive director pay and suggested disadvantages for female executive directors. Chapter 3 uses thematic analysis to examine sexual harassment policies in nonprofits, exposing them as gendered spaces that may codify barriers to the prevention and resolution of sexual harassment. Chapter 4 applies thematic analysis to parental leave policies in nonprofit organizations, finding that they embrace traditional gender roles that have historically marginalized women and threatened families, center traditional family structures, overemphasize the medical aspects of pregnancy and childbirth, and privilege the organization over the employee. Chapter 5 summarizes findings from chapters 2, 3, and 4, pointing out that, even in a field dominated by women, there are still inequities in pay and gender discrimination within the latent messaging of organizational

policies. In sum, this dissertation offers nonprofit practitioners insight into creating more equitable and just organizations and encourages them to rethink the messages they may be sending in their organizational policies. Contributions to the field include an expansion of the theory of representative bureaucracy, using feminist theory to examine the impacts of patriarchal hegemony on active representation by women and considering organizational policies as a space where active representation may take place. Further study is needed to examine why women do not actively represent other women and pursue avenues to address gender inequality in nonprofit organizations.

INDEX WORDS: Representative Bureaucracy Theory, Nonprofit Organizations, Pay Gap, Sexual Harassment Policy, Family Leave Policy, Maternal Leave Policy, Organizational Discourse, Thematic Analysis, Feminist Analysis

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BRIANNA RAE YODER

B.A., University of Texas at San Antonio, 2012

M.P.A., University of Georgia. 2016

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By

BRIANNA RAE YODER

Major Professor: Rebecca Nesbit

Committee: J. Edward Kellough
Katherine Willoughby
Grace Bagwell-Adams

Electronic Version Approved:
Ron Walcott
Vice Provost for Graduate Education and Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August, 2022

DEDICATION

I was finally able to return the favor, Mom. Thanks for being one call away.

I wrote 40,645 words but I still don't have the right ones to thank you, Amy. I love you.

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In 2018, I watched Hannah Gadsby’s Netflix comedy special, *Nanette*. An art-history-major-turned-comedian, she discusses the myth of Vincent Van Gogh and how people remember him as someone who was able to take his loneliness and depression and turn it into exquisite artwork. If Van Gogh hadn’t suffered, the world at large wouldn’t have “Sunflowers.” This segment of her show reminded me a lot of how doctoral programs are described: they’ll be hard, isolating, and scary but ultimately mold a student into a researcher.

But Gadsby continued on to point out that Van Gogh had a brother who loved him and encouraged him to seek help, and the person that helped Van Gogh prescribed him a medication that caused him to experience the color yellow a little too intensely. That, instead of just the suffering, is why the world at large has “Sunflowers.” Throughout this process, I too have had people who kept a hold of me and encouraged me to reach out to others, which allowed me to continue the work presented here.

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“Through all the pain, [she] had a tether, a connection to the world. And that...is the focus of the story we need. Connection.” – Hannah Gadsby, *Nanette*

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CHAPTER 1: THINK ABOUT MAKING THE (NONPROFIT) WORLD FOR WOMEN: COMBINING REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY WITH FEMINIST THEORY

In 2020, 56.2% of American women participated in the U.S. workforce as opposed to 64.7% of men (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020), up considerably from 32% in 1948 (Hayes, 2021). Other indicators of gender parity have improved: pay disparities between women and men have decreased (Weichselbaumer & Winter-Ebmer, 2005), there are more protections prevent workplace harassment (Siegel, 2004), and women have gained traction in fields previously exclusive to men (Mihajlovska, 2021). In part, women's workforce success can be traced to other advances—the proportion of women earning a college degree has quadrupled (Duffin, 2021) and women are more likely to work year-round (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021).

Despite these victories, more must be done to realize total workplace equity. For example, women continue to be paid less than their male counterparts (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017). Further, while women can enter traditionally masculine fields, the threat of sexual harassment persists (Karami et al, 2021). Finally, realized professional fulfillment may endanger work-life balance (Slaughter, 2012). Ultimately, an individual's experience at work is influenced by their gender in the United States, and women still constitute a marginalized group in the workforce.

Representative bureaucracy posits that one potential way to mitigate these disparities is to increase the number of women in leadership positions, who can then advocate for policies that benefit other women. The nonprofit sector constitutes an ideal context in which to consider this theory as it relates to workplace gender equity. Compared to its private-sector counterpart, the

nonprofit sector is more likely to emphasize prosocial and humanitarian values and rely on female labor.

In 2014, women comprised about 70% of the nonprofit sector (Rendon, 2021) and just 46% of the for-profit sector (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2014). The nonprofit sector has historically served as a medium through which women can enter the workforce, attain leadership positions, and professionally contribute to their communities (Shimmel & Mullinnix, 2019). When they were barred from traditional professions such as elected office, law, medicine, or higher education, women turned to voluntary organizations in order to utilize their talents and time to solve problems in their communities (Faulk et al, 2013). Their roles in these charitable efforts also allowed women valuable insight into politics, governance, finance, and advocacy, which enabled them to lobby for increased power in traditional venues (Shimmel & Mullinnix, 2019). The nonprofit sector remains predominantly female.

Representative bureaucracy theory offers a framework for examining potential causes and solutions for inequity in public and nonprofit organizations, and a foundation upon which marginalized groups may exercise their power. In active representation, members of a particular group make decisions that benefit members of their demographic community. To do so, these actors require job discretion and consider themselves a representative of their community. While nonprofit boards enjoy substantial discretion regarding organizational policies, such as executive director pay, anti-discrimination plans, and leave programs, they may not be properly socialized to service. In other words, board members may be more likely to consider themselves as representative of their demographic background, or another group, than of the nonprofit organization itself (Lee, 2014).

Critical approaches such as feminist theory can augment representative bureaucracy theory by illuminating hidden power dynamics. One of the most important feminist contributions to disciplines such as political science, public administration, and international relations has been to demonstrate how gender roles that subordinate women in interpersonal relationships are manifested in broader structures of oppression and marginalization, maintained by governmental institutions, and reified through political and nonpolitical structures and processes (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2020; Findlay, 2015). For example, feminist political theorists have worked to understand how institutional structures such as legislation, organizational policy, and bureaucratic decision making create and uphold power, inequity, and injustice. Given the influence of nonprofit organizations on the lives of minority individuals, augmenting representative bureaucracy with a critical feminist perspective enables us to better understand not only the role of minority decision makers within nonprofit organizations, but also their impact on justice and equity.

Representative Bureaucracy

Questions of accountability, and how to increase it, particularly among unelected officials, feature prominently in the public administration literature. Scholars have pointed to representative bureaucracy as a solution to issues of accountability (Bailey, 2004). The framework of representation has become more inclusive and nuanced, placing a greater emphasis on the ways in which racial- or gender-minority bureaucrats utilize their discretion to resist marginalization and benefit others in their communities.

Historical Evolution of Representative Bureaucracy

The term and concept of 'representative bureaucracy' first appeared in Kingsley's (1944) book of that name. He warned that dominant social groups, descriptively represented within the

bureaucracy, often safeguarded their own interests and maintained control at the expense of other social classes. Kingsley considered this tendency in governance to be a mistake:

The democratic state cannot afford to exclude any considerable body of its citizens from full participation in its affairs. It requires at every point that superior insight and wisdom which is the peculiar product of pooling diverse streams of experiences. In this lies the strength of representative government. Upon it depends the superiority of the democratic civil service over its totalitarian rivals. In a democracy, competence alone is not enough. The public service must all be representative if the State is to liberate rather than enslave. (p. 185)

Kingsley argued that a representative government could only be achieved by recruiting employees from outside dominant societal groups in society; he also insisted that women should be represented within the civil service (Kingsley, 1944).

Other scholars expanded on Kingsley's theory, by considering how representation would reflect the general populace and benefit minority constituents. Levitan (1946) made the case that representation would not only ensure accountability, but also enable the use of discretion to reflect the desires of the people. Long (1952) noted that though public officials represented the majority through voting, bureaucrats, who were drawn from the broader citizenry, were more representative of the entire population and, accordingly, better able to represent their concerns. Long also argued for the benefits of, at a minimum, numerical representation; if the government, one of a nation's largest employers, provides jobs equally, it may enjoy greater legitimacy. Van Riper (1958) was the first scholar to articulate specific requirements to enable such representation; he argued that the public workforce must demographically match its constituents, and that officials should hold similar values to the general population.

Mosher (1968) distinguished ‘representation that is’ (passive representation) from ‘representation that does’ (active representation). Passive representation, he maintained, is achieved when the public workforce and the broader citizenry are demographically similar. However, passive representation in itself does not guarantee that the bureaucratic arm of government acts in accordance with the will of its constituents. Active representation, on the other hand, in which bureaucrats make policy and implementation choices that further the interests of their own communities, may better align wide community needs with public policies.

Mosher (1968) cautioned that active representation could raise two important concerns. First, since bureaucrats are unelected, they should not be enabled to actively represent in a manner that negates or opposes the policies set forth by elected officials. Second, relying on active representation to provide accountability is insufficient: some groups, he argued, should be considered even though they lack the political power to represent themselves.

Krislov (1974) made five significant contributions to the theory of representative bureaucracy, including a normative argument. First, he asserted that passive representation improved legitimacy, which in turn enabled better government performance, the ultimate goal of accountability. Second, he directly refuted Weber’s (1958) arguments by maintaining that bureaucrats are, and should be, more than cogs in a wheel—they have individual talents, perceptions, and skills that, if well-utilized, would make government better. Third, government’s size and prominence mean that increased diversity should result in positive spillover effects. Fourth, neither passive nor active representation must be perfect to be useful. Finally, Krislov articulated value in representation itself, as a fundamental national principle, beyond its importance to accountability.

Empirical Work Regarding Representative Bureaucracy

In accordance with the theoretical foundations above, empirical work has examined the organizational and individual environments and conditions conducive to passive and active representation and their potential outcomes. Following Mosher (1968), Kellough and Brunjes (2018) elaborated that “passive representation refer[s] to the extent to which the demographic characteristics of government officials matched those of the population served, whereas active representation [is] defined as efforts by individual bureaucrats to influence policy decisions in order to represent the interests of groups sharing their demographic backgrounds” (p. 520). According to Bishu and Kennedy (2019), studies that explore the connection between passive and active representation must “examine the circumstances under which representation produces, or does not produce, positive outcomes for traditionally underrepresented groups” (p. 560).

The robust literature on passive representation, mostly published between 1970 and 1999, focused on the number of minority individuals employed by the government and the agencies and positions in which they are concentrated. Authors then turned to examining the circumstances under which passive representation may lead to active representation (Bishu & Kennedy, 2019), considering the links between passive and active representation and the conditions that support or inhibit the latter. Several studies have found that this connection between passive and active representation depends upon minority bureaucrats sharing the same opinions as minorities in the general population (Bradbury & Kellough, 2008), presupposing that minority individuals experience the world differently from majority individuals (Dolan, 2000; Jackson & Ammen, 1996). Further research has illuminated three criteria for active representation to take place: the public official must have discretion within her/his job title, the mission of the organization must reflect issues that are important to the demographic community,

and the bureaucrat must view herself or himself as a representative of her/his demographic community (Selden, Brudney, & Kellough, 1998).

Active representation can manifest in public administration in many ways, including in sentencing decisions by judges (Spohn, 1990), support of provisional voting among local election officials (Kropf, Kimball, & Vercellotti, 2013), and better outcomes for Black students taught by Black teachers (Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, & Nicholson-Crotty, 2009). Other work has identified factors that mitigate active representation, such as federal agency socialization based on tenure (Selden et al., 1998) and formal socialization through training (Wilkins & Williams, 2008, 2009).

This wealth of representative bureaucracy literature does contain notable gaps and limitations. The current catalog may be too inflexible to emphasize gender representation; it may also fail to incorporate an intersectional perspective and/or emphasize quantitative methodologies to the exclusion of qualitative or mixed-methods work (Bishu & Kennedy, 2019; Meier, 2019). These gaps demonstrate the need to infuse representative bureaucracy literature with new epistemological and methodological life. Viewing representative bureaucracy theory through a feminist lens, and applying that framework to nonprofit organizations, their staff, and their volunteers, may continue to advance the literature, and its relevance, within the broader discipline of public administration.

Representative Bureaucracy and Gender

While representative bureaucracy has primarily been used to consider the relationship between race and bureaucratic decision making (Keiser et al, 2002), there has been some work considering representation by women. For instance, studies on the passive representation of women in government bureaucracies have demonstrated that while women are overrepresented

in state government employment (Llorens, Wenger, & Kellough, 2008), they are underrepresented in many organizational contexts, such as in departmental leadership (Feeney & Camarena, 2021) and within traditionally masculine institutions, like police departments (Matusiak & Matusiak, 2018) and regulatory agencies (Smith & Monaghan, 2013).

In response to mixed empirical findings on the beneficial impacts of female leadership, Keiser and colleagues (2002) directly examined whether more women in leadership positions in Texas high schools led to better outcomes for girls in their classes. Drawing from Simone de Beauvoir (1974), they emphasized that women have no shared geographical or cultural history—rather, they are found in every race or socio-economic status. They asked, “could it be that, as some feminists have suggested, women compose a social collective definable only by recourse to a common biological sex?” (Keiser et al., 2002). These scholars, distinguishing the concepts of sex and gender, determined the answer to be “no.” Sex “refers simply to the physiological reproductive capacities,” while “gender describes the social and cultural interpretation of sex, or, more precisely, the cultural magnification of sexual difference and commensurate suppression of similarities between women and men” (p. 554).

As Keiser and colleagues explain, focusing on sex to the exclusion of gender “dispense[s] with precisely what makes gender important to social science research—social meaning—and endow[s] sexual difference with a constant and invariant quality that much feminist thinking about social identification and political action shows to be problematic” (p. 554). They suggest that gender and sex be reconciled within the representative bureaucracy framework by accounting for institutional constraints on choice. Identities are created, performed, resisted, and emphasized within the context of institutions; “even more significant for our purposes here,

institutions shape social actors' cognition by conferring identity—that is, by selecting the factors that are considered relevant in making decisions” (Keiser et al., 2002, p. 555).

Keiser and colleagues (2002) articulated a framework for identifying environments conducive to female active representation. As in other studies of representative bureaucracy, the authors acknowledged the need for bureaucratic discretion over public policy. This framework also covered policy salience: the issue must be relevant to identity, or gendered (as opposed to racialized), in one of three ways. First, the issue could directly benefit women as a class; second, the gender of the bureaucrat changed the relationship or interaction between the bureaucrat and client; and third, the issue has been politically defined as a women's issue. These scholars also presented additional institutional and contextual factors that influence whether women will engage in active representation, including:

- *Organizational Mission*: Whether the mission indicates provision of assistance directly to women or was founded to assist women
- *Organizational Hierarchy Composition*: Whether women are present in the top levels of the organization
- *Critical Mass*: Whether there is adequate numerical representation in the organization
- *Professionalization*: Whether women have been highly professionalized within their field

Keiser (2002) maintained that if the organization's purpose was to help women, there would be a smooth transition from passive to active representation. Additionally, “the existence of hierarchy per se is less important than the question of who occupies the top of any hierarchy” (p. 557).

Thus, if women are present in the top levels of the organizational hierarchy, they may create an organizational environment that supports active representation by themselves and other women.

Keiser (2002) joined with other organizational theorists to argue that a numerical threshold is necessary for minority representation, and applied this critical mass hypothesis to women. Finally, the authors hypothesized that increased professionalization would also increase the likelihood of active representation by women, stating “Professions competed with the bureaucracy in shaping individual bureaucrats’ goals because professionals receive some of their rewards from a group outside of the bureaucracy” (p. 557). While they acknowledged that this was similar for racial minority bureaucrats, they pointed out that “because women may be more disposed to toward engaging in actively representation for women due to shared experience,” professionalization would be specifically important for them (p. 557).

Gender Diversity in Organizations

A growing body of research examines how gender impacts the behaviors of nonprofit board members and staff, and considers nonprofits to be gendered spaces. In terms of individual characteristics, gender has been demonstrated to impact a board member’s perception of their role (Block & Rosenberg, 2013), their confidence in their abilities as a board member, and how much power they expect to have (Brown, Hillman, & Okun, 2012; Goodwin, et al., 2020).

Gender diversity has been demonstrated to impact the performance of the board and, through the board, the organization itself (Buse, Bernstein, & Bilimoria, 2016). Gender-diverse boards are also more likely to ensure that the nonprofit CEO is paid comparably to their for-profit counterpart (Ahmed, Atif, & Gyapong, 2021), focus on corporate responsibility (Azmat & Rentschler, 2017), value sustainability (Fakir & Jusoh, 2020), and innovate (Khan, Bin Khidmat, & Awan, 2021). A higher proportion of female board members also leads to greater focus on policies that seek to reduce gendered social practices (Kowalewska, 2020). Overall, the presence

of women on nonprofit boards decreases human resource and financial problems (Wicker, Feiler, & Breuer, 2020) and increases the likelihood of hiring a female CEO (Lee, 2019).

Scholars can use the representative bureaucracy framework to better understand the benefits of gender-diverse organizations and the ways in which female nonprofit leaders advocate for policies that will benefit other women. Substantial work has demonstrated that women in leadership positions in criminal justice (Andrews & Miller, 2013; Meier & Funk, 2017), education (Agyapong, 2018; Dhillon & Meier, 2022), and government (Funk & Philips, 2019; Suzuki & Avellaneda, 2018) have actively represented the interests of other women.

In terms of criminal justice, the presence of women has impacted organizational responses to gender-based violent crime, such as domestic violence (Andrews & Miller, 2013; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Meier, Pennington, & Eller, 2005; Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Lavena, 2014) and rape (Meier & Funk, 2017; Schuck, 2018). Scholars have also demonstrated that women can change outcomes for civil offenses, particularly in child support enforcement agencies (Wilkins, 2007; Wilkins & Keiser, 2006). In addition, the presence of women has had impacts in areas not explicitly gendered, such as requiring body cameras (Mrozla & Hellwege, 2020), supporting community policing (Schuck, 2017), training around the use of force against civilians (Wright & Headley, 2020), and decreasing instances of violence in prisons (Johnston & Holt, 2021). In contrast, however, Johnston and Houston (2018), in a study of police officers in leadership positions in the United Kingdom, found little evidence of active representation in terms of increasing gender-based violence arrest rates. In addition, Neumann (2017) found that the presence of female officials in the criminal justice system in Nicaragua did not improve most women's treatment by the police or prosecuting lawyers. Thus, the results regarding active representation by women in the criminal justice system have been mixed and invite further

research to more clearly delineate the circumstances under which one might expect women to engage in active representation.

Scholars have also considered representative bureaucracy in the contexts of K-12 and post-secondary education. The presence of women in grades K-12 has led to improved test scores among their female students (Dhillon & Meier, 2022; Giersch, Kropf, & Stearns, 2020; Song, 2018; Zhang, 2019), especially in STEM fields (Agyapong, 2018; Stearns et al., 2016), and decrease absenteeism and suspensions (Holt & Gershenson, 2019). At the university level, female representation has been demonstrated to further increase the number of women in predominantly male STEM fields (Su, Johnson, & Bozeman, 2015) and lead to better Title IX compliance (Lee & Won, 2016).

Finally, scholars have found that an increase in gender representation in the U.S. federal government has a substantial impact on resulting policies and performance (Park, 2013). Specifically, an increase in women in government leads to a greater number of contracts being awarded to minority-owned businesses (Fernandez, Malatesta, & Smith, 2013), and affects hiring decisions (Wilson & Carlos, 2014). Likewise, local government studies have found that women make different resource allocation decisions than men; they focus on traditionally “feminine” expenditures such as healthcare, social assistance, and education (Funk & Philips, 2019; Park, 2014; Suzuki & Avellaneda, 2018).

Ultimately, there is evidence to suggest that gender does impact how an individual conducts themselves within an organization. While there has been ample research that demonstrates that women act in ways that benefit other women, there is also evidence that counters this assertion. Thus, additional research that more clearly describes the conditions under which women will engage in active representation is needed.

Representative Bureaucracy and Feminism

Representative bureaucracy was not conceptualized as a framework to examine power inequities within public organizations. However, in discussing how minority bureaucrats can benefit their politically-marginalized community members, the theory invites scholars to consider marginalized populations and their access to power. A critical feminist perspective can contribute to the public administration literature by taking up this challenge by focusing on the ways in which gender inequalities may be reaffirmed through various institutions. This approach can add nuance to the representative bureaucracy literature in two ways: 1) by examining how bureaucrats utilize their power to respond to systemic power differentials, and 2) by conceiving of, and collecting data from, gendered spaces.

Feminism, developed as a response to the systemic discrimination faced by women throughout history, is particularly relevant for disciplines such as public administration, political science, or government due to its critique of power structures. Stivers (2000) argued against the neutrality of public administration as a term or discipline; instead, she maintained, it has been androcentric since its conception and disparages feminine perspectives. Although representative bureaucracy has illuminated some of the disparities between empowered and disempowered public officials and the benefits of increasing diversity within public organizations, it too rose from this androcentric tradition.

Feminist theory also challenges scholars to consider new sources of data. As Keiser and colleagues (2002) argued, women may be more likely to engage in active representation in gendered spaces. While the public administration literature examines the programmatic priorities of bureaucrats, feminist theory asks the question: “Whose goals are prioritized and whose are not?” Examining both who is prioritized and who is not enables a consideration not only of how

individuals are marginalized, but also how those in power maintain their position. This critical lens holds that research should be focused on dismantling the systems of oppression that reify marginalization and actively pursuing a more just and equitable world (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005; Sprague, 2016). Fortunately, representative bureaucracy is a robust theory that can accommodate this sort of expansion.

Gender, and its intersections with race/ethnicity, class, ability, and sexual orientation, fundamentally changes the ways in which an individual is seen by others and the amount of autonomy they hold (Sprague, 2016). Mitchell and Oakley (1976) considered feminist thought to refer to method as well as content: “it asks new questions as well as coming up with new answers. Its central concern is with the social distinction between men and women, and with the fact of this distinction with its means, and with its causes and consequences” (Mitchell & Oakley, 1976, p. 14). Specifically, feminist researchers concern themselves with the ways in which gender is understood, manifested, and potentially marginalized across various disciplines (Nienaber & Moraka, 2016).

As D'Ignazio (2020) claimed, feminism “is about power—who has it and who doesn't” (p. 14). Importantly, feminist thought also connects domestic interactions to those in the public sphere. In other words, the same assumptions about gender that cause women to perform most housework also contribute to ideas about women's suitability for particular jobs within an organization, justify lower salaries for women, underlie sexual harassment of women, or treat pregnancy as an illness.

Feminist theory contextualizes the power asymmetries that exist in public organizations within a broader context of oppression and discrimination. Incorporating discussions of power enables researchers to work to dismantle them (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2020). Feminist theory

demands that researchers ask the question “whose information needs to become data before it can be considered as fact and acted upon?” (D'Ignazio & Klein, 2020, p. 10). Specifically, feminist theory would expand representative bureaucracy by intentionally focusing on power and oppression, providing a more nuanced discussion of positionality and its impacts, and encouraging data collection in new settings. Carefully examining the ways in which nonprofits reify traditional notions of femininity and sexism will also enable the dismantling of those structures, increasing and strengthening diversity, increasing accountability to stakeholders, and ultimately increasing effectiveness.

Nonprofit Organizations

Nonprofit organizations serve the public by providing vital services such as housing, healthcare, education, and legal assistance that people may not be able to access from the government or private sector (Ott & Dicke, 2012). The National Center for Charitable Statistics' 2019 *Nonprofit Sector in Brief* report (2019), listed approximately 1.54 million IRS-registered nonprofits in 2016, representing 5.6% of the U.S. gross domestic product. In 2016, nonprofit organizations employed 12.3 million people (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018), which equals more than 1 in 10 jobs, or over 7% percent of the country's workforce (Salamon, 2018).

Scholars have long maintained the intrinsic and aspirational value of the nonprofit sector. Ott and Dicke described it as the embodiment of a truly civil society, in which individuals organize outside of government or business to address individual and social concerns (Ott & Dicke, 2012). Nonprofit organizations provide a unique space for community participation (Lee, 2016), ameliorate community issues while developing individual skills and creativity (Kim & Mason, 2018), build community networks that can be activated at a later date to address an emergency or other issue (Ott & Dicke, 2012), and bring groups together that might otherwise be

in conflict. Unlike in the government or the private sector, people do not need prior knowledge or certification to be able to directly contribute to their communities. Further, the nonprofit sector is incredibly diverse: organizations vary by size, mission, values, and structure (Boris, 1999).

Interaction with nonprofit organizations leads people to connect to large, more formalized political institutions, learn about policy issues, express their values, and participate in the policymaking process needed to create a functioning democracy (Kim & Mason, 2018; Putnam, 2000). Finally, nonprofits allow anyone, regardless of background, to contribute to their community, engage with their neighbors, and represent communal interests (Putnam, 2000; Quaranta & Sani, 2016).

Nonprofits and Government

Though not explicitly beholden to political pressure or profit goals, nonprofit organizations influence political and social life in communities. Nonprofit organizations are arrangements of interest to specific groups of people with particular values, goals, ideas on the public good, and plans for addressing identified challenges. They utilize an organizational structure with policies, practices, and processes to negotiate the relationship between community members and the government (Findlay, 2015).

Nonprofit organizations also maintain partnerships with government to co-produce vital public services, such as housing, job training, elder care, foster care, and nutritional assistance.¹ Governments at all levels in the United States have become inextricably linked to the nonprofit sector, as supplements, complements, and adversaries (Young, 1998):

¹ Charitable organizations have existed since the founding of the country, but the way that they have been socially conceptualized and legally designated has changed over time. Indeed, the current conception of “nonprofit organization” and a nonprofit “sector” has only existed for approximately 50 years (Tschirhart & Bielefeld, 2012).

In various contexts, nonprofits have served as privately supported supplementary service providers of public goods, as complementary partners with government in public service provision, and as advocates and adversaries in the process of public policy formation and implementation. Often, two or three of these roles are manifested simultaneously. (p. 32)

These three overlapping roles ensure the relevance of nonprofit organizations for a functioning democracy. Nonprofits act as supplements to the government in areas “such as the arts where citizen preferences vary widely” (Young, 1998, p. 35) and where they can customize existing government interventions. They complement government services by implementing government contracts and collecting localized or specific information. Finally, nonprofits such as the American Civil Liberties Union and the Southern Poverty Law Center take an adversarial role, demanding better treatment of marginalized groups and critiquing the government’s approach (Young, 1998).

In 2019, “80 cents out of every dollar of nonprofit revenue in the United States [came] from government grants or contracts and fees for services” (Hrywna, 2019). Thus, beyond providing a space for engagement and providing services, the nonprofit sector acts as an extension of government by participating in, and impacting, their local and national economy (National Council of Nonprofits, 2019). In addition, this funding mechanism and federal partnerships suggest that nonprofit employees and volunteers may be considered similarly to members of the public workforce (though important differences remain), enabling scholars to apply frameworks traditionally applied to government, such as representative bureaucracy.

The nonprofit sector occupies a vital role in public service provision and the functionality of the U.S. democracy. In its absence, the American government would be unable to provide programs and services that have defined it, as protector, guarantor, and enabler.

Volunteer Boards of Directors

A board of directors (a board) bears ultimate responsibility for the actions of a nonprofit organization, by ensuring compliance with applicable laws, preventing conflicts of interests (Green & Griesinger, 1996; LeRoux & Langer, 2016; Price, 2018), and defining and pursuing long-term strategic goals (Carver & Carver, 2006). Board members determine organizational policies and make major resource allocation decisions, such as hiring the executive director, setting director pay, determining communication pathways, protecting organizational assets, and managing long- and short-term finances (Carver & Carver, 2006).

Notably, a nonprofit board identifies the main organizational stakeholders and mediates conflicts among them to ensure accountability (Ebrahim, 2010; Smith, 1995). Since the concept of accountability is highly subjective (Ebrahim, 2010; Tschirhart & Bielefeld, 2012) and may depend upon who defines it, board composition can greatly influence this process. For instance, a nonprofit heavily dependent on government funding may be caught between government demands and its own mission; board members are responsible for navigating this tension to prevent mission drift (Saidel & Harlan, 1998; Stone, 1996).

Accountability

Accountability encompasses three considerations—to whom is the entity accountable, for what is an entity accountable?, and what are the means for ensuring its accountability? Ebrahim (2010) noted that the answers to each of these may change depending on who is doing the asking. Nonprofit organizations are accountable to “stakeholders,” including nonprofit staff, volunteers, funders, and clients, with varying, and sometimes competing, needs. Power differentials among stakeholders may yield some actors (donors or funders) more influence than others (clients) over agency actions.

The second accountability consideration (what is the organization accountable for?) is concerned with legal accountability and compliance with applicable laws (Kearns, 1995). Again, the answer may depend on the stakeholder, creating more confusion that nonprofit staff must attempt to resolve (Ebrahim, 2010). Some stakeholders may be satisfied with the minimum legal requirements, but others may posit that the nonprofit should also maintain high ethical standards.

The means of ensuring accountability are even more elusive, since the general public cannot exert direct control over the actions of nonprofit organizations (Kim, 2005). Generally, individuals and communities must rely on the knowledge, skills, and integrity of nonprofit board members, staff, and volunteers to realize high accountability. However, since nonprofits are publicly-supported (through tax-exemption, direct government support, and individual contributions) and administer such a large percentage of government programs, the public has a right to expect these organizations to be as accountable as government. Given this, the current line of research uses frameworks historically applied to traditional government bureaucrats, such as representative bureaucracy, to examine the actions of nonprofit employees and volunteers, determine equity issues, and track organizational accountability to their clients and to the public at large.

This dissertation represents a first step in integrating representative bureaucracy theory with feminist theory, within the context of nonprofit organizations. While representative bureaucracy theory serves as the foundation to examine salary issues, sexual harassment, and parental leave, I will use feminist theory to guide both the analysis and interpretation of the results. Feminist theory will focus attention to issues of power and how systemic bias against women is potentially created in the nonprofit sector. Thus, my dissertation is guided by two broad research questions: first, what are the potential implications of gender and power within

the nonprofit sector and second, what are new sources of data and knowledge that can be used to explore the experiences of women who work or volunteer at nonprofit organizations?

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation considers how nonprofit organizations work to either dismantle or reaffirm systems of oppression and investigates representative bureaucracy theory on new turf, providing implications for both nonprofit practitioners and nonprofit scholars, respectively. Specifically, the following three chapters examine the pay of executive directors in nonprofit organizations, nonprofit sexual harassment policies, and family leave policies, and use both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the potential for active representation in the nonprofit sector. The final chapter contextualizes these findings within the nonprofit and feminist literatures, and details implications, limitations, and areas for future research.

Chapter 2 discusses representative bureaucracy theory through a critical feminist lens, tracking the influence of gender on salary decisions and pay disparities within a nonprofit-specific context. This study argues that the sector's overrepresentation of female employees, potential for female board leadership, and historical dependence on women create expectations for their active representation of the financial interests of other women. To test this proposition, the author drew data from Internal Revenue Service 990 forms and generated multiple regression models to demonstrate the impact of board gender composition on executive director pay.

Chapter 3 presents the development of organizational sexual harassment policies after a series of court cases made it illegal, incentivizing preventative and reactive workplace policies on the subject. The study contends that this patchwork of legal rulings encourages an additive, rather than transformative, approach to sexual harassment, prioritizing *how* policies discuss reporting, sanctioning, and resolving sexual harassment rather than looking to see *if* the policies

include specific language. Using the texts of sexual harassment policies from 23 nonprofits, the author conducted a thematic analysis of the messages that these organizations relay to employees regarding sexual harassment.

Chapter 4 posits that the societal model of an “ideal worker” affected cultural and workplace views on parental leave, disadvantaging both women and men. In an attempt to be gender neutral, national parental leave policy reifies traditional gender norms; this work questions whether organizational policies in the nonprofit sector have the potential to do the same. Parental leave policies from 23 nonprofits were accessed to perform a thematic analysis on possible messages to employees regarding the definition of “family,” work/home gender norms, and expectations for employee work/family prioritization.

Throughout this dissertation, representative bureaucracy theory is supplemented with feminist theory to identify two useful spaces for promoting gender equity in nonprofit workplaces. The Chapter 2 discussion on gender board composition introduces the idea of patriarchal hegemony as a barrier to active representation. Chapters 3 and 4 apply a feminist critical perspective in the scholarly hunt for environments with evidence of active representation by women. This hybrid approach not only provides new theory and perspectives for scholars, but also guides nonprofit leaders to more diverse, accountable, and effective organizations.

Workplace protections are important. The ability to obtain and maintain a safe working environment has immediate consequences for women. However, workplace interactions do not exist in a vacuum—they are extensions of the private and political spheres, rife with gendered conceptions of how women should behave or respond. For this reason, organizations must implement protections to mitigate these structures and prevent discrimination against female employees, through equal pay and effective sexual harassment and parental leave policies.

CHAPTER 2: YOU MUST BE JOKING, BATGIRL!: BOARD COMPOSITION AND
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR COMPENSATION IN U.S. NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS²

² Yoder, B. To be submitted to Organization Science

Abstract

While various scholarly explanations for the gender wage gap have emerged, many of this research calls on dynamics that no longer fully apply. In order to examine the persistence of this disparity, this study uses the theory of representative bureaucracy and salary data to consider a more nuanced historical and modern explanations of the pay gap and the role and function of women in leadership. Study data were derived from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Form 990 for organizations, for years 2010-2016, in two publicly-available datasets. Quantitative analysis revealed little evidence for successful active representation by female board members on the topic of executive director pay.

Introduction

A 1972 public service announcement from the Department of Labor showed iconic superheroes Batman and Robin tied up, at the mercy of a ticking bomb. Batgirl comes to save them, and points out that she deserves equal pay, as she and Robin have “the same job, same employer.” Robin rolls his eyes; Batman suggests that Batgirl must be joking to claim right to equal pay. Batgirl responds that it’s not a joke; it’s the Federal Equal Pay Law, passed in 1963 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1979).

Fifty years later, Batgirl’s complaint remains unanswered. Gender has always been a determinant of pay,³ with women being paid less (Alksnis, Desmarais, & Curtis, 2008). The gender wage gap, defined “in many industrialized countries [as] systemic differences between the average wages or salaries of men and those of women” (Barnes, 2021, para. 1), still occupies

³ “At its lowest point in 1973, full-time working women earned a median of 56.6 cents to every dollar that full-time working men earned. Since then, women’s median earnings have gained [27 cents, reaching 83 cents in 2021]” (Leisenring, 2020). The U.S. Census Bureau places the gap at 18.4 cents, meaning that women earn 81.6 cents for every male dollar (United States Census Bureau, 2019). However, when accounting for race, the gap becomes 21 cents for white women, 15 cents for Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) women, 37 cents for Black women, 45 cents for Latina women, and 40 cents for Native American women (Catalyst, 2021).

the global stage. President Joe Biden released the following statement on April 15th, 2021:

“Closing the gender pay gap is more than just an economic imperative—it’s a moral imperative as well” (U.S. Office of the Press Secretary, 2021). He continued:

In nearly every job—more than 90.0 percent of occupations—women are still earning less than men. For every dollar the typical man who works full-time full-year earns in America, a woman earns 82 cents. For AAPI women, it’s 87 cents for every dollar a white man earns. For Black women, it’s 63 cents. For Native American women, it’s 60 cents. And for Hispanic women, it’s 55 cents . . . Those gaps are an affront to our values as a nation.

Despite progress, a 2017 Pew Research Center survey found that about four in 10 working women (42%) said they had experienced gender discrimination at work, compared with about two in 10 men (22%). One in four employed women reported earning less than a man who was doing the same job; just 5% of men made the reversed claim (Barroso & Brown, 2021).

This gender pay gap has been documented in the nonprofit sector (Allen, 2020; L’Herrou & Tynes, 2020; Song, et al., 2019), though to a lesser degree than in private industry (Hirsch, 2019; Lee, 2014; Leete, 2000), within human service agencies (Gibelman, 2000), small business development centers (Gray & Benson, 2003), and foundations (Nonprofit Times, 2018). Other work has found nonprofit sector-wide gaps by occupation, such as female vs. male fundraising professionals (Mesch & Rooney, 2008). For instance, in study of 7,182 nonprofit organizations, Finley (2021) reported an 8.9% gap between male and female executive directors. In another example, L’Herrrou (2020) demonstrated a 12% disparity between male and female executives at organizations in South Florida.

Further, the nonprofit sector's prevalence of traditionally-female occupations, such as teaching, nursing, and caretaking, may exacerbate this pay gap (Gibelman, 2000). A sociological perspective posits that these types of occupations are generally devalued; both women and men working in them see lower salaries (Faulk et al., 2013). Lecy and colleagues (2021) argue:

The nonprofit sector is a unique organizational context because the work is feminine gendered. The historical development of many nonprofit subsectors in particular, those rooted in unpaid or voluntary work outside of traditional labor markets and those with a focus on moral and ethical concerns, community well-being, social services, education, and health has led to perceptions of the nonprofit sector having feminine, or soft qualities...Early feminist theorists argue that these social and cultural structures around feminine values and gendered stereotypes are connected to women's dominance in the workforce. (pg. 2)

Faulk and colleagues continued that men who choose to work in these female-coded occupations suffer even more harshly when compared to their earning potential in a male-coded occupation.

Though most nonprofit full-time and mission-critical positions are filled by women, executive director positions are a glaring exception (Mastracci & Herring, 2010). As Faulk (2013) asserted, "The predominance of women in the nonprofit workforce makes gender pay equity important because it can contribute to employee satisfaction and help ensure high quality work from an intrinsically motivated staff" (p. 1269). In addition to dominating paid positions, women also support the nonprofit sector by donating time and financial resources (Miller, 2009).

While various explanations for the wage gap have emerged, many call on dynamics that no longer fully apply. In order to examine the persistence of this disparity, this study uses the

theory of representative bureaucracy and salary data to consider more nuanced historical and modern explanations of the pay gap and the role and function of women in leadership.

Background and Literature Review

Explanations for Gender-based Pay Disparities

Pay disparities were not a political issue until the mid-1800s, with the emergence of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States (Eisenberg & Ruthsdotter, 1998). At that time, women's rights activists, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, argued that women's suffrage would be instrumental in attaining pay equity. Since then, scholars and activists have posited numerous explanations for gendered wage disparity, including women's disenfranchisement, differences in qualifications between women and men, and a lack of female representation in organizational leadership positions.

Women's Disenfranchisement

One of the earliest explanations for gender pay gaps held that since women could not vote, they could not elect representatives who would pass pay equity legislation. For instance, in her 1880 speech⁴, Susan B. Anthony argued that:

The disenfranchised must always do the work, accept the wages, [and] occupy the position the enfranchised assign to them...that is exactly the position of women in the world of work today – they cannot choose. If they could, do you for a moment believe they would take the subordinate place and the inferior pay? (Anthony, 1880)

Although the first woman (Janette Rankin) was elected to office in 1916, and women won the right to vote in 1920, 24 years passed before Congresswoman Winifred Stanley

⁴ Anthony gave the speech in several cities from 1880-1890 (Anthony, 1880).

introduced the first legislation that would prohibit pay discrimination (Daugherty, 2021). The bill failed, undermining the argument that enfranchisement alone could eliminate the wage gap.

However, subsequent legislative attempts to achieve pay equity were enacted. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibited paying male and female workers different salaries for the same position. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination by race and gender in a variety of contexts, including employment. The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 increased the amount of time to file a discrimination claim and made it easier for women to sue their employers for pay discrimination. Unfortunately, more recent efforts have stalled. The Paycheck Fairness Act, introduced in every congressional session since 1997, has either died in committee or failed to pass the Senate (Connley, 2021; Foran & Barrett, 2021). If passed, this act would prevent retaliation for sharing salary information, hold employers accountable for wage discrimination, allow workers to sue for punitive damages, and start programs to train women to negotiate for salaries more effectively.

Differences in Qualifications: Human Capital and Occupational Segregation

Presumably, the pay-equity legislation described above would have prevented pay disparities; yet the pay gap between women and men persisted. New theories emerged. In the late 1950s, human capital scholarship (Mincer, 1970) claimed “the gender pay gap was, historically at least, chiefly the result of women having lower ‘human capital’ than men – that is, lower knowledge skills, or job experience” (Brynin, 2017, p. 16). Human capital theory focuses on how different decisions made by men and women contribute to differences in compensation. The theory maintains that organizations set salaries based on an applicant’s investments in education, experience, and leadership training, as well as attributes such as age, previous responsibility, loyalty to the organization, hours worked, or the decision to compete with others (Blau & Kahn,

2017). For instance, women may refuse to work late in order to care for their families, leave higher education earlier, or be less willing to travel for work. Thus, it is not a woman's *gender* that leads to lower pay, but her life and employment choices.

Extensive research has found that the choice to participate in motherhood heavily determines earning potential. Women with children are more likely to forego work to care for children, be less productive at work, and take lower paying jobs with better family benefits (Budig & England, 2001). Time away from paid work (Choi, 2018) and potential fatigue from childrearing responsibilities (Staff & Mortimer, 2012) may negatively impact their long-term earnings. A 2001 study quantified this penalty, revealing that mothers are hit with a 7% decrease in salary per child (Budig & England, 2001).

However, modern women have been able to make better human capital investments and break into traditionally-male occupations and positions (Sassler, et al., 2017). Combined with an increase in the number of women working full-time, this enables an apples-to-apples comparison that should theoretically eliminate the pay gap. Even controlling for occupation, hours worked, and human capital variables such as education or parenthood, “published estimates for the discrimination (or unexplained) component of the wage gap yields a less promising perspective. There is no decline over time” (Weichselbaumer & Winter-Ebmer, 2005, p. 508). Put simply, despite making the same human capital choices as men, women continue to be paid less.

Human capital theory informed the concept of “glass walls,” which employers create by sorting potential employees into “gender-appropriate professions”; these walls limit women to positions that provide traditionally-female services, such as education and social work (Alkadry & Tower, 2006). For instance, public-sector female workers are underrepresented in distributive (those that directly administer government services to individuals) and regulatory agencies (those

that regulate the behaviors of other organizations and individuals) and overrepresented in redistributive agencies (those agencies that focus on changing the allocation of resources or attention) (Kerr, Miller, & Reid, 2002). Traditionally-female professions are paid less than traditionally-male counterparts, such as science, law, or management (Alksnis et al., 2008; Pech, Klainot-Hess, & Norris, 2021).

Lack of Representation in Leadership Positions

Another line of inquiry on the pay gap considers barriers to attaining leadership positions. Women may struggle to reach top positions due to “sticky floors” and “glass ceilings.” As higher-ranking jobs typically pay higher salaries, a woman’s stalled advancement may be a drag on financial compensation (Alkadry & Tower, 2011; Koeske & Krowinski, 2004; Smith, 2002).

Sticky floors describe “the position of women...where fewer are promoted and fewer are given any institutional resource at the start of their careers to set them on their way, when compared with their male colleagues” (Brown, et al., 2020, p. 2). Sticky floors are particularly prevalent in the public sector, despite the mandate for public organizations to treat employees equally (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017; Miller, 2009).

Even if a woman manages to unstick herself from the floor, a glass ceiling may prevent her from ascending too far up the organizational hierarchy (Baxter & Wright, 2000; Bullard & Wright, 1993; Cotter, et al., 2001). Glass ceilings are artificial barriers upheld by organizational structures which prevent qualified minoritized individuals from advancing in their organizations (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017; Gibelman, 2000). Bishu (2017) noted that “An important aspect of this phenomenon is also that it is manifested at higher levels of organizational hierarchies, it intensifies over individuals’ course of career and cannot be explained by factors related to a lack of job competence skills” (p. 73).

These combined barriers for women enable men to ascend to leadership positions, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. Men are more likely to have the position, and accompanying authority, to advocate for greater salaries for themselves and their compatriots (Choi, 2018). If women were similarly situated, they could influence better wages and opportunities for themselves and other women.

Representative Bureaucracy and Compensation Decisions

Representative Bureaucracy and Gender

Representative bureaucracy theory would suggest that decamping from the sticky floor and breaking the glass ceiling would better enable women to advocate for pay equity.

Representative bureaucracy theory posits that bureaucrats from minority communities (e.g., women) will support policies that benefit others in their communities.⁵ Findings regarding women's participation in active representation has been mixed, though there is substantial evidence that women actively represent other women in career decisions (Stearns et al., 2016), hiring (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012), and remuneration (Funk, Silva, & Escobar-Lemmon, 2019).

Rabovsky and Lee (2018) compared wage disparities at public and private universities and found that while the presence of women in senior faculty or administrative positions decreased the wage gap in private institutions by \$1,325, it did not do so at public universities. Lee and Won (2014) considered whether women's presence throughout the organizational hierarchy affected gender equity in assistant professor salaries. They demonstrated that schools with a larger proportion of female full professors have a smaller gender pay gap; each percentage increase in female full professors leads to a \$2,825 decrease in the wage gap between male and

⁵ For a full discussion of the history and theoretical underpinnings of representative bureaucracy, see Chapter 1.

female assistant professor salaries. Unexpectedly, they found a greater gender wage gap (\$1,177.22 larger) in institutions with a female president (Lee & Won, 2014).

Cook, Ingersoll, and Glass (2019) used a sample of 12,091 people (11,139 men and 952 women) to determine whether adding women to the board of directors at private firms reduced pay disparities, finding mixed results. The presence of women on the board led to an increase in salary for everyone: 16.7% more for men and 18.7% more for women. However, even in organizations with female board representation, a woman averaged only 85.7% of a man's salary. The authors concluded that the presence of women on the board was not, in itself, enough to shift pay disparities; women must also have direct discretion over pay decisions in order to shrink the wage gap (A. Cook et al., 2019).

Representative bureaucracy offers some additional considerations for this relationship. First, the primary assumption of representative bureaucracy theory is that passive representation, or the increased presence of minorities, will result in active representation (Mosher, 1968). However, the presence (passive representation) of women does not necessarily translate to making decisions that will benefit other women (active representation). Despite increased female leadership, an unexplained portion of the pay gap remains (Alkadry & Tower, 2006), typically seen as a measure of discrimination, unchanged since 1989 (Blau & Kahn, 2017). Indeed, Goldin (2014) argued that as “the explained portion of the gender wage gap decreased over time as human capital investments between men and women converged...In consequence, the [unexplained] portion of the gap rose relative to the explained portion [grew]” (p. 1093). Put simply, the amount of the wage gap that was attributable to differences in qualification decreased, leaving more of the gap explained by discrimination. For passive representation to translate to active representation, bureaucrats must have discretion over the policy at hand and

consider themselves representatives of their communities, and the policy in question must impact that community (Selden et al., 1998).

Context Matters

Keiser and colleagues (2002)⁶ suggested additional criteria for active representation by women, arguing that 1) the issue itself must be gendered and 2) women must comprise a critical mass of organizational leadership. They maintained that “a policy area can become gendered 1) because the policy directly benefits women as a class, 2) because the gender of the bureaucrat changes the client-bureaucrat relationship, or 3) because the issue has been defined as a women’s issue through the political process” (p. 566). Additionally, Keiser and colleagues (2002), along with other scholars (Meier, 1993; Thompson, 1978), argued that organizations must meet a numerical threshold of minorities or women, in this case women, to enable active representation. A critical mass may provide minority or female bureaucrats with the social support to advocate for themselves and their communities.

Bishu and Kennedy (2019) demonstrated that the majority of scholarly work applying the theory of representative bureaucracy did so in only a few contexts, namely law enforcement and education. They contended that context-specific work exploring the antecedents and outcomes of representative bureaucracy would “help test the theoretical framework in new areas, inform about its generalizability, and help identify its usefulness and potential conceptual limitations” (p. 581).

The present study seeks to answer this call for context-specific work on women’s active representation, using a contextually-bounded analysis to test the framework of representative bureaucracy within the nonprofit sector, specifically measuring the number of women on

⁶ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for a full discussion of Keiser et al. (2002).

nonprofit boards and the size of the wage gap. Pay gaps in the non-profit sector may be due to the unequal distribution of female leadership in nonprofit organizations: women are underrepresented in leadership positions in large, wealthy organizations and therefore lack access to the accompanying pay increase (Gibelman, 2000). Further, women are concentrated in female-dominated occupations that lack higher-level positions of authority, slowing their transition to management when compared to men's (Damman, Heyse, & Mills, 2014).

A 2021 study found that women encounter obstacles when trying to ascend to leadership positions within wealthy nonprofit organizations (Lee & Lee, 2021). Among nonprofits with an annual budget of \$50 million, only about a quarter had a female CEOs (Allen, 2020). When promoted, women receive lower salaries than their male counterparts (Gibelman, 2000); male nonprofit staff are more likely to negotiate salary, using private-sector measures, increasing the pay disparity (Finley et al., 2021). Even in the arts and culture subsector,⁷ where women are generally overrepresented (Cohen & Huffman, 2003), organizations with a budget of over \$15 million were predominantly run by men (Trevino, et al., 2017).

The gender composition of a nonprofit board and its impact on the salary of the executive director fulfills many of the criteria for active representation by women set by the representative bureaucracy literature. As noted above, the bureaucrat must have the discretion to make choices that benefit people like them (Selden et al., 1998). Due to their organizational structure, nonprofit board members do have discretion to hire and set the compensation of executive directors (Carver & Carver, 2006; Hallock, 2002). Additionally, members of the board are bound to exercise this discretion as part of their duty to steward the organization's resources (LeRoux & Langer, 2016). My research question follows: How does board gender composition and the

⁷ These subsectors have the lowest overall median salaries (Guidestar, 2019).

gender composition of board leadership impact the pay of female and male executive directors?

Thus, my hypotheses follow:

H1: Female executive directors working for nonprofit boards with female chairs will be paid more than female executive directors working for nonprofit boards with a male chair.

H2: Female executive directors working for nonprofit boards with a critical mass of women will be paid more than women executive directors who work for board without a critical mass of women.

H3: As the percentage of women on the board increases, the pay of the female executive director also increases.

Method

Data Collection

Study data were derived from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Form 990 for organizations, for years 2010-2016, in two publicly-available datasets. The IRS mandates that all nonprofit organizations submit documents regarding their financial status, major program changes, and accountability measures. The E-File Core dataset contained basic organizational information such as revenue, expenditures, number of employees, total salaries provided by the organization, and number of volunteers. The second dataset contained information from Form 990 Part VII regarding the key staff members (board members and executive directors), including names, titles, average hours worked per week, and compensation.

Each nonprofit is identified with a unique Employer Identification Number (EIN), which was used to merge the two datasets. The resulting dataset (1,228,805 observations describing 294,411 organizations) included the names of executive directors and board members, as well as

the following variables for analysis: the number of employees, number of board members, and total annual revenue.

There were two primary cleaning considerations. First, the gender of the board leadership was not listed. To overcome this challenge, I employed the statistical software R with the “Predict Gender from Names Using Historical Data” package, authored by Lincoln Mullen, Cameron Blevins, and Ben Schmidt, which predicts an individual’s gender based on their first names, compared with Social Security Records. Individuals were coded “female,” “male,” or “unknown.” I recoded these observations as “1,” “0,” and “-99,” respectively, in Stata.

Second, because organizations self-reported the information, and Form 990 listed no uniform titles that denote board leadership to choose from, titles for similar positions varied widely, and many were missing. The agent completing the form had wide discretion, leading to titles such as “1st Lieutenant,” “Grand High Priest,” “Grand Crysophylos,” and “Grand Hegemon.” To answer this challenge, I utilized the 2010 dataset and manually determined which titles to include in the final analysis, ultimately generating a list of 2,254 search terms (Appendix 1). This list included derivatives of “board member,” “board chair,” “board vice chair,” “secretary,” and “treasurer.” After omitting organizations without at least one paid employee, and restricting the dataset to 501(c)(3) organizations that fulfilled the title criteria – i.e. their board leadership titles matched my search terms – and paid their executive directors, the sample included 60,640 observations of 17,372 different organizations.

Variables

The dependent variable was the salary of the executive director, measured in 2016 US dollar amounts, adjusted for inflation. For the independent variable of primary interest, I used three measures of board gender composition (fig. 1). The first was a measure of critical mass for

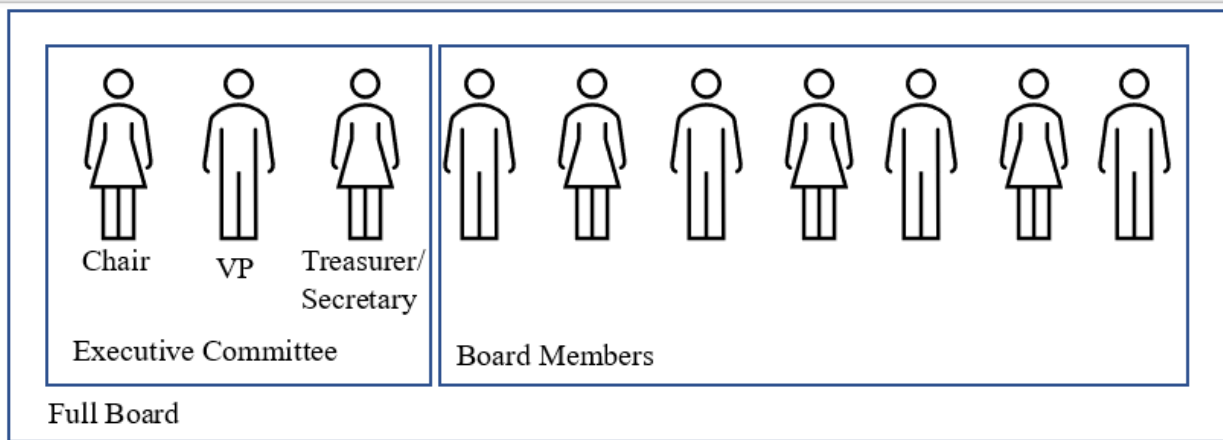


Figure 1: Description of board groups

the board members, at least 33% women, excluding the chair, in line with the definition of critical mass set by Dalerup (2006). This one and the second, describing the gender of the board chair, are dichotomous. My final measure of board composition was the percentage of women on the board and in various leadership positions.

I used three structural control variables to account for organizational size, employment decisions, and board size. I included the number of employees and the total number of board members to account for the wide variation in size across the nonprofit sector. I also included a variable reflecting the gender of the executive director. I tested for multicollinearity using two methods: a correlation matrix and calculating the variance inflation factor (VIF), which are reported in tables 1 and 2 respectively.

Table 1: Correlations Among Independent Variables

	Female Chair	Critical Mass of women (excluding the chair)	Percentage of women on the board	Total number of people on the board	Total Number of Employees
Female Chair	1.0				
Critical mass of women	0.0204	1.0			
Percentage of women on the board	0.3083	0.2368	1.0		
Total number of people on the board	-0.0720	0.1458	-0.0761	1.0	
Total number of employees	-0.0401	0.0282	-0.0329	0.1287	1.0

Table 2: VIF Statistics

Variable	VIF	1/VIF
Percent of women on the full board	1.19	0.843562
Female chair	1.11	0.899838
Critical mass of women on the board	1.09	0.914533
Total number of people on the board	1.05	0.99925
Total number of employees	1.02	0.982048
Mean VIF	1.09	

A series of t-tests were conducted to determine the significance of the average pay gap between organizations with and without a critical mass of women on the full board, the full board excluding board leadership, and boards with or without executive committees, and in organizations with and without a female executive director. I then performed three OLS regressions. The first considered the impact of a critical mass of women on the board and board chair gender on the salary of executive directors overall. The second considered the interaction

between executive director gender and board gender composition. The third and final regression examined the impact of the percent of women on the board on the salary of the executive directors.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Overall, the organizations had an average current revenue of \$13,048,671 during the years under study. They employed a mean of 151 employees and utilized an average (mean) of 1,306 volunteers throughout the fiscal year. Most of the organizations were formed after the year 1970 (70%). They spent an average (mean) of \$5,513,398 on salaries, with the executive director's salary comprising an average (mean) of 21% of salary expenditures.

Boards ranged from five to 208 members, with the average (mean) of 13 members. The average board was 50% female, with 1,102 observations having an all-female board and 373 having an all-male board. 86% of all observations showed a critical mass of women on the board. The majority had a male chair ($n = 17,951$, 60.54%) and 39.46% ($n = 11,703$) had a female chair.

Difference in Means

To begin the analysis, two difference in means tests were utilized to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between female executive directors who worked for organizations with and without a female board chair and those at organizations with and without a critical mass of women on the board. The first looked at female executive directors who worked for a female board chair and those who did not. The second considered female

executive directors who worked for a board with a critical mass⁸ of women on the full board (including the board chair) and those that did not. The results of both difference in means tests were significant at the $p > 0.000$ level. Overall, women who worked for a female board chair earned significantly less, whereas they earned significantly more at organizations with a critical mass of women on the board. The results are reported in Table 3.

Table 3: Difference in Means Tests, Grouped by Gender of the Board Chair and Presence of a Critical Mass on the Full Board

<i>Group</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean Salary (SD)</i>	<i>t</i>
Women who work for a female chair	11,703	108,025.7 (130,386.2)	14.5177***
Women who work for a male chair	17,951	133,406.9 (157,181.8)	
Women who work with a board that has a critical mass of women	23,783	118,092.8 (141,313.4)	23.4655***
Women who work with a board that does not have a critical mass of women	5,871	144,849.4 (169,353.6)	

However, identifying that there is a difference in salary for female executive directors who work at organizations with either a female chair or a critical mass of women on the board and those that do not does not fully explain how the gender composition of the board influences executive director pay. Thus, I used a multiple regression model to test whether there is a relationship between the presence of a female chair, a critical mass of women, or the percent of women on the board and female executive director pay.

My first hypothesis (Female executive directors working for nonprofit boards with a female chair will be paid more than female executive directors working for nonprofit boards with a male chair) was unsupported (Table 4). The overall regression was statistically significant (R^2

⁸ A critical mass of women on the board is defined as have a board with 33 percent or more of its positions filled by women. The variable is coded as a dichotomy equal to zero if there is not a critical mass and equal to one if a critical mass is present.

= 0.28, $F(5, 29648 < 0.0001)$. All else being equal, women who work at organizations with a female board chair earned \$11,579 less than those at organizations with a male chair ($p > 0.0001$). My second hypothesis (Female executive directors who work for nonprofit boards with a critical mass of women on the board will be paid more than female executive directors working for nonprofit boards without a female critical mass) also lacked support from my analysis, though in this case it was because a critical mass of women was not significant. There is no relationship between having a critical mass of women on a nonprofit board and the salaries of female executive directors when other variables in the model are controlled. My final hypothesis (As the percentage of women on a board increases, the pay of the female executive director increases) also was unsupported. Indeed, for every one percentage point increase in women on the board increased, there was a decrease of \$31,967.84 on average for female directors.

Table 4: Determinants of Female Executive Directors' Salaries (2010-2016) (Standard Errors in parentheses)

Ind. Vars.	
Intercept	89,862.48*** (3021.246)
Female Chair	-11,597.48*** (1563.051)
Critical mass of women (excluding chair)	-2,716.139 (2873.628)
Percentage of women on the board (including chair)	-31,964.84*** (3612.394)
Total number of people on the board	2,900.065*** (89.67655)
Total Employees	122.4109*** (1.264966)
Observations	26,654
R ²	0.28
*** $p < 0.0001$	

Gender is consistently a determinant of how much an individual earns, and this trend has remained in the nonprofit sector. Unfortunately, it appears that there is a correlation between an

increased number of women on the board and in board leadership and lower female executive director salaries.

Discussion

This project considered the impact of a nonprofit board's gender composition on female executive director salaries. Specifically, I considered how the gender of the board chair, the presence of a critical mass of women on the board, and the percentage of women on the board impacted the pay of female executive directors. The theory of representative bureaucracy would suggest that if the issue is gendered and if there is a critical mass of women, women will be more likely to engage in active representation (Keiser et al., 2002). However, findings indicate little evidence for active representation by female board members on the topic of executive director pay. Boards with a higher percentage of women and with a female chair had significantly lower salaries than those with fewer women or with a male chair. Thus, none of my hypotheses found support from this analysis.

While these findings are discouraging, they are still useful. Ensuring that female executive directors are fairly compensated will require intentional and targeted solutions, so eliminating a potentially ineffective avenue saves and redirects time and resources. Additionally, while these findings connected board gender composition with lower salaries for female executive directors, this only suggests that potential active representation was unsuccessful, not non-existent. Representation is a process (Meier, 2019), and therefore female board members could have advocated for higher salaries for female executive directors but failed to secure them.

This research complements the literature identifying a pay gap between female and male executive directors (Allen, 2020; Finley et al., 2021; Gibelman, 2000; Gray & Benson, 2003; L'Herrou & Tynes, 2020; Mesch & Rooney, 2008; Song et al., 2019). Additionally, my results

are in line with Cook et al (2014) and Lee (2014) who discussed how the presence of women in leadership impacted remuneration decisions, coming to the conclusions that while salaries are higher overall, organizations with female presidents had a larger pay disparity than those without. However, the current findings contradict Rabovsky and Lee (2018), who determined that the presence of women in senior faculty or administrative positions decreased pay disparities at public universities.

Though this study builds on previous research in several ways, it does feature limitations. First, as noted above, I excluded organizations that did not pay their executive directors and restricted my dataset to organizations with paid executive directors. However, including the organizations that *do not* pay their executive directors could further illuminate pay disparities throughout the nonprofit sector, depending on which executive directors are more likely to be unpaid and which boards make the decision not to pay their executive director. After all, the decision to *not* pay an executive director is just as important as the decision of *how much* to pay them. Second, by focusing on organizations with clear board titles (chair, vice president, etc.) and excluding those organizations with unclear board roles (such as 1st Lieutenant, Grand High Priest, or Grand Hegemon) may have obfuscated the experiences of those with unique structures and decision-making processes; thus, my results may not be generalizable to such organizations. Third and last, this dataset, drawn from IRS Form 990, lacked the data needed to fully control for human capital variables, such as previous work experience or credentials earned by the executive director, which may impact salary. Controlling for these variables would have enabled a more nuanced consideration of factors that influence remuneration decisions which would have strengthened the overall analysis.

Concomitantly, this study has several strengths. First and foremost, connecting the position of the board member (chair, member, etc.) to employee gender enabled a nuanced examination of how each position influenced executive director salary. Second, the use of two measures of board gender composition (critical mass and gender percentage) allowed for a more complex conversation regarding salary, board makeup, and the role of women in leadership.

Representative bureaucracy scholars have suggested that women engage in active representation under different circumstances than racially minoritized bureaucrats. For instance, women may need a critical mass of women within the organization, or be at an organization with a decentralized hierarchy, in order to adopt a representative role (Keiser et al., 2002). This chapter extends Keiser and colleagues' (2002) work by highlighting the conditions under which women are more likely to engage in active representation. While the individual characteristics of gender and rank may be necessary (Keiser et al., 2002), they are not sufficient to encourage women to adopt a representative role. Rather, scholars should pay closer attention to societal structures surrounding the female leaders that may influence their decisions on female pay.

There are several potential reasons for the correlation between female representation on the board and lower salaries for female executive directors. For instance, it may be possible that the organizations noted gender inequities and attempted to solve these problems by recruiting more women to serve in their leadership. In other words, female board members or board chairs are brought into organizations where the female executive director is already paid less and simply haven't been able to rectify that situation. Further, organizations with more female representation on the board – either as board chair as a higher percentage of women on the board – have different priorities in terms of where they allot organizational resources. For instance, these organizations may choose to put more of their funding into programming instead of

employee, specifically the executive director's, salaries. Finally, as women have difficulty ascending to leadership positions in the nonprofit sector, they may accept lower salaries in order to gain experience as executive directors.

Additionally, feminist theory may help to reconcile this project's expected outcome (increasing female nonprofit leadership raises the salaries of female EDs) with its actual findings, by positioning sexism as a hegemony. Dow (1990) described hegemony or hegemonic processes as "the various means through which those who support the dominant ideology in a culture are able continually to reproduce that ideology in cultural institutions and products while gaining tacit approval from those whom the ideology oppresses" (p. 262). In other words, hegemonic structures of oppression are so culturally ingrained as to be reified and maintained by the marginalized groups themselves (Lips, 2013). In this case, female board members might themselves devalue women's work because they have been socialized to do so, despite the fact that it ultimately reinforces gender discrimination.

Further, the sociological view of pay disparities asserts that discrimination is much closer to the surface of the labor market; both women and men value women, their work, and so-called "feminine" work below men and "masculine" labor. This construct reveals that the human capital variables are themselves gendered, and interact with one another to marginalize women in the workplace. For instance, women are still expected to shoulder the majority of the housework and childrearing responsibilities, leaving men more time to dedicate to their professional careers. In this way, "productivity," "loyalty to the organization," and "work experience," while seemingly neutral human capital inputs, are actually reflections of gender roles. The sociological view of pay disparities is bolstered by research that demonstrates while women and men have similar human capital attributes, women still have less social capital and less access to financial capital

(Lecy et al. 2021). Neither the idea of hegemony or considering remuneration decisions as part of a broader system of oppression argue that most of the participants are aware of their own bias. Rather, that the structures and ideologies of oppression are so ingrained within society that unless they are actively resisted (such in the case of active represented) they will be maintained and perpetuated. Thus, it is not necessarily that female board members cause lower salaries for female executive directors, but the women do not resist them either.

Fully understanding the relationship between board gender composition and executive director salaries requires a more nuanced examination of not only how public administrators develop their representative role but also what values they bring with them. With regards to female public administrators, this necessitates keeping the perspective of hegemonic sexism centered in the development of research questions, methods, and discussion.

My findings around the composition of a board on the pay of executive directors have practical implications for nonprofit staff and board members. My study demonstrates that ensuring that there is adequate numerical representation of women on the board may not be sufficient for fair pay for female executive directors. Thus, the organization must intentionally work to ensure that it is compensating its executive director fairly. There are some specific strategies that the organization can employ, such as not grounding their salary offer on the applicant's previous salary, ensuring equal pay for comparable work, and conducting periodic reviews to ensure that their salaries are in line with other organizations, especially those with male executive directors or male board leadership.

This research suggests several other potentially interesting avenues for research. For instance, disaggregating this data into nonprofit subsectors may provide more detail on executive director salaries, as variations in nonprofit missions may impact how board members consider

their role and their ability to advocate for pay equity. In addition, since race has also been demonstrated to determine salary, future work could examine how the race of executive directors and other organizational leaders affects pay disparities within the sector.

Conclusion

When gender impacts salary, it consistently disadvantages women, with substantial implications for their ability to maintain economic autonomy and resist marginalization. The nonprofit sector, in which women are actually overrepresented, has not yet achieved pay equality. This study underscores the need for nonprofit organizations and their boards to intentionally work toward pay equity. Further, these findings can teach women entering the nonprofit field and aiming for executive director positions that female board representation alone will not ensure that they are paid equally to their male counterparts.

This work also offers interesting applications for representative bureaucracy theory, by suggesting that active representation may be counteracted by social, as well as institutional, constraints. Women in leadership positions, faced with deeply-embedded societal ideas on gender, may internalize these discriminatory tendencies and perpetuate issues of gender inequality and wage disparities.

CHAPTER 3: WRITTEN TO BE UNDERSTOOD RATHER THAN TO NOT BE
MISUNDERSTOOD: A QUALITATIVE THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF SEXUAL
HARASSMENT POLICIES IN U.S. NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS⁹

⁹ Yoder, B. To be submitted to *Women in Language*

Abstract

Sexual harassment policies are material representations of how organizations enable or constrain the choices of women faced with discrimination, and, as such, must be considered from a critical perspective. This study collected sexual harassment policy documents from 23 U.S. nonprofit organizations and applied qualitative methods, through the lenses of feminist theory and representative democracy, to examine them for manifest and latent messages. Thematic analysis revealed five dominant themes of concern, including outdated conceptions of sexual harassment, double standards between organization/complainant and harasser/complainant, dependence on legal conceptions, and disregard for the nonprofit context. Identifying these problems with organizational discourse and climate enables stakeholders to understand and dismantle them.

Introduction

For as long as women have worked, whether at home, in the field, at a factory, or in an office, they have faced the threat of sexual harassment. A 2016 EEOC report demonstrated that up to 85% of women have experienced sexual harassment at work (Davis, 2018). Sexual harassment is both a legal matter and a social practice (Siegel, 2004). The 2017 #MeToo movement brought increased awareness to the problem, and helped shift the popular conception of sexual harassment from that of an interpersonal problem between two coworkers to a manifestation of gender violence (MacKinnon, 2019).

As value-based organizations that emphasize ethical behavior (Edwards & Sen, 2000; Guay, Doh, & Sinclair, 2004; Tvedt, 2006), nonprofit managers have a unique responsibility to prevent sexual harassment and resist gender discrimination. While current legal approaches to sexual harassment incentivize prevention, organizations must only mount an “affirmative defense” to earn a liability shield (Penrod & Fusilier, 2011), or prove that it has taken

“reasonable” steps to prevent sexual harassment, which were neglected by the complainant. Essentially, sexual harassment policies are judged on their presence, not their quality or ability to prevent/address the issue (Rhode, 2019).

Nonprofits and Sexual Harassment

Nonprofit organizations feature specific vulnerabilities to problematic behavior such as sexual harassment, including staff and board members who do not fully understand their roles, loose organizational structures, and a comparatively lax accountability system (Nair & Bhatnagar, 2011). For instance, 21% of development staff surveyed by the Association of Fundraising Professionals reported experiencing sexual harassment; approximately 75% of these reported that it had happened more than once (Association of Fundraising Professionals, 2018). Fundraising professionals are vulnerable to the power imbalances between themselves and substantial donors (Hall, 2010), since there is organizational pressure to maintain potentially irreplaceable financial support (Beaton, LePere-Schloop, & Smith, 2021).

Even nonprofits with explicitly progressive missions, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), are not insulated from sexual harassment. Though the SPLC’s mission is to be “a catalyst for racial justice in the South and beyond...and advance the rights of all people,” (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2022) their co-founder and chief litigator was fired after allegations of creating a toxic and discriminatory workplace (Elliott, 2019; Rhode, 2019).¹⁰ The Red Cross (Segedin & Clolery, 2018), the Humane Society (Paquette, 2018), and Oxfam (2018; 2018) have all faced similar claims. While the notoriety of these nonprofits garnered substantial media attention, these occurrences are not outliers (Segedin & Clolery, 2018).

¹⁰ The president and legal director also submitted their resignations as they were partially responsible for ignoring the complaints against Dees (the harasser) (Elliott, 2019).

Lipton (2018) suggested several strategies to prevent or combat sexual harassment, including involving the board in creating a zero-tolerance culture; holding toxic funders accountable; rethinking human resource's historical role as a protector of the organization, rather than the employees; empowering staff members to change organizational culture rather than relying on outside help; and consistently involving men in correcting harassing behaviors from other men (Lipton, 2018). However, the issue of sexual harassment in nonprofits, beyond a policy, legal, and HR concern, is a fundamental representation of the organization's mission. Many nonprofit objectives relate directly to the potential consequences of sexual harassment, such as PTSD (Buchanan, et al., 2014), substance abuse (Rospenda, et al., 2000), and mental health challenges (Richman et al., 1999). Nonprofits' clients are likely to have experienced sexual harassment and may be emotionally or mentally processing the fallout. Thus, proper construction of an organization's sexual harassment policy can function as both as legal protection and as a signaler of organizational values.

Sexual harassment policies are material representations of how organizations enable or constrain the choices of women faced with discrimination, and, as such, must be considered from a critical perspective. As Mumby (2008) explained, "organizations are 'gendered' cultural forms, constituted around systems of differences that take 'masculine' and 'feminine' as the primary binary opposition" (p. 4). This study seeks to use critical perspectives to illuminate structures of oppression within the manifest and latent messages in nonprofit sexual harassment policies, and thus to enable stakeholders to understand and dismantle them.

History and Background

The History of Sexual Harassment Workplace Policy

Early Efforts and Title VII

For the most part, early 20th century efforts to protect working women from sexual coercion focused not on legal reform, but on other modes of “collective self-help” (Siegel, 2004, p. 8) intended to equip women with knowledge and tools to prevent violence at work (Cohen, 2016; Reed, 2013). In the 1920s, the Women’s Christian Temperance Movement attempted to raise the age of consent so that women could seek redress for rape if they were assaulted (Siegel, 2004). These solutions brought little substantive change or legislative or criminal protection.

The history of sexual harassment workplace policies is rooted in a legislative act that did not directly reference sexual harassment. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act states:

It shall be unlawful employment practice for an employer 1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of an individual’s race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. (Section 703)

Nonetheless, scholars such as Couch (2001) maintain that Title VII Of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was primarily intended “to provide a remedy for discriminatory working conditions so as to provide equal opportunity in employment for everyone” (p.38). By including an individual’s sex as a protected class, Title VII specifically prohibited sex discrimination in the workplace, and placed the responsibility squarely on the employer, making the “practice of subjecting employees to unwanted sexual advances at work...legally actionable” (Siegel, 2004, p. 8).

Case Law

However, because Title VII did not define sexual harassment, and no other legislation existed, the courts were left to interpret the act, provide related guidance, and determine the scope of sexual harassment public policy through precedent (Nackenoff, 2019). This dependence on individual court cases in the absence of established policy fractured efforts to prevent and combat such abuse, and did nothing to address the underlying systemic power differentials that allow sexual harassment to continue. As such, Title VII deflected attention from the systemic problem of sexual harassment as a form of gender violence by effectively tethering it to the workplace and the courts.

Unsurprisingly, given the courts' involvement, sexual harassment case law has focused on the extent of employer liability. Though the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to enforce Title VII and eliminate unlawful employment discrimination (The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2021), it "was...extremely reluctant to enforce Title VII's prohibition on sex discrimination" (Siegel, 2004, p. 38). More to the point, the courts did not initially acknowledge sexual harassment as a form of gender discrimination (Siegel, 2004). During the first attempts to litigate sexual harassment allegations by invoking Title VII, defense attorneys successfully argued against employer liability; they claimed that sexual harassment did not fit within the legal framework of discrimination because the behaviors occurred between two individuals rather than an employee and her employer (Crouch, 2001).

Courts widely agreed, maintaining that the behaviors later termed sexual harassment were a "personal matter, having nothing to do with work ..." (Corne v. Bausch and Lomb, 1975). Judges reasoned that sexual harassment was inevitable and that the law could not be expected to

eradicate it from the workplace (Siegel, 2004). For instance, in his *Corne v. Bosch and Lombe* (1975) opinion, Judge Frey wrote that the supervisor's behavior towards his employee was "nothing more than a personal proclivity, peculiarity, or mannerism;" the supervisor was "satisfying a personal urge;" and that "no employer policy [was] involved nor [had] the company benefitted in any way" (para. 19). The judge continued that "the only sure way an employer could avoid [sexual harassment] charges would be to hire employees who were asexual" (para. 21). One scholar summarized this opinion as "if you're being punished at work because you're not sleeping with the boss, that's not sex discrimination, that's discrimination based on failure to provide sexual favors and there's no rule against that" (Crockett, 2016, para. 8).

Employer liability was eventually confirmed with *Williams v. Saxbe* (1976), in which the court ruled that requiring one group of people (women) to submit to sexual come-ons constituted disparate treatment, and, therefore gender discrimination, prohibited under Title VII. To forward a claim that fit the legal framework of Title VII, a complainant was required to demonstrate disparate treatment based on sex. The courts understood disparate treatment could be founded on the existence of sexual desire, opining that "but for her womanhood, from aught that appear, her participation in sexual activity would never have been solicited" (Barnes v. Costle, 1977, para. 17). After this, courts developed the tendency to look for disparate treatment and established that quid pro quo sexual harassment was gender discrimination and thus prohibited under Title VII (Scott, 1999). The disparate treatment framework focused attention on micro-level interactions in the workplace—necessary from a legal perspective to establish the dichotomy of a plaintiff and a defendant—rather than the macro-level values that drive and sustain those behaviors.

EEOC Guidelines

In 1980, the EEOC developed guidelines (Baker, 2005) designed to help *prevent* sexual harassment (before the behavior had taken place), rather than inform an organizational response to sexual harassment after the fact. According to the then-EEOC Chair Eleanor Holmes Norton, these guidelines were intended to help employers “affirmatively and convincingly inform their employees that sexual harassment is illegal and take specific steps to *prevent* it” (Washington Informer, 1980) (emphasis added). In a July 2019 Washington Tribune interview (Bash, 2019), 82-year-old Congresswoman Norton explained, "Before the EEOC guidelines, sexual harassment was not considered sex discrimination. When we did this, we were in uncharted territories. Was it discrimination against a woman to harass her? We said of course, it's because of sex.”

In these 1980 guidelines, the EEOC defined both *quid pro quo* and hostile work environment harassment, offering a more expansive explanation than that of contemporaneous court rulings (Baker, 2005). *Quid pro quo* harassment involves cases in which some resource (a raise, more financial support for activities, the position itself) is conditioned on sexual favors (MacKinnon, 1979). A hostile work environment is characterized by pervasive sexist behavior and manifests in two ways: unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment (Rhode, 2019). Unwanted sexual attention encompasses situations in which an individual makes sexual overtures toward an unwilling person, such as inappropriately touching or kissing someone, repeated exhortations for dates despite rejections, or exposing oneself to coworkers (National Academies of Sciences, 2018). Gender harassment, behavior aimed at denigrating or insulting an individual based on their gender or gender presentation, can include sexist jokes, assertions that women do not belong in a specific position or occupation, and attempts to undermine female coworkers (National Academies of Sciences, 2018). The definition of a hostile work

environment also stipulated that neither the unwanted attention nor harassment have to include economic consequences.

Affirmative Defense

Two court cases — *Faragher v. City of Boca Raton* (1998) and *Burlington Industries v. Ellerth* (1998) — codified employer liability and demonstrated the Court’s support of the affirmative defense (Kauff, McGuire & Margolis Group, 1998). An affirmative defense enables an employer to assert that even if sexual harassment has taken place, they cannot be held liable for it. Importantly, these opinions established workplace policy as a key criterion to establish an affirmative defense, as long as the harassment does not negatively impact the employee’s employment (i.e. termination or demotion). Additionally, the organization must demonstrate that: (a) they took steps to prevent and correct sexual harassment and (b) the complainant unreasonably failed to avail themselves of the preventative measures.

In theory, providing an avenue to establish an affirmative defense (though not mandating it) incentivized employers to prevent sexual harassment in order to protect themselves from liability (Penrod & Fusilier, 2011). Workplace responses, therefore, focused on avoiding liability by demonstrating attempts to prevent or redress sexual harassment. In the effort to maintain best practices for avoiding liability, workplace policies mirrored court opinions, adding new criteria as they were established in courts.

From there, court cases continued to refine the definition of employer culpability.¹¹ With each decision, employers became more vulnerable to accusations of a hostile workplace, quid pro quo harassment, class action lawsuits (*Jenson v. Eveleth* (1997) and same sex harassment (*Oncale v. Sundowner* (1998))). In addition, employers who were found liable were forced to pay

¹¹ For a comprehensive review of the evolution of case law defining employer liability, see Crouch (2001).

large settlements. For instance, Mitsubishi Motors agreed to pay \$34 million to female employees subjected to a hostile work environment, which included threats with an air gun, groping, and verbal abuse by male colleagues (Bergen & Kleiman, 1998; U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1998).

This proliferation of case law, combined with EEOC guidelines, led employers to write workplace policies to protect themselves from liability. The goal was thoroughness rather than morality. If an existing policy lacked sufficient coverage of types of sexual harassment, many employers simply updated their materials with additional examples or more detailed reporting chains, all with the aim of lowering their culpability. Though this tendency allowed organizations their affirmative defense, such policies place the responsibility of reporting and dealing with sexual harassment on the victim alone (Lawton, 2004).

Additionally, the piecemeal fashion of policies built on case law creates ambiguity and allows individual judges room for subjectivity. For instance, separate judicial precedents have established that the harassment must take place over an extended time period to demonstrate a pattern of behavior; one-off comments or instances of rude behavior do not qualify ¹² (Davis, 2018) (Rhode, 2019). As Davis (2018) summarized, “The courts reason like someone who disassembles a jigsaw puzzle, looks at each piece separately, and concludes the puzzle makes no sense” (p.1078). This disassembly hides the underlying discrimination from case at hand, from the organizations, and from the victims, protecting the harassers. The result of which is what

¹² For instance, in 2005, a nonprofit employee was sexually propositioned by a board member three times over the course of several months. The employee followed supervisor advice to document the incidents and seek counseling, but eventually brought a case against the organization: the court determined that the conduct wasn't severe enough to constitute a hostile work environment because the behavior spanned several months (*LeGrand v. Area Resources for Community and Human Services*, 2005).

CIOShia (2018) referred to this additive, rather than systemic, approach as file-cabinet compliance to sexual harassment law.

Evidence has shown that this ad-hoc, case-by-case approach has not been effective at eliminating sexual harassment in the workplace. For instance, the Consensus Study Report on Sexual Harassment of Women by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine “boldly stated what was broadly being recognized—that there is no evidence that existing policies, procedures, and trainings have reduced sexual harassment in workplaces” (Runge, 2021, p. 465).

The 2017 #MeToo¹³ movement supports the limited efficacy of micro-focused legal rulings in quashing workplace sexual harassment. The #MeToo movement began when actress Alyssa Milano tweeted “if you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted, write ‘me too’ as a reply to this tweet.” Within the year, 1.7 million people tweeted using the hashtag (Rhode, 2019). By 2018, there were more than 425 high-profile accusations of sexual harassment against powerful men (Griffin, Recht, & Green, 2018), reinforcing the role of systemic gender power differentials as put forth by feminist scholars, lawyers, and activists. However, the current legal landscape has not caught up. As *New York Times* columnist Lindy West (2018) said, “Unseating a couple (or a score, or even a generation) of powerful abusers is a start, but it’s not an end, unless we also radically change the [gender] power structure that selects their replacements and the shared values that remain even when the movement wanes.”

Sexual Harassment and Feminist Theory

Feminist theory frames sexual harassment as a manifestation of a gender system that (a) works to privilege masculinity and (b) responds negatively to resistance of entrenched cultural

¹³ The phrase had actually been coined almost a decade earlier by Tarana Burke in an attempt to demonstrate solidarity with sexual harassment victims.

gender roles and stereotypes (Sen, Guallar, & Cochran, 2018). MacKinnon (1979) argued that normative constructions of masculinity actively work to subordinate disempowered groups based on either their sex (i.e. cis-gender women) or their deviation from traditional masculine gender norms. Gender roles set expectations for interpersonal and social behavior; men or women who violate these norms risk discrimination (Burgess & Borgida, 1999). This line of research suggests that potential and actual violence against women exists on a continuum, from bullying or sexist jokes to violent rape. Sexual harassment, it follows, is a point on this continuum rather than misbehavior by a small number of uninformed or purposely hurtful individuals.

The United Nations and the International Labour Organization have conceptualized sexual harassment as a manifestation of gender violence. In 2018, the United Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) released a report describing a framework to address sexual harassment in the workplace (Sen et al., 2018). Following MacKinnon's 1979 argument, the report positioned sexual harassment "as a matter of sex and gender inequalities of power that intersect with other dimensions of inequality including race and ethnicity, age, disability, and sexual orientation" (p. 3), and noted its similarities to other forms of sexual abuse, such as those that "happen in conflict, the street, or elsewhere" (p.3). Additionally, the report centered its approach on the "concept of unwelcomeness" (p.3), in which the victim's opposition to the behavior in question mattered as much as, or more than, the actions of the perpetrator. The victim, it continued, determined which behaviors met that standard.

The Role of Representative Bureaucracy

Addressing issues of public sector workplace sexual harassment may require changes based on the theory of representative bureaucracy. Representative bureaucracy posits that minority bureaucrats will make decisions that benefit their demographic communities; according

to this theory, women in leadership roles that allow discretion should respond to workplace sexual harassment of other women in a way that protects their common interest.¹⁴

Bishu (2019) noted that representative bureaucracy scholarship, which has historically focused on the decisions made by racial minority bureaucrats, has found mixed results on the effects of female active representation. Keiser and colleagues (2002) questioned these mixed findings and argued that women may engage in active representation, albeit under a different set of criteria.¹⁵ For instance, not only must women have discretion over the policy choice, but the issue itself must specifically be gendered, either because the policy directly impacts women, the bureaucrat-client relationship is changed by gender, or because the policy process has delineated the policy as a women's issue (Keiser et al., 2002).

Sexual harassment fits the criteria of a gendered issue: its victims are predominantly women, its perpetrators are predominantly male, and its occurrence reflects gender differences or stereotypes. Women who work in predominantly male environments (Gruber, 1998; O'Connell & Korabik, 2000) or have substantial contact with men (Collinson & Collinson, 1996; O'Connell & Korabik, 2000) are more vulnerable to sexual harassment. Certain male behaviors, such as labeling women as outgroup members or expecting their subordination, can predict their likelihood of sexually harassing a coworker (Russell & Trigg, 2004). For instance, in a study of 337 students, Lonsway (2008) found that men's sexist, hostile, or traditional attitudes toward women increased their tendency to believe that women lied or exaggerated experiences with harassment, had ulterior motives for reporting, or bore responsibility for her own abuse. Women who subvert gender norms either by having more authority than a male (McLaughlin et al., 2012)

¹⁴ For a full discussion of representative bureaucracy theory, see Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation.

¹⁵ For a full discussion of Keiser et al. (2002), see Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

or by adopting masculine characteristics are punished for these transgressions through harassment (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Gruber, 1998; McLaughlin et al., 2012).

Sexual harassment's gendered nature makes it a prime example of an issue where women may actively represent the interests of other women. However, before examining the presence of active representation by women, we must consider whether and how organizational sexual harassment policies reflect the gendered nature of sexual harassment itself.

General Discourse, Organizational Discourse, and Organizational Climate

Discourse, or all of the available information and discussion on a particular political or social subject that impacts a group of people in a given society, includes speech acts from a wide variety of sources, including popular media, news media, scholarship, or policy (Scheufele, 2008). A discourse is not only a product of society, but also the process that builds and constitutes society. The concept represents sites of struggle, in which stakeholders endeavor to persuade others to adopt their perspective or assert and/or maintain their power (Scheufele, 2008) and "can be conceptualized as dynamic constellations of words and images that legitimate and produce a given reality" (Allan, 2008, p. 16).

Thus, sexual harassment policies are an embodiment of organizational discourse on the topic. Policy writers make choices regarding what information to include, how to phrase the information, and how to prioritize the information in the document (Cook, 2000). Thus, to paraphrase Kenneth Burke (1966), every policy is a reflection of the values, concerns, and priorities of a group, but, through selection, is also a deflection of other values, concerns, and priorities. In this way, policies are not apolitical or neutral. When an organization agrees to make a policy, it is implicitly supporting the contents of the document and agreeing to be represented by it. The organizational discourse surrounding sexual harassment conveys information

regarding the organizational climate, such as whether or not complaints will be taken seriously, the possibility and extent of retaliation, and the sanctions that may be levied against a harasser.

Put simply, discourse begets organizational climate, defined by Berberoglu (2018) as “the aggregate of psychological climates, which are perceptions of individuals about their work environments.” As one instantiation of organizational discourse, organizational policies not only determine what actions an employee can take, but they also structure an employee’s beliefs about the topic in relation to the workplace (Jacobson & Eaton, 2018), as well as their more general beliefs about what behaviors are considered sexual harassment and whether or not it is appropriate (van Dijk, 1995). Organizational policies clarify what behaviors are considered sexual harassment, guide how an employee interprets the situation, and may partially determine their response (Bodehausen, Macrae, & Hugeberg, 2003; Jacobson & Eaton, 2018; Valliere, 2013). Thus, organizational policies and climate impact how employees perceive whether a report will be taken seriously, the accompanying risks, and the potential for sanctions (Hulin, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1996).

Organizational discourse surrounding sexual harassment contributes to the organizational climate. Further, organizational climate may predict the occurrence of workplace sexual harassment. An individual predisposed toward hostility toward women may find their impulses constrained by an organizational climate that actively prevents harassment (National Academies of Sciences, 2018). Indeed, Willness and colleagues (2007) conducted a meta-analysis and demonstrated that the perception of tolerance for the behavior was the most reliable predictor of sexual harassment in workplaces. This is not surprising. Such a perception would logically embolden harassers and stifle victim reporting.

This study uses discourse analysis and textual analysis of actual sexual harassment policies to examine how these policies construct the act of sexual harassment, the complainant, the accused, and the organization itself in relation to one another. Further, this work considers whether these texts emphasized individual behaviors and/or added language as needed, rather than addressing underlying discrimination. In the following section, I introduce its methodology.

Methods

Critical Framework

Critical Theory

This study takes a critical perspective. Broadly speaking, critical theory rests on the assumptions that: 1) every interaction involves power dynamics between the participants, and 2) these dynamics are predominantly hidden and thus unexamined and unquestioned (McDonald, 2017). Moreover, “critical theory” resists a singular definition, since the phrase encompasses a variety of theories and traditions. The practice grew from the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who critiqued the ways in which economic inequality created power disparities and structured how individuals were able to act in society (Littlejohn, 2002). As Littlejohn (2002) qualified, “Not all adherents to critical theory are ‘Marxist,’ in the classical sense of Marx’s teachings, but there is no question that Marx had an immense influence on this school of thought” (p. 210). From this basis came critical perspectives on gender (feminism), race (critical race theory), and, more recently, sexuality (queer theory).

Feminist theory argues that men and masculinity represent the empowered groups, and are privileged at the expense of women and femininity (McDonald, 2017). Specifically, feminist theory and scholarship are concerned with knowledge—who has it, where it is located, how it can be obtained, who is prevented from accessing it, and how it is used (Oleson, 2010).

Although few would claim that there is an essential or monolithic female experience, a set of perspectives have been characterized as feminist in much of the literature. These include, for example, a sense of interdependence and relationship, the legitimacy of emotionality, fusion of public and private realms of experience, egalitarian values, concern for process over product, and openness to multiple ways of seeing and doing. (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 222).

Thus, feminist theory enables scholars to not only critique the systems of oppression that they may be studying, but to marshal their research to directly undermine those same systems of oppression.

Critical Inquiry

Scholars use critical theory to inform research that “identif[ies], critique[s], and transform[s] exploitative power relations between dominant and non-dominant groups” (McDonald, 2017, p. 2). As Littlejohn (2002) explained, “Although the population generally perceives a kind of surface order to things, the critical theorist’s job is to point out the contradictions that exist” (p. 210). While the sheer breadth of critical inquiry precludes an easy definition, “critical approaches presume hegemonic structures and, importantly, the need to rectify concomitant social inequities and injustices that impact an individual’s lived experiences of health and well-being” (Kline & Khan, 2019, p. 1).

Methods used in critical inquiry are not inherently qualitative or quantitative; increasingly, critical scholars use both (Sprague, 2016). What makes a particular method critical is the researchers’ commitment to the assumption that hidden power dynamics undergird every

interaction and social structure.¹⁶ In her insightful discussion *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences*, Joey Sprague (2016) asserted, “What makes data qualitative is how they are used in the way researchers collect and analyze the data” (p. 145).

Qualitative research encompasses a wide variety of methods, such as phenomenology, case studies, discourse analysis, and ethnology (Merriam, 2002); relevant data collection techniques may include in-depth interviews, discourse analysis, and (notably for this project) document analysis. Despite the wide variety of potential methods, all qualitative research has key characteristics: 1) it is centered on understanding the meaning “people have constructed about their world,” 2) the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, and 3) qualitative research is richly descriptive (Merriam, 2002, p. 4-5).

Maxwell (1996) argued that scholars can use qualitative methods when the topic is not well understood, when an individual’s interpretations or experience are central to the research, or if the scholar is trying to identify unintended consequences. A qualitative approach made sense for this project to explore *how* the reviewed policies construct sexual harassment and lay out possible organizational and individual responses.

Paradigmatic Assumptions

“Methods sections are saturated with issues of philosophy, politics, and core values” (Sprague, 2016, p. 2), translated by scholars through their chosen research questions, data sources, methods, language, and narrative. Guba (1981) articulated three differing assumptions made by qualitative and quantitative research: “the nature of reality,” “the nature of the inquirer/object relationship,” and “the nature of ‘truth statements’” (p. 77). Thus, it is necessary

¹⁶ Feminist researchers have used quantitative techniques to examine how the U.S. Census’ convict classification led to the criminalization of Black people (Muhammad, 2010) and articulated how the Conflicts Tactics Scale reifies problematic stereotypes that deflect attention away from domestic violence against men (Flood, 1999).

to use different evaluation criteria for qualitative methods that accommodate these ideological differences. Allen (2008) noted that:

Evaluating the soundness or trustworthiness of any research claim is largely dependent upon assumptions embedded in the methodology employed. Conventional standards for measuring the strength of research claims (i.e. internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity) are not particularly appropriate for [qualitative] analysis as these are rooted in positivist assumptions of a singular truth or material reality that can be discovered (p. 64).

In order to establish the quality and rigor of qualitative research, Guba (1981) suggested focusing on trustworthiness, as demonstrated through “credibility,” “transferability,” “dependability,” and “confirmability.” *Credibility* refers to a scholar’s commitment to fully reflect and analyze the data’s “bewildering array of interlocking factor patterns” (p. 54) rather than cherry-picking specific parts that confirm an existing perception. *Transferability* is loosely analogous to the quantitative emphasis on “generalizability.” However, in qualitative work, it is “not possible to...develop ‘truth’ statements that have general applicability” (p. 86); rather, researchers must develop data “that will permit comparison of this context to other possible contexts to which transfer might be contemplated” (p. 86). To accomplish this, scholars should use theoretical/purposive sampling and collect thick descriptive data. Guba (1981) emphasized, “Sampling *is not* intended to be representative or typical...[but] to maximize the range of information uncovered” (p. 86). *Dependability* refers to the need for scholars to ensure that another individual would be able to follow their thought process and understand the reasoning behind their choices. Finally, *confirmability* focuses on the need for other researchers to be able to arrive at similar conclusions, varying “from the concept of investigator objectivity” (p. 87)

while maintaining high research standards. These concepts, continued Guba (1981), suit qualitative research better than the quantitative goals of generalizability, reliability, and “validity”; such terminology balances the need to be understood by other scholars while maintaining paradigmatic commitments to a qualitative method.

Methodology

A scholar’s chosen methodology represents the space “where philosophy and action meet, where the implications of what we believe for how we should proceed get worked out” (Sprague, 2016, p. 5). For the current study, discourse analysis enabled me to systematically examine, critique, and report potential messages regarding sexual harassment contained in sexual harassment policies.

Discourse Analysis

As previously discussed, a discourse is both a product and a process of society, thus serving as a site of examination for scholars. Allan (2008) pointed out that though we acknowledge biological and material truths, “the ways in which this event is interpreted within a web of competing discourses constitutes our lived realities” (p. 17). Sexual harassment is in and of itself discursively framed and constituted. As Clair (1993) explained, “Sexual harassment is a macrolevel discursive practice in that any single act of sexual harassment announces the ‘inferior’ role of the victims, who are usually women” (p. 124).

The organization codifies its response and expectations regarding employee behaviors in its sexual harassment policy, which is simultaneously a written document that reflects organizational processes and disseminates information and a snapshot of organization’s perspective at a certain point in time. The policy also constructs the reality for covered

individuals, transmits organizational expectations of conduct, and shapes how stakeholders perceive themselves and others in relation to sexual harassment.

Discourse analysis is the basis for the qualitative methods used in this chapter. As previously discussed, “most critical theories teach that knowledge is power, for understanding the ways you are oppressed enables you to take action and overcome oppressive forces” (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 207). Critical discourse analysis focuses “on discourse and the texts that promote particular ideologies, establish and maintain power, and subvert the interests of certain groups and classes. Critical discourse analysis looks at actual features of texts that manifest these oppressive arrangements” (Littlejohn, 2002 p. 207).

Lupton (1994) suggested two important components of discourse analysis: the contextual and the textual. The contextual describes the temporal and societal constraints under which the discourse takes place¹⁷: “the emphasis is not so much on the message itself...but upon the elements and influences in the discourse process as a whole” (p. 145). Importantly, the context of the discourse influences the discourse itself, and thus is a key consideration when analyzing the textual component and understanding the results. For instance, since nonprofits operate under different considerations than for-profit or government organizations, failing to account for these differences may undermine the validity and useability of the analysis. Organizational policy writers are bound by dual contexts: that of covered individuals and that of the party who will approve the final version. As the context shifts, scholars can examine or reexamine the text to illuminate different conclusions. On the other hand, the textual arena describes the material communication under examination, such as organizational documents, interviews, transcriptions,

¹⁷ This study addresses the contextual element in its rationale.

or pamphlets. Scholars can examine documents because they are reflections of the author, who can be an individual or a collective (e.g., a committee or board).

Discourse analysis expands the areas available for examination and gives scholars the ability to systematically operationalize and analyze data from textual documents, in the same way policy outcomes provide insight into the antecedents of representative bureaucracy. It also allows researchers to “study the construction of social problems rather than developing policy solutions with an uncritical acceptance of the problem” (Iverson, 2012, p. 153). Allen (2008, p.10) stated that discourse analysis distinguishes the particular nature of a policy from the broader discourse and “emphasizes the discursive power of policy by examining the written text of policy documents as primary data sources situated within a larger sociopolitical landscape” (Allan, 2008, p.10). As Iverson (2012) pointed out, understanding policy as discourse can “demonstrate how the use of assumptive concepts in language may limit a policy’s effectiveness and actually reinscribe the very problem the policy seeks to alleviate” (p.154).

To the point of this study, discourse analysis helps scholars identify gendered spaces or potential sites for active representation by women. In particular, feminist policy discourse analysis shows that what is included in (and excluded from) policy disadvantages women and ultimately reifies stereotypes (Allan, 2008). Several higher education studies illuminate this process. Iverson (2015) used policy discourse analysis to examine sexual assault policies in higher education and demonstrated that they created discourses of risk, dependency, and rationality. Eyre (2000) considered the discourse surrounding a specific instance of sexual assault on a college campus, noting that “the dominant discourses came together in mutually sustaining ways. Conservative and liberal notions of academic freedom worked together to silence the less powerful and less privileged; in this case, women students” (p. 301). Finally,

Clair (1993) used discourse analysis to consider the sexual harassment policies of Big Ten Universities, and found that they commodified, bureaucratized, and privatized sexual harassment, by “encouraging victims to handle the situation at the interpersonal levels” (Clair, 1993, p. 140).

The two most prominent methods for examining public discourse are content and thematic (or textual) analysis. Content analysis, a primarily quantitative approach, involves assigning a code to each unit of analysis within the research subject and preparing written material for statistical analysis. In contrast, Clarke (2017) described thematic analysis as “an accessible, flexible, foundational method for qualitative data analysis, with clear guidelines” (p. 298); it focuses on illuminating latent meanings behind the text, providing “an interpretative story about the data in relation to a research question” (Clarke & Braun, 2017).

Braun and Clarke (2017) articulated six steps to conducting a thematic analysis: becoming familiar with the data and identifying areas of interest; creating preliminary codes; developing themes; reviewing those themes; finalizing, defining, and naming themes; and producing the report. The unit of analysis “refer[s] to the particular set of [words, statements or sentences] deployed in an artifact and determined through the interpretive process rather than the highly operationalized variables consider[ed] in quantitative [content] analysis” (Kline, 2007, p. 87). Thus, the artifacts or units of analysis reflect part of the policy, and range in size from a few words to several sentences.

Textual Analysis

Textual analysis provides an interesting context within which to apply feminist theory: “[o]ne of the most well-developed areas in feminist studies is the exploration of sexism in language and the relationship between language and power” (Littlejohn, 2002 p. 224). Noted

feminist scholar Cheri Kramarae (1981) argued that “language is instrumental in constructing the world in which we live and...social power arrangements are largely embedded in language” (p. 13). This argument underscores the importance of evaluating for the presence of specific language in a sexual harassment policy as well as the manner in which that language is constructed and deployed. Feminist theory also argues that examining text has the “potential for revealing historically ignored information about relations among women...and further understanding about the ideas that have shaped women’s lives” (Allan, 2008, p. 41).

The current study uses thematic analysis to consider how discourses of sexual harassment policies shape the issue of sexual harassment, its solutions, and the individuals involved. Its findings may identify dominant discourses, new perspectives and policy interventions for stakeholders looking to create a more just and equitable nonprofit sector.

To investigate the discursive framing of sexual harassment in nonprofit sexual harassment policies, I posed three research questions to guide this study:

- How did the policies discursively construct the act of sexual harassment?
- How did the policies position the complainant and harasser in relation to one another?
- How did the policies position the organization in relation to the complainant and/or harasser?

Data Collection

This study used textual analysis to consider potential latent messages in a set of sexual harassment policies from 501c3 organizations across the subsectors of health and human services and the arts. I began by drawing a random sample of 200 of these nonprofit organizations from 2016 Internal Revenue Service forms. Phone and email outreach to these organizations yielded 11 staff responses providing the text of the agency’s sexual harassment policies. This low

response rate compelled me to recruit 12 additional responses from members of my professional network, creating a dataset of 23 sexual harassment policy artifacts.¹⁸

The respondent organizations featured a wide range in the number of paid employees (3-411) and board members (4–35). All but two utilized volunteers, ranging in number from 7-982. Organizational revenue varied between \$95,050 and \$24,105,580. Organizational mission also varied, from children’s programming, legal advocacy, the arts, or social services. Table 5 provides this information and Appendix B provides the full missions for each organization.

Table 5: Characteristics of the Selected Nonprofit Organizations

Org. Number	Board Members	Number of Employees	Number of Volunteers	Total Current Revenue	NTEE Classification
15	38	441	124	\$24,105,580.00	Health
5	9	247	982	\$16,647,712.00	Human Services
1	17	223	88	\$3,247,022.00	Human Services
20	10	75	80	\$3,015,443.00	Environment and Animals
17	7	101	535	\$2,968,897.00	Arts, Culture, and Humanities
7	26	61	500	\$2,886,916.00	Human Services
18	6	127	0	\$2,543,174.00	Human Services
4	7	340	64	\$2,217,866.00	Human Services
13	23	63	0	\$1,682,261.00	Arts, Culture, and Humanities
9	16	147	376	\$1,505,593.00	Arts, Culture, and Humanities
11	14	80	0	\$1,445,532.00	Human Services
22	13	3	461	\$655,351.00	Education
3	13	5	35	\$593,731.00	Public, Societal Benefit
14	8	8	100	\$559,557.00	Human Services
10	9	37	58	\$554,933.00	Health
6	13	5	20	\$553,899.00	Health
2	14	8	87	\$389,687.00	Human Services
12	17	10	50	\$332,580.00	Human Services
16	10	80	7	\$305,542.00	Human Services
21	7	8	75	\$215,821.00	Human Services
8	15	68	0	\$158,835.00	Arts, Culture, and Humanities
23	8	12	0	\$150,535.00	Public, Societal Benefit
19	4	3	0	\$95,050.00	Public, Societal Benefit
Average	13.75	37.25	172.6666667	\$2,905,718.13	

¹⁸ This is on par with other textual analysis studies. For instance, Allen (2008) examined 21 Women’s Commission reports, and Iverson’s (2012) sample included just 21 diversity plans.

The sexual harassment policies of these organizations ranged in length from half a page to five pages long. Many were clearly excerpted from longer handbooks (made evident by fragments of other sections at the beginning and end), though some appeared to be stand-alone documents. Despite differences, these policies are reflections of the organizations' commitment to addressing sexual harassment issues among their employees and stakeholders.

Analysis

Conducting a textual analysis “generally consists of extensive reading, sorting, and searching through your materials; comparing within categories, coding and adding key words and concepts; and then writing minisummaries” (Allan, 2008). Accordingly, after receiving the policies, I read them intensively and took notes regarding the types of information presented, recurrent ideas, and standout differences. These notes constituted the first iteration of my themes, which I used to develop preliminary categories and classify each idea. Examples of the categories were: “used language directly drawn from the EEOC,” “provided clear supervisor bypass,” or “described the timeframe that the victim was expected to report the harassment within.” These categories, though largely deductive and drawn from literature on the requisite components of a sexual harassment policy, also formed critiques of sexual harassment policy in America. For instance, I drew from Reese and Lindenberg (2004), who argued that a sexual harassment policy should provide a promise of confidentiality and a definition of sexual harassment. Additionally, I identified mechanisms that may prevent or facilitate reporting. Table 7 provides these categories.

Table 6: Categories Developed from Literature vs. Those Developed Through Analysis

A priori categories	Developed through analysis
Protected characteristics	Includes catch-all language (i.e. “Any other protected classes”)
Defines quid pro quo harassment	Explicitly references the illegality of sexual harassment
Stipulates that harassment must interfere with work	Uses expansive definition of sexual harassment that explicitly goes beyond legal definition
Request report	Defines what does not count as sexual harassment
Ability to by-pass supervisor	Quotes EEOC language
Reporting method	Listed examples of what behaviors constitute sexual harassment
Sanctions	Modifying verb regarding experience of sexual harassment (i.e. “believes”, “perceived”, etc.)
Confidentiality	Statement that the organization cannot act without report
Prohibition against retaliation	Suggestion to speak with harasser first
	Time adverb for reporting (i.e. “immediately”, “promptly”, etc.)
	What forms of technology are protected under policy (i.e. internet, email, telephones, etc.)
	Which personnel are protected under the policy (i.e. volunteers, staff, contractors, etc.)
	Geographical scope of the policy (i.e. in the office, at work engagements, etc.)
	Criteria for determination of sexual harassment
	Appeals process
	Includes organization’s name
	Sexual harassment is against what of the organization (i.e. Mission, values, etc.)
	Financial compensation for survivor
	Timeframe to apply sanctions
	Preventative measure to be taken by the organization
	Criteria for determining sanctions
	Recompence for victim
	Parties included in investigation
	How the harasser will be included in the investigation
	Assigned investigator
	Criteria for determining guilt
	Whether the complainant will be informed of the result
	Whether the complainant will be informed of the sanctions
	Follow up procedures

While these initial categories provided a framework for further study, the next step involved clarifying themes that described *how* the policies incorporated each of these items, with special attention to characterizations of the complainant, the harasser, and the organization. These themes began to inductively develop across codes to provide a more holistic reading and reaffirm consistency across policies. This “iterative process by which the researcher moves back and forth between the data, emergent codes, deductive codes, and categorizing schemes is common to analysis in qualitative inquiry” (Allan, 2008, p. 43) enabled me to identify key parts of the policies, key ideas within and among documents, and potential missing elements. Similar categories were grouped together and firmer themes began to emerge. This part of the process involved re-reading the documents to confirm appropriate segmentation and categorization and consider my research questions. The final step in the process left me with four themes: double standards between complainant and organization, dependence on legal conceptions of sexual harassment, double standards between complainant and harasser, and disregard of nonprofit context (see Table 8).

Table 7: Progression from Initial Categories to Final Themes

Initial Categories	Final Theme
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Onus is placed on reporter to address sexual harassment • Strategically ambiguous regarding organization’s responsibilities • Sanctions/Resolution focus on individuals 	Double standards between the organization and complainant
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defined protected classes by legal conceptions • Quoted directly from the EEOC 	Dependence on legal conceptions of sexual harassment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used adverbs that question survivor’s recollections of discrimination • Biased toward alleged harasser • Only minimally discussed harasser 	Double standards between the complainant and harasser
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not discuss crucial stakeholders such as board members or funders • Did not connect sexual harassment to the mission of the organization 	Disregard of nonprofit context

Results

While the policies were meant to prevent sexual harassment, many presented little evidence of adequate employee protection. Each policy began by outlining a generic prohibition of sexual harassment in one of two ways: (a) discussing the workplace they would like to create (“[Organization] is committed to providing a work environment for all employees that is free from harassment and other types of discriminatory harassment”) or (b) positioning themselves as against sexual harassment (“[Organization] expressly prohibits any form of illegal harassment...”). However, language in the policies threatened to undermine these goals.

Theme 1: Double Standards Between the Organization and Complainant

The nonprofit policies studied alluded to disparate expectations for victims of sexual harassment and the organizations themselves. These differing expectations, revealed through phrases like “should” or “are expected to” place the responsibility of initiating organizational

response to sexual harassment on the victims. However, the policies do not use parallel language to describe the normative organizational response (i.e. “the organization should respond by...”).

Each policy used a report, filed by either the victim or a bystander, as the start of an investigation into harassment. Indeed, three policies specifically stated that the organization would be unable to help if no report was issued: “the company cannot assist you unless it is made aware of issues...we cannot resolve a potential policy violation unless we know about it.”

This suggests a sense of urgency for the victim and strategic ambiguity for the organization is further exemplified in the adverbs of time used in the policies. Table 7 compares the timeframes imposed on victims to report versus the timeframe imposed on organizations to investigate and respond. While victims of sexual harassment are encouraged to report “immediately,” “within 24 hours,” “promptly,” or “as soon as possible,” organizations are not mandated to respond or issuing a ruling “immediately,” “promptly,” or “as soon as possible.” One policy stipulated that the complainant should not “ignore the problem” but rather report it immediately.

Table 8: Language on Reporting Timeframes for Victim and Organization

Policy Number	Victim adverb	Investigation adverb	Resolution adverb
1	Must	Immediately	
2			
3	Prompt	Prompt	
4	Immediately		
5	Prompt	Prompt	Quickly
6	Immediately		
7			
8			
9	Without delay, immediately		
10	Immediately Promptly		
11		Quickly Promptly	
12			
13	Immediately	Promptly	Prompt
14	As soon as possible Promptly	Promptly	Promptly
15	Immediately	Immediately	Immediately
16			
17	Promptly Immediately	Promptly Immediately	Prompt
18	Promptly		
19	Immediately		
20			Within one week
21	Promptly	Promptly	Quickly
22	As soon as possible		
23	Immediately	Promptly	

Additionally, while the policies stated that the organization would commit to some level of confidentiality, they also had qualifiers on the extent of this responsibility: “As much as possible, consistent with legal obligations and the necessity to investigate allegations of harassment and take disciplinary action.”

Information regarding the process of reporting was noticeably lacking. Few policies detailed how to file an allegation, whether victims should do so verbally or in writing, whether the process involved specific forms, what information to include, or how to follow up. Most

policies described the person who should receive the complaint, or, if that person was the source of the problem, an alternate:

Employees are encouraged to raise any questions or concerns about this policy or about possible discriminatory harassment with the executive director. In the case where the allegation of harassment is against the Executive Director, please notify the Board Chair.

Many policies lacked such a reporting chain for complainants. One policy only included one entry point to reporting (“Complaints should be submitted to the Chairperson of the Board of Directors as soon as possible after the incident has occurred, preferably in writing”). Notably, only one policy described a reporting chain all the way through the board chair:

...You should promptly report the offensive behavior to your immediate supervisor, department head, or the Executive Director. If you feel uncomfortable doing so, or if your immediate supervisor and/or department head is the source of the problem, condones the problem, or ignores the problem, report directly to the Executive Director. If the Executive Director is the source of the problem, condones the problem, or ignores the problem, you should contact the Board of Directors.

Notably, many policies set out specific reporting instructions and timelines for the victims but failed to dictate the organizational response; the documents lacked details on next steps, how long the investigation may take, or even the process by which the organization would determine the answer to either of those concerns. This omission provides substantial ambiguity and, importantly, does not set a standard for the organization that the victim can trust. While it is true that each case will have unique features, it would be possible for the organization to provide information about how each of the stakeholders will be kept apprised of the situation, who will

be informed of the result, how records will be kept, and broad assurances that the organization will take steps to learn from the situation.

Finally, the resolution of sexual harassment allegations also focused on the individual harasser rather than the workplace as a whole. The potential sanctions focus exclusively on the harasser, but only one discussed preventative measures from the organization:

If the investigation is inconclusive or if it has been determined that there has been no violation of the policy but potentially problematic conduct may have occurred, the Board of Directors may recommend appropriate preventative action.

Ultimately, the policies positioned the organization and complainant in opposition to one another. The complainant was burdened with addressing sexual harassment, reporting the behavior on a specific timeline, and providing evidence to support their allegation. On the other hand, the organization was relieved of the necessity to quickly resolve allegations of sexual harassment. This creates a power disparity between the organization and the complainant, to the detriment of the latter.

Theme 2: Dependence on Legal Conceptions of Sexual Harassment

The policies relied heavily on accepted legal conceptions and definitions of sexual harassment, without allowing for the unique nonprofit context. The studied nonprofits used standard legal language to identify protected groups, define the behaviors considered sexual harassment, and underpin their foundational prohibition against the offense. However, there was some variation in the named protected classes. Some policies utilized an expansive list that included military service, genetic material, and parenthood:

Company policy prohibits unlawful discrimination, sexual harassment, and/or harassment based on race, religion (including religious creed, religious dress, or religious grooming),

color, national origin or ancestry, physical or mental disability, medical condition, genetic information, marital status, sex (including pregnancy), gender, gender identity, gender expression, age for individuals over forty years of age, military and veteran service, sexual orientation, or any other consideration made unlawful by federal, state or local laws.

Other policies utilized a narrower definition limited to race, sex/gender, religion, and ability (“The law and policies of the [organization] prohibit disparate treatment on the basis of race, religion, age, national origin, sex, sexual identity or orientation, civil union partnership, or any other protected characteristic”). Each policy followed their lists of protected classes with disclaimers defining protected groups as only those formally protected by law. While this may appear to be reasonable, it is important to note that individuals are harassed for reasons not covered by the law. This was clearly demonstrated by sexual harassment against women, which happened well before there were any prohibitions against gender discrimination in any form.

Additionally, many of the policies directly copied or heavily drew from EEOC verbiage to describe both a hostile work environment and quid pro quo harassment, using language such as “sexual harassment may include promises of benefits in exchange for sexual favors, threats of reprisal for refusal to engage in social or sexual favors, and sexually suggestive and offensive language and conduct.” Thus, the policies became vulnerable to similar critiques as the original EEOC language, in that they are overly focused on individual behaviors as opposed to systemic discrimination, and emphasize romantic or sexual interest as opposed to broader conceptions of gender discrimination. Occasionally, the policies also included a catch-all phrase to reference behavior that, though problematic, does not necessarily meet the EEOC criteria. For instance, one policy stated:

Sexual abuse and misconduct may include but is not limited to...unwelcome and inappropriate sexual activities, advances, comments, innuendos, bullying, jokes, gestures, electronic communications, or messages (e.g. email, text, social media, voicemail), exploitation, exposure, leering, stalking, or invasion of sexual privacy.

However, even though this policy differed from the EEOC language regarding quid pro quo sexual harassment, it returned to the EEOC to describe a hostile work environment. In another example, a policy read, “for the purposes of this policy, harassment is any verbal or physical conduct designed to threaten, intimidate, or coerce an employee, coworker, or any other person working for or on behalf of [organization].”

In addition to language derived from the EEOC, some policies included a catch-all phrase, such as, “other conduct may also constitute discriminatory harassment if it falls within the definition of discrimination harassment set forth above,” or language stating that even legal behaviors could be grounds for disciplinary action:

While such behavior, depending on the circumstances, may not be severe or pervasive enough to create a sexually hostile work environment, it can nonetheless make coworkers uncomfortable. Accordingly, such behavior is inappropriate and may result in disciplinary action regardless of whether it is unlawful.

Notably, many of the policies rooted their prohibition against sexual harassment in its illegality, rather than its immorality, by using language such as:

[The organization’s] commitment to preventing sexual harassment begins with the recognition and acknowledgement that sexual harassment and other types of discriminatory harassment are unlawful. To reinforce this commitment [organization] has developed a policy against harassment and a reporting procedure.

The few exceptions that did reference immorality assigned the moral value to the ability of the organization to accomplish its mission rather than to the well-being of the victim. For instance, one policy began with:

The [organization] is committed to a work environment in which all individuals are treated with respect and dignity. Each individual has the right to work in a professional atmosphere that prohibits discriminatory practices, including sexual harassment. Therefore, the [organization] expects that all relationships among persons in the workplace, including relationships with members of the public, will be business-like and free of bias, prejudice, and harassment.

Only one policy connected their prohibition against sexual harassment to their mission, writing “...such harassment and inappropriate behaviors are inconsistent with the [organization’s] philosophy of mutual dignity and respect for all of its employees.” Ultimately, relying on legal conceptions of sexual harassment emphasize that sexual harassment is problematic because it is illegal, not because it is immoral. Additionally, positioning legal definitions of sexual harassment as the foundation for prohibiting the behavior focuses attention on individual behaviors as opposed to systemic discrimination. It should be stated that including information regarding the illegality of sexual harassment is necessary, but is in no way sufficient as there are many weaknesses, described above, of the current legal framework surrounding sexual harassment.

Theme 3: Double Standard Between the Complainant and Harasser

While it would be problematic to immediately assume that the alleged harasser is guilty, it is equally problematic to immediately assume that their behavior was anything less than an attempt to make a colleague feel marginalized or inferior. Yet, the studied policies created a double standard between the complainant, who was expected to respond immediately and

appropriately, and the harasser, who was provided the benefit of the doubt. By deploying words such as “believes,” “feels,” “perceived,” and “suspect” to describe how victims regarded their experience with sexual harassment, many documents suggested that the victim could have been mistaken in her/his sense that the behavior was inappropriate or threatening.

Good faith statements and prohibitions against false reporting clearly stated the potential negative ramifications for complainants:

Given the seriousness of the consequences for the accused, a false and frivolous charge of harassment is a major offense that can itself result in disciplinary action, up to and including discharge, or in the case of an officer, suspension or removal from an elected or appointed position.

However, only two policies actually described what is considered to be a false report (“False and frivolous complaints are those [where] the accuser is using a harassment complaint to accomplish an end other than stopping the harassment [and] does not refer to charges made in good faith that cannot be proved.”), creating substantial ambiguity for the accuser. Another stated that “it is not proper to ... [present] a problem grievance in bad faith or for the purpose of delay or harassment, or by presenting a problem or grievance a reasonable person would judge to have not merit.” This ambiguity concerning what constitutes a false report creates the potential for reports to go unaddressed or be arbitrarily deemed false, particularly in regard to the “reasonable person,” as there are no criteria by which to judge what a reasonable person would consider harassment.

On the other hand, these policies rarely referred to the harasser at all; when they did so, it was to provide them the benefit of the doubt by deeming their actions likely to be joking or misunderstood by the complainant. For instance, several policies reminded victims that the

behavior could have been unintentional or thoughtless as opposed to deliberate and harassing, using language such as “the offensive conduct may have been thoughtless and/or insensitive or based on the mistaken belief that it was welcome.” Some policies also advised victims to speak with the harasser first and ask that they stop the behavior: “Any employee who believes they are being harassed or exposed to conduct they find offensive shall ask the offending person to stop immediately.” Only two policies explicitly stated that it was not necessary to directly engage with the harasser.

Several policies stated that the harasser would be interviewed regarding their behavior, with several describing this interview as an opportunity for the harasser to “defend themselves verbally or in writing” or “respond in writing to the allegations and submit the names they believe to have information relevant to the investigation.” Several of the good faith statements commented on the potential ramifications for false accusations, but none of the policies discussed the potential harm as a consequence of sexual harassment.

Finally, some policies stated that rulings would depend on context: “the nature of the conduct, the relationship between the parties, and the context in which [the harassment] happened” would influence sanctions against the harasser. Another policy stated that there were behaviors of a “sexual, insensitive, or apparently offensive nature” that do not constitute sexual harassment. A different policy shared this view, declaring that: “[The organization] recognizes that not every advance or act of sexual, insensitive, or apparently offensive nature constitutes harassment. Whether a particular action or incident is permissible requires a determination based on the facts and surrounding circumstances.” This sort of language creates gray areas that could be marshaled to protect harassers and silence complainants.

Ultimately, the policies questioned the veracity of the accuser while at the same time presumed positive, though perhaps misguided, motives of the accused. Additionally, the policies laid out strict expectations for the complainants but did not place any stated burden on the harasser. Thus, the policies created a power disparity between the complainant and harasser, to the detriment of the former.

Theme 4: Disregard of Nonprofit Context

While the policies belonged to nonprofit organizations, most failed to consider the unique concerns of the nonprofit sector, including its wide variety of stakeholders, the importance of including the board in the policy, and strongly connecting the policy to the mission of the organization. Nonprofit organizations come into contact with a diverse group of stakeholders, some of whom operate outside of the organization's direct control. Unlike for-profit sexual harassment policies, likely intended for employees that can be fired, a nonprofit organization may interact with employees, board members, programmatic volunteers, clients, vendors, and other community members. Any of these individuals may act as victim or harasser. Yet few of the policies provided guidance on reporting non-employees, neglecting situations in which, for example, a staffer is harassed by a funder or a client is harassed by volunteer. This oversight provides substantial gray areas in which victims may be disadvantaged.

Despite the importance of a board of directors to the operations of a nonprofit organization, the board is noticeably absent from these policies. The policies do not explicitly protect board members, and they are rarely listed as an avenue for reporting, unless the executive director is the offending party. Only one policy stipulated that the board would initiate and oversee the investigation. As the board should be kept apprised of any important happenings at the organization, this omission may work to convey that sexual harassment is not an important

concern. Additionally, excluding the board could provide a shield that prevents staff members from feeling empowered to report sexual harassment by board members.

Finally, the policies were not strongly connected to the mission of the organization. Nonprofit organizations are mission-driven entities, yet few of the policies stated that sexual harassment was prohibited because it undermined the mission of the organization to address inequities or suffering within their communities. Rather, as discussed above, the organization's prohibition of sexual harassment was based on the illegality of the behavior.

Both included and excluded information and language signal the attitudes of policy writers. Both decisions warrant attention and provide insights into what the organization considers important and worthy of attention. In this case, the nonprofit context that the policies operate in is relegated to the background. In excluding nonprofit sector specific concerns—such as the board of directors, volunteers, and clients—the organizations introduce substantial doubt and ambiguity into their sexual harassment policies.

Discussion

The goal of this research was to examine nonprofit sexual harassment policies to determine the ways in which they constructed sexual harassment and positioned the complainant and harasser in relation to one another and the organization. Using discourse and textual analysis methods, and applying representative bureaucracy framework and a critical feminist lens, this study identified different expectations for the complainant and the organization or harasser, a dependence on the issue's legal framework, a disregard of the nonprofit context, and outdated conceptions of sexual harassment and its prevention. Multiple readings and close examinations of the language in these documents found that they essentially address the symptoms of sexual harassment, not the cause.

The studied policies, as snapshots of the organizational response to workplace sexual harassment, often framed the offense as an interpersonal issue between two colleagues rather than a systemic and pervasive organizational problem. Instead of facilitating the reporting and resolution of sexual harassment, many policies create barriers for victims, by providing ambiguous information and reinforcing stereotypes that may leave them hesitant to report. The literature has indicated that victims of sexual harassment experience a reasonable fear of retaliation that ultimately protects and privileges harassers at their expense. The analysis also found that most policies distance the organizations from the behaviors, transferring responsibility for reporting and prevention from the employer to the victim. Choices about both included information in these texts (e.g., suggestions that the victim first confront their harasser, or that the harassment was unintentional) and excluded language (e.g., statements separating sexually-harassing behavior from romantic or sexual interest) influenced these findings.

Implications for Scholars

This work strengthens previous research on the low efficacy of workplace policies on preventing sexual harassment, but goes further by examining *how* these policies discursively construct sexual harassment, convey messages on appropriate options for resolution, and deflect attention from its systemic nature. Thematic analysis enabled me to consider the messages behind the language, not simply whether a specific criterion was included, a more nuanced examination of the policies than counting or categorizing aspects of each policy.

My findings from this thematic analysis support those of Iverson (2015), Eyre (2000), and Clair (1993) who state that victims, predominantly women, are disadvantaged by the ways in which policies discursively construct sexual harassment. Specifically, Iverson (2015) argues that discourses of risk, dependency and rationality work to disempower and silence victims of sexual

harassment. Like my results, Iverson asserts that organizations sought to mitigate their own risk in sexual harassment cases and in doing so shifted the burden to the victims of sexual harassment. Further, my work supports that of Eyre (2000) and her argument that the discourses embedded in sexual harassment policies are interconnected and work together to create obstacles for complainants. Finally, my work reaffirmed Clair's (1993) argument that sexual harassment policies devolved responsibility for addressing sexual harassment to the individual level.

Using a critical perspective provided the opportunity to examine the sexual harassment policies through the suggested lens of systemic discrimination rather than as individual behaviors (National Academies of Sciences, 2018). Additionally, this work serves as an example of critical research inasmuch as it is predicated on the assumption that all interactions (including discursive acts) involve power dynamics and attempts to uncover and critique them (McDonald, 2017). Specifically, feminist research is founded, in part, on an acceptance of emotionality, a connection between the public and private realms, and an understanding that there are multiple ways of understanding the world (Littlejohn, 2002). This work builds on those foundations by illustrating a different perspective on nonprofit sexual harassment policies and considering how the included messages disadvantage specific groups of people.

The current findings may also influence research on representative bureaucracy, which typically focuses on policy outcomes. However, Bishu and Kennedy (2019) argue for scholars to expand the methods used to discuss representative bureaucracy. This chapter extends possibilities for scholarship by using thematic analysis to position the organizational policies as the outcome of interest. This expands the potential contexts wherein scholars can examine the possibility of active representation, to better define and articulate its bounds and contingencies. Additionally, Keiser and colleagues (2002) argued that female active representation required that

the issue at hand be gendered: these findings demonstrate that sexual harassment can be a gendered space, facilitating active representation of other women. Thus, this project contributes to the field of representative bureaucracy by suggesting an innovative source of data and methods with which to examine issues of representation within organizations.

Implications for Nonprofit Practitioners

My findings regarding sexual harassment policies also have practical implications for nonprofit staff and board members. My results demonstrate several vulnerabilities written into the policies and thus point to areas where organizations can improve. If a nonprofit organization wants to strengthen their sexual harassment policies, it must critically examine what information it includes and how that information is presented to their employees. Most importantly, the organization should consider what barriers it is potentially presenting to survivors of sexual harassment, increase their stated commitments to preventing and sanctioning sexual harassment, and ensure that the policy reflects the specific context of the nonprofit organization. For instance, the organization might reexamine their decision to include a good faith statement in the policy.

This research provides a set of implications for nonprofit leaders looking to eliminate and better react to workplace sexual harassment. While it is not necessarily the aim of a thematic analysis to explain findings, predictors may be found in the legal history of sexual harassment law. Currently, legal conceptions deflect attention away from the systemic aspects of sexual harassment and onto the interpersonal behaviors. Since piecemeal case law has largely determined legality, sexual harassment policy is conceived as a tool for mounting an affirmative defense, which requires that the employer demonstrate “reasonable” steps to prevent and address sexual harassment and that the complainant failed to take advantage. In theory, providing an avenue for establishing an affirmative defense incentivizes employers to prevent the sexual

harassment so that they can shield themselves from liability (Penrod & Fusilier, 2011), protecting the organization rather than prioritizing victim experiences, dismantling oppression, or ensuring equality.

To effectively prevent and address sexual harassment, nonprofit organizations should consider adapting policy language to shift the burden away from the victim/employee and onto themselves. The current focus on reporting places women on a “continuum of assertiveness,” dismissing other responses as irrational, weak, or evidence of overreaction (Magley, et al., 1999). Policy redesign may also widen or de-specify definitions for problematic behavior. Current trends in policy language specify very particular behaviors and timelines (Davis, 2018; Rhode, 2019), often requiring victims to lodge multiple complaints, and endure additional assaults, in order to demonstrate a hostile work environment.

My analysis also offers some interesting process considerations for nonprofit practitioners in creating sexual harassment policies. The prevalence of sexual harassment and its consequences for the victims necessitate thoughtful, intentional action on behalf of the organization. Nonprofit boards should establish a committee in order to research best practices to prevent and resolve sexual harassment. This analysis also demonstrates that sexual harassment prevention should be intertwined throughout the organization and that policy writers should pay special attention to the systemic vulnerabilities in the organization. Rather than starting from legal conceptions of sexual harassment, the organization should start from their own values and morals, conduct research regarding sexual harassment, and weave in legal concerns at the end.

Limitations and Future Research

This study does have some limitations that should be addressed. First, the selected method discusses a *potential* interpretation of these documents, unsubstantiated by audience

perceptions. One could argue that the audience of these documents actually receive very different messages those proposed here. Additionally, I did not reach out to a collaborator in order to establish inter-rater reliability and the interpretations drawn in this work are entirely my own. Nonetheless, a thematic analysis is designed to consider a specific and potential reading of a text, rather than its absolute truth of the text. Ideally, a next step in this line of research would be to work with nonprofit employees and stakeholders to understand their perceptions of the sexual harassment policy and the surrounding organizational discourse. One could go even further and compare these results with the current findings to determine points of agreement, disagreement, or difference.

Secondly, this analysis does not account for other prevention techniques that may be employed by the organization, such as sexual harassment training, which may be distinct from policies and less available to employees. Future research could determine what sexual harassment trainings are being offered, employee perceptions of the training, and how it dovetails or diverges from the organization's sexual harassment policies.

The study sample presents a third potential limitation. Data were drawn from 501c3 organizations that predominantly focused on human services and the arts, purposefully excluding hospitals, universities, religious institutions, and organizations that specifically addressed women's issues or took an explicitly progressive perspective. These subsectors may approach writing sexual harassment policies differently and therefore warrant a unique analysis. Additionally, my sample was predominantly from medium and large organizations that have been in operation for several years. Smaller or newer organizations may not have the capacity to write a sexual harassment policy, much less enforce one. Thus, my findings may not be applicable to those organizations and they warrant their own analysis.

Insights from government policies

Context is a particularly important concern for performing a textual analysis, suggesting a fourth limitation and fertile area for future research. Applying a similar methodology to sexual harassment policies from the government would enable future scholars to better compare approaches across the nonprofit and government sectors, which would, in turn, assist practitioners in discerning best practices on preventing and penalizing sexual harassment. While a full thematic analysis of government policies is outside of the scope of this project, I sought out three government sexual harassment policies¹⁹ (one each from state government organization, as well as a large-local and small-local governments), in order to explore potential research areas. These policies shared some concerning language with nonprofit policies, including misconceptions, victim burdening and disbelief, and admonishments to confront the harasser. However, this small sample was more plainly written, placed a greater emphasis on protecting victims, and assigned greater responsibilities to the organization.

These policies referred to the victim's description of their experience using the word "believes," included good faith statements, and further solidified some misconceptions regarding sexual harassment. For instance, one policy admonished complainants to "tell the person committing the harassment that their actions are unwelcome and offensive. The employee will document all incidents of harassment in order to provide a detailed basis for the investigation."

However, it may be more interesting to turn to what the nonprofit organizations can learn from these policies and note some pertinent differences between these organizations and the nonprofit policies I analyzed. Most notably, government policies are likely to have substantially

¹⁹ These policies came from the same state as the majority of the nonprofit sexual harassment policies. The first came from a state-wide government education organization, the second from a large local government of approximately 700,000 people and the last came from a small local government of approximately 22,000 people.

greater resources to draw from in order to create and enforce the policies. Thus, I will discuss the three main takeaways from these government policies which I suspect are most transferrable to the nonprofit context.

Nonprofit policies should seek to emulate these aspects of government policies: plainly written policies, a greater emphasis on protecting victims of sexual harassment, and greater responsibilities placed on the organization. The government policies clearly delineated definitions for each term used within the policy and attempted to ensure that readers would be able to see sexually harassing behaviors in their own workspace. Notably, one policy included examples of the behavior after the definition, first defining quid pro quo harassment and then writing, “An example of this would be a manager agreeing to promote an employee if the employee agrees to go on a date with the manager. The same would be true if the manager demoted the employee because they refused to go on a date with the manager” (Large local government policy). The policy did the same for hostile work environment by stating:

An example of a hostile work environment would a co-worker repeatedly making unwelcome comments of a sexual nature to the employee or in the presence of the employee after being asked to stop. While the co-worker does not have a direct impact on the terms, conditions, and privileges of employment for the employee, the repeated comments may create a hostile work environment for the employee.

Additionally, the policies appeared to favor the complainants more than the nonprofit policies in several important ways like centering whether sexual harassment has taken place on how the complainant feels, explicitly saying that complainants could appeal the decision, and providing a clear way to bypass their chain of command. Notably, one policy stated, “In determining whether sexually offensive or other unlawful harassing conduct has occurred, it is

no defense that the alleged harasser did not intend to harass. It is the impact on the complainant, not the intent of the alleged harasser that must be evaluated” (Large local government policy).

Finally, the policies explicitly laid out the responsibilities of the organization and explicitly held themselves to a higher standard by stipulating a deadline for the investigation, stating that supervisors should be proactive in addressing sexual harassment even before there was a complaint and stipulating that all supervisors had the responsibility to receive sexual harassment complaints.

Conclusion

This analysis considered the sexual harassment policies of 23 nonprofit organizations, from an explicitly feminist perspective, and found them wanting. Overall, the policies do not adequately shield victims from sexual harassment or demonstrate a sufficient organizational commitment to combatting sexual harassment in the workplace. The work produced important implications for scholars of sexual harassment and representative bureaucracy, as well as for nonprofit leaders looking for tools to better prevent and address its occurrence.

While it would be nice to end this analysis with an anecdote about progress in eliminating workplace sexual harassment, the reality is that many advances have been fleeting, and advocates have found themselves taking one step forward and two steps back. Some of the earliest #MeToo victories against predators such as Bill Cosby and Louis CK have come undone: Cosby was released from prison on a technicality and CK returned to the stage in 2020. The latter was confident to joke about his self-admitted behavior (masturbating in front of female comedians), saying, “I’m good at it, too. If you’re good at juggling, you wouldn’t do it alone in the dark. You’d gather folks and amaze them” (Moreau, 2020, para 11).

Combatting sexual harassment in organizations requires more than grassroots, victim-led movements like #MeToo. It takes intention, dedication, and courage on the part of leaders and policy writers and a systemic focus on shifting organizational climate away from attitudes favoring masculinity at the expense of femininity. Nonprofits are uniquely ready to take on this challenge, as they are the entities willing to fight to end hunger, illiteracy, homelessness, and other wicked problems.

CHAPTER 4: WHAT TO EXPECT FROM YOUR ORGANIZATION WHEN YOU'RE
EXPECTING: A QUALITATIVE THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF PARENTAL LEAVE
POLICIES IN U.S. NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS²⁰

²⁰ Yoder, B. To be submitted to Women and Language

Abstract

Parental leave policies heavily influence a woman's ability to compete in the workplace, make choices about her family, and resist broader structures of oppression and marginalization.

Nonprofit organizations are more likely to prioritize the mental and physical wellbeing of their employees and adopt work-life policies that are reflective of this priority (Pitt-Catsoupes, et al., 2004), making them a useful context in which to study the effects of pregnancy accommodations and parental leave policies. To do so, this study conducted thematic analysis on parental leave policies from 14 nonprofits, applying dual frameworks of representative bureaucracy and critical feminist theory. This analysis identified five areas of concern with the manifest and latent messaging within these documents: 1) maintaining the standard of the ideal worker to the advantage of the organization, 2) failing to provide sufficient information, 3) favoring only traditional family structures, 4) reinforcing gender norms, and 5) conflating pregnancy and childbirth with disability. This work, by clarifying these issues with workplace organizational discourse and climate, enables stakeholders to understand them, dismantle them, and adapt parental leave policies to better support the employee.

Introduction

Parental leave policies heavily influence a woman's ability to compete in the workplace, make choices about her family, and resist broader structures of oppression and marginalization. Two-thirds of women work during pregnancy and, most return to work within three months of giving birth (Guendelman, et al., 2014). In 2015, only half of the people who stepped away from work to raise a child did so with paid time leave; women are more likely to take leave than their male partners (Zagorsky, 2017). The number of women taking leave over the past decade has not increased, despite increased participation in the workforce (Rosenberg, 2017). While

socioeconomic status, financial concerns, and job satisfaction all contributed to the amount of leave taken (Barcus, Tigges, & Kim, 2019; Berrigan, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Dush, 2020), the decision depended more on whether or not the pregnancy was planned and the workplace's commitment to gender equity (Barcus et al., 2019). As Hegewisch (2011) explained:

Work-family policies have been justified and adopted for a diversity of reasons, including the improvement of women's labor force attachment and economic independence, greater gender equality, reductions in family poverty and social inequality, improvements in children's educational outcomes, enhanced work-life balance, increased fertility, improved infant and maternal health, the alleviation of labor shortages, the prevention of the under-utilization of women's accumulated human capital, and improvements and long term sustainability of social insurance revenues. (p. 121)

Nonprofit organizations are more likely to prioritize the mental and physical wellbeing of their employees and adopt work-life policies that are reflective of this priority (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2004), making them a useful context in which to study the effects of pregnancy accommodations and parental leave policies. Moreover, the nonprofit sector, including its mission-critical positions, is predominantly female, suggesting they may be more likely to adopt policies that benefit women (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2004) and think carefully about maintaining organizational viability while accommodating pregnancy and parental concerns (Mastracci & Herring, 2010). On the other hand, nonprofit organizations may be constrained by a lack of resources that could prevent the adoption of adequate work-life balance initiatives; though the organizational philosophy may support employee wellbeing, a parental leave request from a mission-critical employee could threaten achievement of organizational goals. This tension makes the nonprofit context doubly interesting (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2004).

Literature regarding parental leave has largely focused the antecedents of parental leave use (Lucia-Casademunt, et al., 2018; Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2004; Zagorsky, 2017), the benefits of leave (Chai, Nandi, & Heymann, 2018; Lorch, 2017; Plotka & Busch-Rossnagel, 2018), and legislation underpinning parental leave policies (Arenstam, 2017; Barre, 1997; Lally-Green, 1991). Little work examines the leave policies that organizations actually adopt and utilize. These policies, however, embody organizational values regarding parental leave and articulate the organization's perspective on gender roles held by women and men. Thus, careful consideration of these texts is important to understanding the latent messages they contain.

The current study fills this gap by using the qualitative methods of general and organizational discourse to consider the efficacy and fairness of parental leave policies in the nonprofit workplace. It approaches these questions through the lens of feminist critical theory, drawing on the theory of representative bureaucracy. The following section examines the history and background of workplace family leave policies; the remainder of this chapter lays out the study's methodology and results and discusses the findings.

The History and Background of Parental Leave Policies

The evolution of workplace protections and considerations in the United States occurred slowly, and, thanks to traditional gender expectations, it took even longer to address issues that applied to women (Bevacqua & Baker, 2004). The American workplace arose around strict ideas about the "place" of men and women. Historical gender roles have laid the foundation for how parenthood is perceived at work, by reserving the public sphere for men and relegating women to a private sphere of household management and child-raising. Men, free from family responsibilities and available to work long hours, set the standard for the "ideal worker."

Pre-industrialization, the bulk of work to sustain families was performed within the household; women and men shared the tasks (Kessler-Harris, 2018). As America industrialized in the 19th century, and became more reliant on a market-based society, the promise of profit led to the proliferation of occupations outside the home; money became the priority for both employer and employee. With salary came prestige, and both were available only to men (Berdahl & Moon, 2013).

As the definition of “work” narrowed to exclude unpaid labor (Davies, et al, 2014), which was relegated to the less important members of society—in this case, women. Thus, home life and work life divided: “The spirit of business and public life...appeared to diverge from the home chiefly because the two spheres were the separate domains of the two sexes” (Cott, 1977, p. 67). It was the social commitment to separate these male and female spaces that inspired the emergence of the “ideal worker” archetype. Davies and colleagues (2014) explained:

The ideal worker is one who is devoted single-mindedly to the good of the employer and is not subject to personal distractions from family or other responsibilities...

Additionally, part of behaving as an ideal worker is work devotion—or perceiving one’s career as a satisfying calling that deserves extreme personal sacrifice. (p. 20)

Employers linked the concept of the ideal worker, whose devotion provided financial benefit to them, with men, and assigned unpaid labor to women (Berdahl & Moon, 2013).

When women entered the workforce, they collectively carried the burden of centuries of stereotypes. In particular, the assumption that they naturally belonged in the private sphere remained, leading employers to assume that, at best, it was inappropriate for women to work while pregnant and, at worst, it was physically harmful (Kessler-Harris, 2018). For instance, in a 1908 case (Muller v. Oregon), the Supreme Court upheld “an Oregon statute that prohibited

women from working more than ten hours a day in a laundry,” stating that a woman’s primary roles of mother and wife were “physically incompatible with the demands of equal participation in the workforce” (Bevacqua & Baker, 2004, p. 61, citing Taub and Scheider). This reasoning continued through until the 1960s, when, in *Hoyt v. Florida* (1961), the Supreme Court affirmed that women could excuse themselves from jury duty because women were considered integral to the home and family (Bevacqua & Baker, 2004).

Thus legal precedent joined cultural stereotypes in further removing women from the role of ideal worker and relegating them to the private sphere. Blakemore (2021) noted that women were expected to get married and depend on their husbands to support them, leaving them free to pursue domestic responsibilities. When World War II emptied American workplaces, allowing a surge of female employment, these expectations remained: those women who maintained employment after marriage were expected to leave the workforce when they became pregnant. While some employers left this norm informal, other professions, such as insurance, publishing, and banking, clearly stated that women were expected to leave and care for their families. Even as the women’s rights movement took hold in the 1960s and 1970s, “when it came to women, the age-old convictions were still intact” (Collins, 2009, p. 6).

Court decisions continued to reaffirm a woman’s relegation to the private sphere, permitting employers to discriminate against pregnant and married women. Court opinions reasoned that this act did not constitute gender discrimination because the distinction was not gender, but, rather, “pregnant women and nonpregnant persons. While the first group is exclusively female, the second includes members of both sexes” (*Geduldig v. Aiello*, 1974). In *General Electric Company v. Gilbert* (1976), the Supreme Court held that General Electric did not discriminate against women when they provided disability insurance for almost all

nonoccupational illness and injuries *except pregnancy*. In response, Congress, understanding the familial consequences of pregnancy discrimination, amended Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to expressly include “pregnancy” in its definition of gender, and passed the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA) in 1978 (Colker, 2018).

The PDA prevented employers from discriminating against women “because of or on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions...” (Pregnancy Discrimination Act, 1978). The PDA focuses on the biological and medical aspects of parenthood: it only protects pregnant women, not new families. In other words, the discrimination became legal again the moment the woman gave birth, still effectively blocking them from the labor force. Activists continued pressuring lawmakers to pass legislation that would address this gap (Scholar, 2016).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a growing number of women entered the workplace and rejected traditional gender expectations, placing pressure on elected officials to refine legislation blocking family-based discrimination via the Family Medical Leave Act of 1993 (FMLA) (Berggren, 2008). The FMLA attempted to balance assisting new families and workplace equity with the concerns of businesses (Arenstam, 2017), enabling employees²¹ to take up to 12 weeks (three months) of unpaid²², job-protected leave (Clark & Gallagher, 2017). Despite shortcomings (discussed below), the FMLA established a seemingly “gender-neutral” family leave policy (Berggren, 2008), recognizing that American families include single-parent households and those with two parents participating in childcare (Arenstam, 2017). While the

²¹ Only about 50% percent of employees are covered under FMLA, since it only applies to employees who worked at the company for at least 1,259 hours in the year preceding childbirth and companies with 50 or more employees (Guendelman et al., 2014).

²² The U.S. is one of three countries that do not mandate paid parental leave (Arenstam, 2017): European countries offer an average of 14 months paid, job-projected leave for new families (Guendelman et al., 2014).

FMLA did acknowledge the disparate female responsibility for caretaking, it accepted this division as a natural, and unproblematic, extension of gender roles (Arenstam, 2017).

However, the FMLA and PDA still privilege the ideal worker, and therefore codify much of the discrimination they attempted to mitigate. While traditional gender roles are no longer explicitly written into law, their effects are still noticeable for both women and men (Lally-Green, 1991). Tension remains between parental leave policy and workforce considerations because the PDA and FMLA, by emphasizing a specific form of childbirth and rearing, effectively perpetuate gendered stereotypes of both women and men.

Pregnancy is at once a social, medical,²³ and personal experience, yet both the PDA and FMLA treat pregnancy as a solely medical problem, which takes away a pregnant individual's autonomy and treats them as a passive actor (Arenstam, 2017). Most medical issues that meet the definition of disability, such as an injury or illness, are unsought. Pregnancy, on the other hand, is widely expected of women, frequently intentional, and necessary to ensure the next generation survives. By defining pregnancy in medical terms alone, the FMLA both disrespects women who risk their health and opportunities to procreate, and contributes to the view of women as passive in other social and economic realms, affecting their legitimacy with coworkers (Arenstam, 2017). In addition, framing the introduction of a child into a family in the medical terms of pregnancy and childbirth implicitly assumes a biological child birthed by a mother in a household of one cisgender man and one cisgender women. This concept of family neglects to account for couples who choose to adopt or use a surrogate, same-sex couples (particularly gay men), and families in which the father is the individual who gives birth.

²³ Simply categorizing pregnancy as a medical disability ignores the actual medical concerns that accompany pregnancy. In stipulating a specific amount of time that a woman can take off for pregnancy and childbirth, the policies neglect to take into account the highly individualized nature of the procedure (Lally-Green, 1991).

Women who become parents typically face assumptions that they are less focused (Lips, 2013), translating into a potential salary decreases of 7% per child (Budig & England, 2001).

The discipline, organization and sheer endurance it takes to succeed at top levels with young children at home is easily comparable to running 20 or 40 miles a week. But that's rarely how employers see things, not only when making allowances but also when making promotions. Perhaps because people *choose* to have children? People also choose to run marathons. (Slaughter, 2012, para.51)

By ignoring the ideal worker archetype, the PDA and FMLA obscure implicit traditional gender expectations behind gender-neutral language such as "primary caretaker." The FMLA argues that women naturally assumed this role, even while acknowledging its negative impacts on her career, and does not actually encourage men to increase their involvement in childrearing (Arenstam, 2017). By not actively challenging traditional gender roles, maternity policies wind up reifying the very discrimination they may have been trying to address (Schulze, 2010). Categorizing one parent as the "primary caretaker" and the other as the "secondary caretaker" implies that one parent is less responsible for the wellbeing of the infant and excuses (and may expect) the absence of the father (Arenstam, 2017).

On one hand, men may benefit from a "fatherhood premium," in which they see an increase in salary and organizational prestige after having children. However, taking advantage of FMLA leave may complicate this picture (Coltrane, et al., 2013). In this case, they may be penalized for undermining not only the ideal worker standard, but also masculine gender roles (Allen & Russell, 1999; Berdahl & Moon, 2013; Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Vandello, et al., 2013; Wayne & Cordiero, 2003). Coltrane and colleagues stated: "When [men] fulfill family obligations by decreasing work time rather than increasing it, they could be

subject to stereotyping, labeling, and negative judgement about their character and potential as ideal workers” (p. 282). While fathers taking family leave may face mean-spirited gossiping or accusations of using the excuse to allow uninterrupted work and resulting career advancement, it is taken for granted that women use their leave appropriately (Berdahl & Moon, 2013). Berdahl asserted that “if men and women face such different reactions to taking family leave and caring for their children, this suggests a form of sex discrimination that may be uniquely harmful to men” (p. 342). Stigmatizing fathers for taking FMLA leave means they are less likely to utilize that benefit, reinforcing the cycle of men’s limited family involvement.

Endurance of the Ideal Worker

Organizations still prioritize employees who can fulfill the archetype of an ideal worker (Acker, 1990; Berdahl & Moon, 2013; Coltrane et al., 2013; Glass, 2004; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). For instance, “even though over two-thirds of families [now] have all adults in the labor force, most jobs are still designed for the 1950s when male breadwinners were married to housewives who took care of home and children” (Coltrane et al., 2013, p. 280). However, this standard of an ideal worker is largely set and maintained by men who will never experience pregnancy or childbirth, and who are not similarly socially constrained to prioritize family (Lally-Green, 1991).

Two important areas of literature on parental leave policy focus on the antecedents of parental leave use and the legal understandings and implications of the PDA and FMLA. Parental leave is more likely to be adopted and utilized when 1) the supervisor is supportive (Lucia-Casademunt et al., 2018), and 2) the workplace is committed to diversity and work-life issues, has a substantial percentage of women in leadership positions, and has a large workforce

(Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2004). The difference between nonprofit and for-profit organizations' predilection to adopting parental leave is relatively small (Pitt-Catsouphes et al., 2004).

As much of maternity leave policy is determined by the PDA and FMLA, there is also substantial legal literature regarding maternity leave policies, addressing legal precedents (Barre, 1997; Fryburger, 1975; Higgenbotham, 1993), the implications of maternity-leave policy language (Arenstam, 2017), and the gaps left by legislation (Lally-Green, 1991). Neither the PDA nor the FMLA provide guidance regarding the level of accommodation for pregnant women, stipulating only that they cannot be discriminated against and mandating that pregnancy be treated as any other temporary disability (Arenstam, 2017). Additionally, both acts set only minimum standards, and organizations are free to add to or expand parental leave offering to reflect the needs of their workforce. Thus, to understand how parental leave policies construct families, support women, and subvert or reify stereotypes of masculinity, one must consider the policies themselves rather than their parent legislation.

Representative Bureaucracy

Pregnancy and parental leave policies represent a particularly interesting context within which to apply representative bureaucracy. Representative bureaucracy theorizes that minority bureaucrats will advocate for policies that benefit their communities.²⁴ While this outcome of active representation is well-documented in the case of racial minority bureaucrats, findings related to women are mixed (Bishu & Alkadry, 2017). Keiser et al. (2002) suggested certain criteria for active representation by women, including need for the issue in question to be gendered, which can occur via one of three mechanisms: “1) the policy directly benefits women as a class [s]uch as laws regarding sexual and reproductive rights], 2) [t]he gender of the

²⁴ For a full discussion of representative bureaucracy, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

bureaucrat changes the bureaucrat/client relationship [[s]uch as reporting rape or sexual assault], [or] 3) [t]he policy process has defined it as such [such as subsidized childcare].” However, each of these mechanisms focuses on individuals, as opposed to larger structures of oppression.

An issue can also become gendered when divisions, conveyed, codified, and reified, are created along gender lines, gender influences communication and interactions between two parties, occupations and organizations reflect gender stereotypes, and social structures have a different impact on women and men (Gruber, 1998). This broader definition explains how gendered issues can disadvantage individual men while simultaneously privileging masculinity. It also enables representative bureaucracy theorists to consider the ways in which a representative bureaucracy may function to increase justice across the board, not just for marginalized people.

Parental leave is a uniquely gendered issue: women face immediate, if subtle, discrimination, for openly conflicting with the ideal worker archetype, and are viewed as less capable than their nonpregnant coworkers. To reconcile this tension, women both resist and reify traditional gender roles: “[s]pecifically, both complicity with and resistance to dominant interpretations of maternity leave become evident as the women negotiated their identities more or less productively and determined what courses of action they should and could take” (Buzanell & Liu, 2005, p. 17). Further, current conceptions of parental leave force men to adhere to traditional gender norms that feminize (and therefore subordinate) them for deprioritizing professional and financial matters in order to be active participants in childrearing. Thus, it is important to critically examine organizational policies for their messages regarding gender roles for both women and men, by checking for gendered variations in parental leave policy that would enable active female representation.

General Discourse, Organizational Discourse, and Organizational Climate

Discourse, or all of the available information and discussion on a particular political or social subject that impacts a group of people in a given society, includes speech acts from a wide variety of sources, including popular media, news media, scholarship, or policy (Scheufele, 2008). A discourse is not only a product of society, but also the process that builds and constitutes society. The concept represents sites of struggle, in which stakeholders endeavor to persuade others to adopt their perspective or assert and/or maintain their power (Scheufele, 2008) and “can be conceptualized as dynamic constellations of words and images that legitimate and produce a given reality” (Allan, 2008, p. 16).

Thus, parental leave policies are an embodiment of organizational discourse on the topic. Policy writers make choices regarding what information to include and how to phrase and prioritize the information in the document (Cook, 2000). Thus, to paraphrase Kenneth Burke (1966), every policy is a reflection of the values, concerns, and priorities of a group, but, through selection, is also a deflection of other values, concerns, and priorities. In this way, policies are not apolitical or neutral. When an organization agrees to make a policy, it is implicitly supporting the contents of the document and agreeing to be represented by it.

Put simply, discourse begets organizational climate, defined by Berberoglu (2018) as “the aggregate of psychological climates, which are perceptions of individuals about their work environments.” As one instantiation of organizational discourse, organizational policies not only determine what actions an employee can take, but they also structure an employee’s beliefs about the topic, in relation to the workplace (Jacobson & Eaton, 2018) and in general (van Dijk, 1995). Individuals use discourses to build mental models that inform their beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about the particular subject (van Dijk, 1995). More specifically, “organizational policy

itself (as couched in seemingly neutral, legal language) serves as a fruitful site to illumine more subtle and insidious forms of organizational gendering” (Peterson & Albrecht, 1999, p. 169). The written policy becomes a codification of the speaker’s (in this case the organization’s) perspectives, ideas, and values.

Parental leave policies constitute exciting new ground for study on this process, as they “serve as the formal explication of employee rights and the basis for sustaining psychological contracts between women and the workplace. As such, they become legal documents that stipulate the scope of rights that formally and legally exist amid the mixed attitudinal, behavioral climate that may lead to practiced gender bias in the organization” (Peterson & Albrecht, 1999, p.169). The organizational discourse surrounding parental leave conveys information regarding how the organization conceptualizes families, their expectations regarding the roles that women and men play in the family, and the value they place on individuals past their roles as employees.

Organizational climate is constituted, perpetuated, and maintained by discourse. Thus, the discourse around parental leave influences how organizations respond to pregnancy, childbirth, and new parenthood. It also determines how empowered employees feel to take the leave, their feelings regarding their worth as employees, and the way their coworkers interact with them.

Method

The current study looks to examine organizational discourse by applying qualitative discourse and textual analysis to the family leave policies of U.S. nonprofits, through a framework of critical feminist and representational bureaucracy theories. This section will relate these applications to the larger study, examine critical theory and inquiry and paradigmatic assumptions, specify the study’s data and methodology, and detail the project process.

Methodological Background

As explained above, organizational discourse concerns the messages an organization transmits on a particular topic, according to the perception of its members. While there are surely “biological and material realities (such as a person’s death)” (Allan, 2008, p. 17), human interpretation of these events constitutes our lived realities. Allan’s argument on perception underscores the benefit of using textual analysis to examine constructions of parental leave within nonprofit organizations: written policies, which represent both the biological realities of pregnancy and/or parenthood and specific organizational processes, are also messages to the employee on its level of support for family choices, expectations of employee behavior, and how employees taking parental leave perceive themselves and others. These artifacts define family, guide expected priorities, and may influence an employee’s choices regarding parenthood (Bodehausen et al., 2003; Jacobson & Eaton, 2018; Valliere, 2013). In this way, a qualitative deep dive into the text of parental policies for signals of organizational discourse and climate can be expected to provide important insights on actual and perceived organizational discourse around parental leave.

Critical Theory and Inquiry

This study employs a critical perspective. Broadly speaking, critical theory assumes that: 1) power dynamics between the participants influence every interaction, and 2) these dynamics are predominantly hidden and thus unexamined and unquestioned (McDonald, 2017). The phrase “critical theory,” drawn from multiple theories and traditions, resists a singular definition. However, it is commonly accepted that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels laid the groundwork for critical theory in their critique of the ways in which economic inequality determined the autonomy and choices of an individual and created power disparities between high and low

socio-economic status individuals (Littlejohn, 2002). Littlejohn (2002) continued: “Today, Marxist critical theory is thriving, although it has become diffused and multi-theoretical” (p. 210), encompassing gender (feminism), race (critical race theory), and, more recently, sexuality (queer theory) as the power dynamics of interest.

Specifically, feminist theory asserts that culture privileges and empowers masculinity (in terms of biological sex and perceived traits) while devaluing and subordinating femininity (in terms of biological sex and perceived traits) (McDonald, 2017). As Littlejohn (2002) noted:

Although few would claim that there is an essential or monolithic female experience, a set of perspectives have been characterized as feminist in much of the literature. These include, for example, a sense of interdependence and relationship, the legitimacy of emotionality, fusion of public and private realms of experience, egalitarian values, concern for process over product, and openness to multiple ways of seeing and doing. (p. 222)

Critical theory informs research that “identi[fies], critique[s], and transform[s] exploitative power relations between dominant and non-dominant groups” (McDonald, 2017, p. 2). Littlejohn (2002) explained, “although the population generally perceives a kind of surface order to things, the critical theorist’s job is to point out the contradictions that exist.” (p. 210). This project employs a critical lens to examine the ways in which nonprofit parental leave policies discursively construct gender norms and the accompanying power differentials.

Critical inquiry increasingly deploys both qualitative and quantitative methods (Sprague, 2016). Critical theorists associate themselves with ideology as opposed to methodology,

assuming that hidden power dynamics undergird every interaction and social structure that makes a particular method critical.²⁵

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research encompasses a wide variety of methods, including phenomenology, case studies, discourse analysis, and ethnology (Merriam, 2002). In her insightful piece *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences*, Joey Sprague (2016) asserted, “What makes data qualitative is how they are used in the way researchers collect and analyze the data” (p. 145). Thus, qualitative methods deploy a range of data collection techniques, such as in-depth interviews, discourse analysis, and (for this project) document analysis.

Merriam (2002) argued that “the key to understanding qualitative research lies with the idea that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world” (p.3), and articulated three key characteristics: 1) it is centered on understanding the meaning “people have constructed about their world”; 2) the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis; and 3) it is richly descriptive (p. 4-5).

Maxwell (1996) explained that scholars may choose qualitative methods when the topic is poorly understood, when an individual’s interpretations or experience is central to the research, or if the scholar is trying to identify unintended consequences. A qualitative textual analysis approach made sense for this project, by illuminating how the written policies of the organization, rather than the individuals, make sense of parental leave, construct gender roles, and encourage the prioritization of the organization over the employee.

Paradigmatic Assumptions

²⁵ Feminist researchers have used quantitative techniques to examine how the U.S. Census’ convict classification led to the criminalization of Black people (Muhammad, 2010) and articulated how the Conflicts Tactics Scale reifies problematic stereotypes that deflect attention away from domestic violence against men (Flood, 1999).

Methods sections demonstrate the “philosophy, politics, and core values” (Sprague, 2016, p. 2) of the researcher, through their choice of research questions, data sources, methods, and language. These assumptions may influence the researcher’s take on “the nature of reality,” “the nature of the inquirer/object relationship,” and “the nature of ‘truth statements,’” Guba (1981) and determine the “soundness or trustworthiness of any research claim” (Allan, 2008, p. 64). These ideological differences necessitate different evaluation criteria for qualitative and quantitative research. Allan (2008) argued that “conventional standards for measuring the strength of research claims (i.e. internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity) are not particularly appropriate for [qualitative] analysis as these are rooted in positivist assumptions of a singular truth or material reality that can be discovered” (p. 64).

Qualitative scholars still prioritize quality and rigor. To address this concern, Guba (1981) suggested focusing on trustworthiness, as demonstrated through “credibility,” “transferability,” “dependability,” and “confirmability.” *Credibility* asks that scholars account for data complexity in their analysis rather than choosing specific findings to confirm an existing perception. Guba (1981) loosely compared *transferability* to the quantitative criterion of generalizability, arguing that researchers must develop data that can be compared (or transferred) to other possible and logical contexts through theoretical/purposive sampling and collecting thick descriptive data. Guba (1981) emphasized that “Sampling *is not* intended to be representative or typical...but [to] maximize the range of information uncovered” (p. 860). *Dependability* requires attention to whether another scholar could follow and understand the process and reasoning in question, and *confirmability* focuses on the *product* of the research, or whether another scholar could reproduce the results. Thus, confirmability reflects a change “from the concept of investigator objectivity” while maintaining high research standards (Guba, 1981).

Methodology

Theory, philosophy, and action culminate in the scholar's methodological choice, "where the implications of what we believe for how we should proceed get worked out" (Sprague, 2016, p. 5). The method of discourse analysis, or, more specifically, textual analysis, allows for the examination and critique of family leave policy documents, and helps identify organizational and perceived messages about male and female gender roles, the construction of family, and work-life balance.

Discourse Analysis

Textual analysis is the qualitative form of discourse analysis. Lupton (1994) suggested two important components of discourse analysis: the contextual and the textual. The contextual component is just that—the context in which the discourse takes place—in terms of the timeframe and social constraints that influence the work.²⁶ Discourse analysis may depend on context; thus, when the context changes, scholars may reexamine the text and reach different conclusions. The context may also influence the discourse itself, by, for instance, leading organizational policy writers to craft policies that are more likely to be approved. The textual facet describes the material communication under examination, such as interviews, pamphlets, news sources, television, or (in this case) organizational policies. These documents are interesting only inasmuch as they reflect their authors, who can be an individual or a collective (e.g. a committee or board). Examination of such artifacts can enable scholars to consider, illuminate, and possibly critique its messages.

A critical perspective is particularly useful in discourse analysis. Critical theories start from the understanding "that knowledge is power, [and] understanding the ways you are

²⁶ This study addresses the contextual element in the rationale for the study.

oppressed enables you to take action and overcome oppressive forces” (Littlejohn, 2002 p. 207). These oppressive forces may be reinforced by daily messages from the speech products (interviews, speeches, pamphlets, organizational documents, or mass media) that discourse analysis is able to systematically examine. Critical discourse analysis focuses “on discourse and the texts that promote particular ideologies, establish and maintain power, and subvert the interests of certain groups and classes,” by examining actual features of these artifacts (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 207).

Additionally, discourse analysis gives qualitative scholars the ability to transform such documents into data, as happens in quantitative analysis with policy outcomes. In this study, this data can help to identify opportunities for active representation by women that may influence organizational culture on parental leave, and determine whether parental leave policies are gendered spaces. In this way, discourse analysis expands the areas available for examination and provides new and exciting avenues for research.

Allen (2008) argued for a new subfield called “policy discourse analysis,” which scholars can use to examine organizational or governmental documents (p. 1). Policy discourse analysis differs from conventional policy analysis by allowing researchers to consider policies without accepting the policy problem as immutable or natural (Allan, 2008). As Iverson (2012) pointed out, understanding policy as discourse can “demonstrate how the use of assumptive concepts in language may limit a policy’s effectiveness and actually reinscribe the very problem the policy seeks to alleviate” (p.154). Rather than ask whether the policy solves the problem, policy discourse analysis questions how the policy itself constructs the problem, considers the implications of those decisions, and critiques the underlying assumptions (Iverson, 2012). Policy discourse analysis “emphasizes the discursive power of policy by examining the written text of

policy documents as primary data sources situated within a larger sociopolitical landscape” (Allan, 2008, p.10).

Policy discourse analysis also “. . . provides an approach by which dominant (and taken-for-granted) policy discourses can be named and analyzed to determine how they may limit and even undermine attempts to advance equity” (Allan, 2008, p. 5). Specifically, feminist policy discourse analysis illuminates how decisions on information inclusion and exclusion by policy writers reify stereotypes that continue to marginalize women (Allan, 2008).

Discourse analysis encompasses a wide range of methodologies, but the two most common are content analysis and thematic (or textual) analysis. Content analysis, a quantitative approach, prepares written material for statistical analysis by coding each unit of analysis (Kline, 2007). The qualitative equivalent, thematic analysis, looks for latent messages in these documents. Clarke (2017) described thematic analysis as “an accessible, flexible, foundational method for qualitative data analysis, with clear guidelines for conducting analysis” (p. 298). Optimally, a thematic analysis tells “an interpretative story about the data in relation to a research question” (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 6626), rather than simply reporting it.

Braun and Clarke (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007) articulated six steps to conducting thematic analysis: becoming familiar with the data and identifying areas of interest; creating preliminary codes; developing themes; reviewing those themes; finalizing, defining, and naming themes; and producing the report. Importantly, when conducting a thematic analysis, the units of analysis are “the particular set of rhetorical strategies deployed in an artifact and determined through the interpretive process rather than the highly operationalized variables consider[ed] in quantitative [content] analysis” (Kline, 2007, p. 87); as such they can be as short as a few words or several sentences long.

Textual Analysis

Feminist theory and scholarship focus on knowledge—who has it, where and how to get it, who can and cannot access it, and how it is used (Oleson)—including knowledge disseminated through speech or text. As Littlejohn (2002) noted: “One of the most well-developed areas in feminist studies is the exploration of sexism in language and the relationship between language and power” (p. 224). Kramarae (1981) argued that “language is instrumental in constructing the world in which we live and...social power arrangements are largely embedded in language” (p. 13). Thus, textual analysis provides an interesting application for feminist theory; examining text may uncover “historically ignored information about relations among women...and further understanding about the ideas that have shaped women’s lives” (Allan, 2008, p. 41).

One thread of parental leave scholarship has utilized textual analysis to reveal how pregnant women and parents construct and enact their roles as employee and expectant parent. For instance, Buzzanell and Lui (2005) interviewed 15 women who had taken parental leave and, as a result, felt discouraged about their advancement opportunities within their organizations: “maternity leave created a context for oppositional discourses that reinforced a gendered divisiveness about the nature and enactment of leaves” (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005, p. 8). Their thematic analysis clarified their subjects’ ambivalence regarding impending parenthood: “women seemed aware of paternalistic caring as well as female stereotypes that informed others’ discourse and practices. They valued their identity changes...but resisted corporate constructions of them as weak and incompetent” (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005, p. 9). In 2017, Buzzanell and colleagues (2017)(2017) continued this work with 21 different women in so-called pink-collar occupations. This thematic analysis explored subjects’ attitudes on leveraging the stereotype of pregnancy as a disability and facing consequent disadvantages: “[The women] both acknowledge

the advantages of and resist discourses of time and (dis)ability by constructing complicated, contradictory, and ironic knowledge that such language both secures their leave and revokes their images as competent workers” (p. 67). Finally, Lidbeck and Broström (2021) employed textual analysis to examine the discursive construction of equally-shared parental leave, parents’ reasoning behind taking it, the transition from one to another primary parent, and how this shared leave enabled both parents to better understand each other.

The current study uses thematic analysis to consider how discourses of organizational parental leave policies shape the issue of parenthood in the workplace, maintain the ideal worker construct, and define family. It aims to provide insights that inspire nonprofit organizations to question whether their leave policies communicate sufficient commitment to employees, and adapt these policies to create a more just and equitable workplace. To accomplish this, I identified three research questions:

- How did the policies construct women and men’s status as parents?
- How did the policies position the organization and employees in relation to pregnancy and child acquirement?
- What potential messages did the policies include regarding family structures?

Data and Process

This section will detail the process of this thematic analysis of latent messages in parental leave policies. First, I pulled a random sample of arts and health and human service nonprofits from the 2016 Internal Revenue Service E-File database (The Nonprofit Open Data Collective & Lecy, 2017) and began contacting the organizations to request their parental leave policies. However, as this method proved time consuming and ultimately ineffective (200 contacts yielded only six policies), I solicited another eight policies from my professional network, creating a

dataset of 14 artifacts²⁷. The respondent organizations employed between 3 and 441 employees, with boards that ranged from 4–38 members. The organizations also utilized an average of 125 volunteers, though six of the organizations did not use volunteers at all. Organizational revenues ranged from \$95,050 to \$2,410,580, with the average revenue being \$2,904,718.13. Seven of the organizations (about half) had revenues under \$1 million. Their missions included children’s programming, alleviating food or housing insecurity, art and cultural promotion, and legal advocacy (See Table 9²⁸, additionally see Appendix B for the full missions of each organization). Some contacted organizations lacked a parental leave policy, reporting that their employees had never requested parental leave.

Table 9: Characteristics of the Selected Nonprofit Organizations

Org Number	Board Members	Number of Employees	Number of Volunteers	Total Current Revenue	NTEE Classification
15	38	441	124	\$24,105,580.00	Health
1	17	223	88	\$3,247,022.00	Human Services
20	10	75	80	\$3,015,443.00	Environment and Animals
17	7	101	535	\$2,968,897.00	Arts, Culture, and Humanities
18	6	127	0	\$2,543,174.00	Human Services
4	7	340	64	\$2,217,866.00	Human Services
11	14	80		\$1,445,532.00	Human Services
10	9	37	58	\$554,933.00	Health
6	13	5	20	\$553,899.00	Health
2	14	8	87	\$389,687.00	Human Services
12	17	10	50	\$332,580.00	Human Services
21	7	8	75	\$215,821.00	Human Services
8	15	68	0	\$158,835.00	Arts, Culture, and Humanities
19	4	3		\$95,050.00	Public, Societal Benefit
Average	10	39.75	37.5	\$2,988,879.93	

²⁷ These are the same organizations from the previous chapter. When I contacted each organization, I asked for both their sexual harassment and parental leave policies.

²⁸ There are missing organizations numbers as the Organization numbers in this chapter reflect the previous chapter.

The policies ranged in length from half a page to three pages. Many appeared to have been a section of a longer employee handbook (i.e. other segments of said handbooks were visible at the start and end of the policy), although some appeared to be stand-alone documents. Other examples addressed parental leave within a broader section on family and medical leave.

The resulting analysis applied a critical feminist lens to consider how these policies included or excluded certain information, constructed stakeholders, and reflected organizational values. As thematic analysis generally consists of “extensive reading, sorting, and searching through your materials; comparing within categories, coding and adding key words and concepts; and then writing mini-summaries” (Allan, 2008), the first step involved intensive reading of each policy. I took careful notes regarding the types of information presented, recurrent ideas, and notable differences between documents, and identified the first iteration of themes. These themes informed development of categories, followed by rereading to ensure proper classification. These categories, largely deducted and drawn from relevant literature, included “Discussed penalties for not returning,” “Stipulated that employees could extend,” or “list of included family members” (See Table 10).

Table 10: Categories Developed From Literature vs. Those Developed Through Analysis

A priori categories	Developed through analysis
Leave descriptor (i.e. maternity leave, paternity leave, parental leave)	Child Acquisition Mechanisms (i.e. birth, fostering, adoption, etc.)
Designates a primary caregiver	Possibility of extension
Defines a primary caregiver	Criteria for extension
Combined with FMLA policy	Authority for extension approval
	Mention of FMLA
	Provision of notice
	Non-eligible employees
	Time limit on taking leave
	Qualifiers on taking leave
	Non-eligible children
	Preparation for taking leave
	Notification procedure
	Discussion of organization's responsibilities
	Discussion of colleagues' responsibilities
	Possibility of both parents being employees
	Discussion of fathers
	Reason for providing leave
	Authority for approving leave
	Repercussions for not returning to position
	Other types of potential leave

Next, I inductively reorganized themes across categories, to delineate focus, reaffirm consistency across policies, and further define key policy functions and ideas, resulting in 10 themes. The combination of inductive and deductive approaches

[Informed each] other as coding and categorizing occur in multiple levels that become more focused as the analysis unfolds. This iterative process by which the researcher moves back and forth between the data, emergent codes, deductive codes, and categorizing schemes is common to analysis in qualitative inquiry. (Allan, 2008, p. 43)

For instance, on a manifest level, I identified that most of the policies listed which children were covered; few expressly stated which children or parental relationships were not. The latent messaging behind these statements suggested that some family structures were considered valid, while others were not.

I continued moving back and forth between rereading policies and refining themes and categories. Repeated readings allowed me to consider my research questions, relate themes to the literature, and ensure that all pertinent data had been included. For instance, if I recognized a potential new category in policy 5, I returned to policies 1-4 to check for language representing this new category. Five dominant policy themes emerged in the final step (Table 10): 1) the endurance of the ideal worker archetype privileged the organization, 2) missing information created ambiguity, 3) policy language constructed a particular family structure, 4) policy language reinforced tradition gender roles, and 5) policy language conflated pregnancy and disability. These results are presented in greater detail below.

Table 11: Progression from Initial Categories to Final Themes

Initial Categories	Final Theme
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused on the needs of the organization to prepare for leave • Made leave contingent on employees' position in organization 	Endurance of the ideal worker and commensurate privileging of the organization
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not provide a rationale for providing leave • Status as new parent was only discussed in relation to status as employee • Did not provide logistical information for applying for leave 	Strategic ambiguity stemming from lack of information
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis placed on biological childbirth • Purposeful exclusion of some family structures 	Construction of traditional family structure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies titled "maternity leave" • No purposeful discussion of fatherhood • Designated some parents as primary and others as secondary 	Maintenance of traditional gender norms
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicitly connected pregnancy and disability • Suggested employees use sick or short-term disability leave 	Conflation of pregnancy and disability

Results

Thematic analysis yielded a set of themes that signaled organizational discourse and messaging on the topic of parental leave. Textual evidence suggested that the studied

organizations were attempting to balance their own needs with those of their employees. Despite differences in document appearance and length, all demonstrated a commitment to support pregnant staff and new parents and allow them time to adjust to their emerging roles without the additional pressure of work. However, many of these policies disadvantaged parents by favoring the ideal worker (and therefore their own bottom line), introducing ambiguity by withholding information, favoring traditional family structures, maintaining traditional gender roles, and conflating pregnancy and disability.

Theme 1: The Ideal Worker and Organizational Privilege

The studied parental leave policies appeared to consistently prioritize the needs of the organization above those of the employee seeking leave. For instance, several policies mandated a 30-day notice for foreseeable leave, predicated leave on the employee's importance to organization, and/or required employees to create and implement a plan to minimize disruption to organizational operations. One policy read:

The [Organization] is not required to comply with the FMLA if the employee is a key employee (among the highest paid 10.0 percent of employees of the [Organization]) if the [Organization] can show that granting the leave would cause substantial and grievous economic injury to its operation.

The few policies that accounted for unforeseeable leave required the employee to obtain leave approval within two days. Two organizations requested substantial documentation from the employee. One read, "Staff have the option to use paid time off in conjunction of paid parental leave and must inform their immediate supervisor at the time you request paid parental leave. Paid time off used in conjunction of paid parental leave is subject to approval based on job

responsibilities”; the other requested that employee “provide medical documentation of the need for leave as requested by the associate director.”

Organizations also maintained substantial discretion over the reinstatement of the employee. One policy read, “Every effort will be made to provide for the continued employment upon expiration of approved FMLA, however reinstatement is not guaranteed,” but failed to list circumstances that would bar reinstatement. Additionally, several organizations mentioned additional documentation (e.g., a “fitness for duty certificate to be restored to employment) or evidentiary processes (e.g., “Organization may also require additional opinions if there is reason to doubt the employee’s medical leave”).

One organization asked employees to schedule leave “As so not to unduly disrupt the employer’s operations.” Several policies required that leave conclude within 12 months of the birth or placement of the child, and many other expected employees had to take several types of leave at the same time: e.g., “Use any accumulated paid time off concurrently with unpaid FMLA” and “The [Organization] reserves the right to require that you use paid leave during FMLA leave.”

Additionally, several policies explicitly reminded employees that the organization was not required to provide FMLA. One statement read, “[Organization] is not governed by the federal FMLA. However, in order to foster an amicable work environment for employee and employee, [Organization] does allow for family and medical leave.” Another stated that “Our parental leave policy exceeds any legal requirement as at this time there is no legal requirement to provide any paid leave.”

Three policies provided for anything between full-time work and leave, though they preferred either 100% leave or 100% work and placed barriers on the use of intermittent leave.

One of these stated:

Intermittent leave is taken in separate blocks of time. A reduced worked schedule leave is a leave scheduled that reduces an employee's usual number of hours per workweek or hour per workday. If an employee takes leave intermittently or on a reduced work schedule basis, the employee must, when requested, attempt to schedule the leave so as not to unduly disrupt the [organization's] operations.

Finally, it is notable that several organizations I reached out to declined to provide a parental leave policy because no employee had requested leave. This suggests that the organization may not consider a parental leave policy to be inherent and integral, but rather addresses parental leave in an ad-hoc manner.

These expectations express an organizational preference for the ideal worker, who puts work responsibilities ahead of family considerations. By burdening parents-to-be with strict approval processes and documentation and including organization-first language, these documents create an organizational climate that potentially discounts family and home life considerations. Ultimately, the policies positioned the employee's decision and ability to become a parent as contingent upon the potential impact at the organizational level and thus privileged the organization's needs above the employee's.

Theme 2: Strategic Ambiguity Caused by Missing Information

The studied policies varied significantly in the amount of information provided. Some, in addition to listing eligibility criteria, explained procedures for the continuing health benefits and requesting a leave extension. Others were limited to stating which employees were eligible for

leave and how much leave would be provided. Although it is difficult to specify what was missing from sparsely-detailed policies, some gaps were evident and suggests an organizational decision to exclude this information. Minimal information may create grey areas that could be exploited to the detriment of the employee and discourage employees from using the policy.

For example, many policies did not provide a rationale for granting parental leave in the first place; they lacked language explaining whether leave would benefit the organization and/or the employee, or whether the motivator was a legal concern. Without a listed incentive or goal, the parental leave policy read more like an afterthought. Those that did provide a rationale tended to be motivated by legal requirements. One policy stated that “It is the policy of [organization] to provide FMLA in accordance with the FMLA, as amended and in state law”; another explained that “The FMLA of 1993 provides employees a leave of absence from work for certain family and medical reasons.”

Policy acknowledgements of the value of parenthood still emphasized workplace goals. One policy expressed a “commitment to support its staff in their decisions to be the best for their families and *in their careers*” (emphasis added). Another stated that the leave policy was in place to “foster an amicable work environment for employer and employee.”; A third explained that “The purpose of this policy is to give parents additional flexibility and time to bond with their new child and adjust to their new family situation,” notably focusing on the individual rather than their workplace role, but continued that “Flexibility and family-friendly policies are essential to cultivating an atmosphere where employees can thrive professionally without sacrificing essential family obligations.”

One particularly glaring example of constrained information was a policy made up of a single sentence: “Maternity/paternity – the [organization] provides full-time, exempt employees

with at least one (1) year of service with three (3) months' maternity or paternity leave. Leave will be paid directly through the [organization]." Other gaps concerned missing instructions on requesting an extension or protecting new parents from interruptions from coworkers, or poorly explained processes for developing workload plans with their superior. Ultimately, the organizations did not provide detailed information for the employee looking to potentially take parental leave, which creates ambiguity and the potential to further disadvantage the employee.

Theme 3: Construction of Traditional Family Structure

Some policies enabled employees to take leave for either childbirth or adoption/foster processes without further constraints. However, others limited allowed leave to that "due to the birth of a baby by the employee or their spouse" or stated that "maternity leave begins immediately after the delivery of the staff member's newborn." Interestingly, one policy acknowledged and covered adoption, but allotted specific protections for pregnant women a place of privilege at the front of the document, privileging childbirth over other forms of child acquisition.

Multiple policies explicitly excluded step-children from warranting parental leave. One read, "An eligible parent is defined as a natural parent, same-sex partner, or new adoptive parent who is the primary caregiver. An individual who adopts a spouse or partner's child(ren) is not eligible for this benefit." Another policy stated that:

The employee must also meet one of the following criteria: Have given birth to a child; or be a spouse or committed partner of a woman who has given birth to a child; or have adopted a child who is 17 years old. This provision does not apply to the adoption of a stepchild by a stepparent.

A third document excluded guardianship; it read, “FMLA may be granted for eligible employees for: the birth of a child and to care for such child; for the placement of a child for adoption or foster care (not including guardianship).” A single policy specified that leave was available for biological, adopted, step, foster, legal ward, or assumed children. Ultimately, a very specific family structure was taken as the norm and privileged above others—one predicated on biological families with two parents.

Theme 4: Maintenance of Traditional Gender Roles

Many policies directly maintained traditional gender roles by referring to “maternity leave,” and stipulating that leave would be granted only for the “primary caretaker”; if both parents worked for the organization, then only one of them could take paid parental leave. While these policies did not explicitly restrict men from taking leave, this criterion implies that only women are expected to do so. Ultimately, the policies did not actively resist the traditional gender norms that have historically disadvantaged women. Indeed, many reified the notion that there is one parent who is more engaged with the child rather than acknowledging and expecting that both parents are actively engaged with their child.

Theme 5: Conflation of Pregnancy and Disability

Many of the 14 studied policies extended the traditional conflation of pregnancy with a disability, either directly or indirectly. Several did so explicitly, by titling the policy “disability and/or pregnancy accommodations.” One policy informed the employee that “HR strategies and your worksite employer do not discriminate on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or pregnancy-related medical conditions, 2) physical or mental disabilities, or c) medical conditions as defined under state and federal law.” Another policy specified, “As an employer of five or more full or

part time employees, [organization] will grant pregnancy disability leave in compliance with [state's] Pregnancy Disability Leave regulations.”

However, other policies classified pregnancy as a disability indirectly, by including it in their FMLA policies. For instance, one policy listed coverage for childbirth and parental leave, including that for fostering and adoption, within a long list of covered medical concerns, including caring for the health of a parent, spouse, or child, employee health conditions, and health problems sustained by a service member in the line of duty.

Finally, and most subtly, some parental leave policies suggested that employees use sick or short-term disability leave if their other leave proved insufficient, implicitly linking pregnancy with injury or illness. One document read, “Employees may use accrued but unused sick leave and vacation and personal time to offset loss of income during any period of actual disability associated with pregnancy.” Several policies that did not provide paid parental leave required the employee to use this leave to cover their pregnancy or new child. Ultimately, the policies deflected attention away from the social aspects of pregnancy and focused squarely on the physical and medical components of the experience.

Discussion

This study posited three research questions regarding latent messaging in nonprofit parental leave policies, and addressed these questions by applying thematic analysis to 14 of these policies. It sought to identify how these documents 1) constructed women and men's status as parents, 2) positioned the organization and employee in relation to pregnancy and child acquirement, and 3) constituted family structures. Analysis revealed that the policies privileged the needs of the organization over those of the employee, and, in doing so, reified the construct of the ideal worker. Additionally, these results suggest that nonprofit workplace leave policies

maintain traditional gender roles and ultimately codify notions of pregnancy and motherhood that disadvantage women.

Notably, most of the policies explicitly privilege the organization by admonishing employees to take time when it is best for the organization, requiring that they develop workload management plans before the period of leave, and reserving the right to ask for extensive medical documentation. However, the policies fail to identify the organization's own responsibilities for facilitating a smooth transition. In addition, these organizations frame leave as charity, but impose significant limits. In a few examples, if both parents work for the organization, only one may receive parental leave. Other policies limit leave to the "primary caretaker," make approval contingent upon the employee's level of importance to the organization, or dismissing any leave beyond one year of the family addition.

Most troublingly, many of these policies persist in privileging the organization and holding employees to the standards of the ideal worker, who prioritizes the good of the organization above their own needs. The ideal worker standard, rooted in antiquated gender roles that subordinate femininity and elevate masculinity, disadvantages women and maintains harmful gender stereotypes. Meanwhile, workplace dynamics are changing: women now consistently engage in full-time employment, and men are opting for a more active and hands-on role in their children's lives.

The ideal worker archetype, promoted directly and indirectly in these parental leave policies, also limits conceptions of family to a biological child born to two cis-gendered parents. Several of the studied policies explicitly exclude family circumstances such as step parenthood or guardianship, subordinating these less-traditional family forms as well as family structures

that go unmentioned, such as same-sex couples, single parents, and those in which the father gives birth to the child.

Finally, these policies do little to address systems of oppression that expect women to leave work and care for children while men remain in the workplace. This failure is illuminated by specifications of a “primary caretaker” (implying the existence of a secondary caretaker) or restricting leave to one parent (again, requiring a decision on which is the primary parent). However, importantly, none of the studied policies explicitly encouraged or expected men to take paternity leave. Additionally, by combining parental leave with other forms of medical and disability leave, the policies construct pregnancy and childbirth as a purely medical issue as opposed to one with substantial personal and social implications.

Implications for Scholars

This research supports the arguments by previous scholars that parental leave legislation, by conflating pregnancy and disability, disadvantages women in the workforce and contributes to stereotypes of female passivity in bodily, social, and economic spaces (Arenstam, 2017). Additionally, these findings build on previous work examining how the FMLA and PDA celebrate the ideal worker by identifying these messages in accompanying organizational policies. Furthermore, this study expands the literature on parental leave issues by discussing how the relevant workplace policies construct families and their employees’ roles within them, adding to other determinants of organizational discourse and climate that may disadvantage parents. Whereas previous research has focused on the ramifications of the wording of the FMLA or PDA for women (Arenstam, 2017; Lally-Green, 1991), I also consider what messages the policies send about male employees and their expected roles.

From a methodological perspective, this application of thematic analysis expands possibilities for qualitative research on the topic of parental leave. I was able to analyze the documents for both manifest text and latent messages, providing a more holistic understanding of how organizational policies define family, reinforce gender norms, and prioritize the organization over the employee. This tactic enables a more holistic perspective of parental leave that may be of use to future scholars. Additionally, this tactic lends itself well to a critical perspective. A critical perspective assumes that there are hidden power dynamics between empowered and disempowered groups (McDonald, 2017) and analyzing the latent messages within the policies enables me to illuminate and thus critique those power dynamics.

These findings also have implications for the representative bureaucracy literature. Representative bureaucracy scholars have argued that for women to engage in active representation, the issue at hand must be gendered, which Keiser (2002) defined as one that “directly benefits women as a class, because the gender of the bureaucrats changes the client-bureaucrat relationship or because the issue has been defined as a women’s issue through the political process” (p. 556). However, a broader perspective of the term “gendered” focuses on the ways that organizational or societal structures reinforce traditional gender norms, to the detriment of both women and men (Gruber, 1998). Using this broader definition of “gendered” is, in part, an answer to Bishu and Kennedy’s (2019) call for to expand the contexts under which scholars study representative bureaucracy. In particular, I question how scholars have previously applied the construct of gender and what that means in representative bureaucracy work. This analysis demonstrates that organizational parental leave policies are such a gendered ground, raising questions on the potential for active representation by women.

Implications for Practitioners

These findings, generated by thick data on messaging in parental leave policies, may be of use to nonprofit leaders looking to adapt their own policies to the benefit of emergent families. Identification of the five themes detailed above can guide organizations to rewrite these documents with an eye to providing better employee support, including more comprehensive information, easing documentation requirements, expanding the family construct to include nontraditional versions, acknowledging and overturning gender norms, and recognizing pregnancy and parenthood as critical life moments rather than medical problems to be solved.

My findings regarding parental leave policies also have practical implications for nonprofit staff and board members. My results demonstrate several problematic assumptions inherent in these documents and provide a foundation for future improvements. Specifically, if a nonprofit organization aims to ensure that their employees can be empowered in their decisions around parenthood, it must purposely craft policies that reflect those values. Most importantly, the organization should prevent any hierarchical classifications of parents into primary and secondary, ensure that fathers are explicitly discussed in the policy, and write policies that acknowledge pregnancy as more than a medical or physical state.

My analysis also offers some interesting points of consideration for practitioners regarding the *process* of creating the parental leave policy, not simply what should be included. Before attempting to write the policy, the organization should have a clear idea of why it is offering parental leave and support, as well as what it hopes to achieve with such a policy. Additionally, creating a list of the people other than the new parents who will be impacted by the policy in order to ensure that everyone has the appropriate information. Most directly, the organization should be prepared to establish a committee that can consider the implications for

new parents and the organization as employees' families change. Finally, an individual taking leave does not just impact them, but their colleagues. Thus, the organization should prepare the new parent's colleagues to step in and ensure that organizational needs are being met.

Limitations and Future Research

There are some limitations of this research that should be noted. Primarily, thematic analysis invites onlookers to consider a *potential* reading of text and recognizes that there could be another, equally valid, interpretation. Thus, it could be argued that employees who use these policies may read them very differently. Additionally, I did not reach out to a colleague to establish inter-rater reliability and the conclusions drawn from the analysis are my own. Another reader may have interpreted the policies very differently. A second potential limitation lies in my sample, which excluded organizations that explicitly addressed women's issues or focused on parenthood. This exclusion may mean that the current findings are not generalizable to these organizations; it also raises the question of whether including women-centric organizations would have produced alternate themes. Additionally, there is potential selection bias in that the organizations I examined were all medium and large organizations that have been in operation for several years. This excludes smaller or newer organizations that may not have the capacity to offer parental leave, regardless of whether it wants to. However, I believe that my analysis remains an important reading of parental leave policies and that raises concerns that apply to a wide range of nonprofit organizations.

This research project suggested several areas for future research. Future scholars could interview nonprofit staff members to understand their perceptions and interpretations of parental leave policies and compare those insights with these findings to determine points of convergence and divergence. Additionally, parental leave policies are only a small facet of the discourse

surrounding parental leave at an organization, and the expectant parents represent just one pair of stakeholders. Since my research questions focused on organizational attempts to protect their own needs, it would be interesting to consider the perceptions of these parents' colleagues, who may face increased workloads resulting from a co-worker's impending parenthood.

Insights from government policies

As discussed above, a text's context heavily influences textual analysis. This suggests that a final area for future research could apply a similar methodology to parental leave policies from the government. This analysis would enable future scholars to better compare parental leave policies in the nonprofit and government sectors, which would in turn assist practitioners in developing parental leave policies that adequately support their employees. To scout ideas for my own research agenda, I solicited three examples of government parental leave policies²⁹, one from a statewide university system, one from a city with over 100,000 people, and one from a city with under 100,000 people. An initial reading of this small sample suggested that government policies do less than their nonprofit equivalents to acknowledge nontraditional family arrangements. While all three policies referred to either birth, foster, or adoption, they mostly failed to mention guardianship arrangements or stepchildren. Additionally, they firmly reified the ideal worker archetype and privileged the organization over the employee. However, one policy offered parental leave to both parents if they worked for the city, and another did more to enable intermittent leave. Further examination of governmental family leave policies with a larger sample and systematic study could complement the current findings.

²⁹ These policies came from the same state as the majority of the nonprofit sexual harassment policies. The first came from a state-wide government criminal justice organization, the second from a large local government of approximately 700,000 people and the last came from a small local government of approximately 22,000 people.

While the nonprofit policies certainly merit their own improvements, they are a marked step forward towards gender equality in relation to the government policies in terms of acknowledging the possibility for other family arrangements and offering some resistance to the expectation of the ideal worker. While each of the policies referred to either birth, foster, or adoption as methods of acquiring a child, they did not discuss the potential for guardianship arrangements or stepchildren in the same way that some of the nonprofit policies did. However, the most marked improvement of the nonprofit policies over the government policies was in the construction of the ideal worker. The government policies very clearly stated that the organization would come before the ability of the employee to take leave. Two policies referenced that the leave was at least partially contingent on whether the employee's absence would place an undue burden on the organization, with one defining a key employee as one who is in the top 10% of earners in the organization. The same policy further stated:

The city will notify the employee as soon as practicable in writing of its determination [regarding key employee status], stating that it intends to deny restoration to employment on completion of FMLA. This notice of intent will explain the basis for the city's determination and will provide the employee a reasonable time in which to return to work, taking into account the circumstances, such as the length of leave and the urgency of the need for the employee to return. (Small local government)

However, the government policies did offer some guidance to nonprofit organizations. One policy explicitly stated that if both parents worked for the city, they would both be entitled to parental leave. Additionally, the state-wide government organization used a substantially more expansive definition of child, writing: "A biological child, adopted child, stepchild, foster child, legal ward of, or child of a person who stood *in loco parentis* of an eligible employee who is

under 18 years of age...*In loco parentis* means having day to day responsibility to care for and financially support a child.”

A final point of departure between the nonprofit and government policies was that the government policies contained more information regarding the potential repercussions for either not returning to work after the leave ended or misusing the leave time. For instance, one policy stated “an employee shall not be granted a leave of absence for the purpose of seeking or taking employment elsewhere or operating a private business. Unauthorized work while on a leave of absence will result in disciplinary action, up to and including discharge” (Large local government).

Conclusion

Unlike most other countries in the world, America does not offer paid parental leave. The closest option is FMLA leave, which is unpaid and limited to 12 weeks, leaves families in a precarious situation. Most parents cannot afford to take unpaid time off to integrate a new child into their family.

Our collective disregard for parental leave stems from a history of workplace gender roles that prioritize an ideal worker, who can exclusively focus on the organization rather than responsibilities at home. That emphasis remains prominent in nonprofit parental leave policies. Ultimately, prioritizing an ideal worker will necessarily lead to unpaid work being devalued and relegated to women, further entrenching marginalization. Without intentional, sustained effort by nonprofit organizations and leaders to support workers’ personal responsibilities and goals, and continuing scholarly attention to identify antecedents and solutions, this cycle will continue.

CHAPTER 5: EVERYONE NEEDS A TORCH: CONCLUDING THIS DISSERTATION AND LOOKING TO THE NEXT STEPS

The focus of this dissertation was to consider and examine women's issues in nonprofit organizations through the lenses of representative bureaucracy and feminist theory. However, "women's issues" encompass a broad cross-section of concerns which are temporally and contextually bounded. Thus, I chose to focus on three, salary, sexual harassment, and parental leave, and applied quantitative and qualitative methods to determine whether nonprofits are doing enough to protect the interests of female employees.

Summary of Findings and Societal Lessons

Overall, these findings provided insight into how these issues play out in the nonprofit sector, in which organizational leadership and policy artifacts influence organizational discourse and climate and affect outcomes for the women who work there. Chapter 2 considered whether the presence of women in nonprofit leadership roles enabled active representation and decreased the gender wage gap. Quantitative analysis revealed, unfortunately, little evidence of active representation by women, and suggested disadvantages for female executive directors. Chapter 2 used thematic analysis to examine sexual harassment policies in nonprofits, exposing them as gendered spaces that may codify barriers to the prevention and resolution of sexual harassment. Finally, in Chapter 4, I applied thematic analysis to parental leave policies in nonprofit organization, finding that they embrace traditional gender roles, center traditional family structures, overemphasize the medical aspects of pregnancy and childbirth, and privilege the organization over the employee.

Taken together, these chapters reveal substantial challenges for women in the nonprofit sector. Nonprofits rely on ideas of what *should* work to make their organizations places of equality (increasing women in leadership, including specific information in sexual harassment policies, etc.) instead of critically examining actual employee experiences. They reify gender norms in a sector that is ostensibly supposed to undermine marginalization, and face an uphill journey to ensuring parity between their female and male employees.

Pay disparities, sexual harassment, and weak parental leave policies all result from a mentality that devalues women and presupposes that they do not belong in workplaces. When an organization pays a female executive less than her male counterpart, they assign a lower value to her skills, knowledge, and dedication. Sexual harassment, an offense poorly addressed by piecemeal policy and case law, is widely mishandled in the workplace, which often does the very minimum to demonstrate an affirmative defense. This messaging on the neglect of their personal safety communicates to female employees that they do not belong in the workplace and have little right to feel comfortable and secure. Finally, parental leave policies reify stereotypes that place women in the home and exclude them from the workplace.

These factors are parts of a single, discouraging, compounding whole. When a woman leaves her job to care for a new child or avoid harassing behaviors, she loses career momentum and sacrifices pay equality with her male counterparts. When disparate pay lowers the relative value of working outside the home, women find it easier to leave the workforce altogether to raise children, and they become relegated to the private sphere. Finally, the forces that devalue female work confirm age-old stereotypes that permit sexual harassment, weak parental support, and other forms of workplace discrimination. The cycle continues.

These ideological challenges have very tangible implications for women. In 2018, women earned, on average, \$0.83 to the male dollar, an annual gap of \$10,194 and \$407,760 over the course of a 40-year career. Taken cumulatively, the impact is even more alarming. A 2020 study revealed that “An even larger consideration is the cumulative impact of the gender wage gap on all women working full time in the United States. Collectively, more than 55 million full time working women earned an estimated \$545.7 billion less than their male counterparts in 2019” (Bleiweis, 2020). Quantifying this male/female disparity illustrates women’s reduced ability to cover large and small expenses, pay off debt, and securely retire (Bleiweis, 2020).

Further, sexual harassment has severe physical, emotional, and financial consequences for its victims, such as decreased ability to work collaboratively (Crain & Matheny, 2019), increased work withdrawal or intention to quit (Buchanan et al., 2014), and poorer work outcomes (Settles, et al., 2006). Victims suffer from increased rates of mental health problems (Richman et al., 1999), including depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (Buchanan et al., 2014), and alcohol abuse (Rospenda et al., 2000). For every victim of sexual harassment who wins a court case against her or his harasser, thousands more are threatened into silence or leave their job to escape the abuse. If victims do come forward, they are likely to be met with disbelief or have their experiences diminished: “Discussions of sexual harassment in polite company tend to rely on euphemisms: harassment becomes “inappropriate behavior,” assault becomes “misconduct” and rape becomes “abuse”” (Zacharek, Dockterman, & Edwards, 2017). Even when the accuser is believed, the weak workplace response may suggest that “[the accused’s] value, personal and professional outweigh[s] hers. His career, his reputation, his mental and emotional serenity, his family – all his assets counted. Hers did not,” (MacKinnon, 2019).

Parents denied parental leave or rushed back to work too quickly also face serious consequences. New mothers are at increased risk for a variety of mental health problems, such as postpartum depression, anxiety, and depression (Avendano, et al., 2015). New birth parents who do not take parental leave are more likely to stop breastfeeding earlier, delay vaccinating their children, and struggle to bond with their child when compared to parents with sufficient leave (Human Rights Watch, 2011). In addition, individuals who have to take unpaid leave are more likely to go into debt and may be forced to seek public assistance (Human Rights Watch, 2011).

Revisiting the Critical Frameworks

This work contributed to feminist and representative bureaucracy theory in several ways. At the most basic level, it extends feminist theory by adapting it to new research questions. As Tyson (2012) argued:

To my mind, one of feminism's strengths is the freedom with which it borrows ideas from other theories and adapts them to its own rapidly evolving needs. This is one reason why I believe that feminist theory will never become stale: it constantly incorporates new ideas from other fields and finds new ways to use old ideas" (p. 94).

Its augmentation of representative bureaucracy in the current study represents one such new frontier. Though I am not the first scholar to connect the two frameworks (Keiser et al., 2002), this work introduces a new and potentially important consideration—the idea of hegemony. Keiser et al (2002) outlined several requirements for women to engage in active representation, including organizational structure, the presence of a critical mass of women, and a gendered issue, in addition to those proposed by previous scholars, such as adopting a representative role and having discretion over the topic at hand. These are all characteristics informed by factors at the organizational or individual level. I propose a societal-level factor: hegemonic structures of

oppression. The realization that that minoritized communities—in this case, women—might participate in their own oppression places qualifiers on the extent to which, or the criteria under which, they will engage in active representation.

Next, this dissertation demonstrated the viability of applying representative bureaucracy theory to a gendered issue that negatively affects both men and women. Typical representative bureaucracy studies concerned with women's issues track educational outcomes (Keiser et al., 2002), hiring rates (Wilson & Carlos, 2014), and contracts awarded to female minority-owned businesses (Fernandez et al., 2013), all of which are clearly advantageous or neutral for men and disadvantage women. Parental leave, on the other hand, may pose negative professional outcomes for both women (Arenstam, 2017; Budig & England, 2001; Lips, 2013) and men (Berdahl & Moon, 2013; Coltrane et al., 2013). Examining gendered organizational policies, discourse, and climates that affect both genders may better identify the criteria under which women actively represent.

In addition, this work uniquely positions internal organizational documents as potential stages for active representation, as long as there is variation in included information and a gender angle to the topic under discussion. Finally, I propose that thematic analysis, which enables scholars to transform any text into usable data, as an innovative way to gather data with which to study active representation.

Strengths, Weaknesses, and Opportunities for Future Research

However, this dissertation is only the first step in a much larger research agenda, and features several limitations. The selection criteria I used for both my quantitative and qualitative chapters did not discriminate between or account for nonprofit subsectors. Given the variation in nonprofit missions, one could argue that my findings would not be applicable to women's

advocacy organizations or those with a greater focus on legal advocacy. These organizations may be more sensitive to the issues described in my chapters. However, I also did not purposefully *exclude* these organizations, and, therefore, they were included in the analyses. Additionally, my qualitative chapters analyzed three legal advocacy organizations.

Secondly, the analysis herein only considers a relatively small facet of each issue, salary decisions, sexual harassment, and parental leave. While this work provides a research foundation for future scholars, the addition of new issues, perspectives, or contexts may undermine or qualify my results. One of the great strengths of thematic analysis is the ability to use new contexts to reexamine initial findings in light of new information, rendering its findings critical and evergreen.

Further, this analysis does not perfectly capture *who* made the final decisions on pay or policy creation. As described throughout this dissertation, I used data from a single point in time, IRS 990 forms from a specific year and a modest set of workplace policies. One could argue that the decisions under review may not reflect the individuals who provided the information or sit on these nonprofit boards. Ideally, I would be able to collect information regarding the initial decisionmaker. Nonetheless, my data reflects the decisions that the organization currently supports and enforces, and thus, my findings remain important and applicable.

Finally, this dissertation focuses exclusively on gender, neglecting other forms of marginalization, such as race, sexual orientation, religion, ability, and socioeconomic status which might have changed the results. There are two reasons for this focus. First, in Chapter 2, the statistical package that I utilized to determine the gender of nonprofit leaders could not predict race with any degree of statistical validity. Thus, I felt that the validity of those results would be undermined to an unacceptable degree. Additionally, there was simply no way to

determine the individual's sexual orientation, gender expression, religion, ability, or socioeconomic status using the IRS 990 data. The second reason is born from my own position as a white, economically privileged woman. I did not feel that I would be able to authentically speak to the issues faced by women under different circumstances, and thus excluded it from my analysis.

Even with these limitations, my dissertation has several strengths. First and foremost, by augmenting representative bureaucracy theory with feminist theory, my results proposed new considerations for future research, such as a focus on the broader systems of oppression and marginalization that may influence a bureaucrat from a minoritized community to act counter to the interests of others like them.

Further, this dissertation raised new questions concerning how an issue becomes gendered and the subsequent potential implications of that label. This line of thought suggests the potential value of a paradigm shift, in which scholars move their focus from more obvious, and well-documented, issues that disadvantage women to subtler transgressions. By examining these background forces, scholars may be able to identify incipient, emerging gender-based disadvantages and discriminations. This enables a more holistic understanding of the criteria under which female bureaucrats will engage, or not, in active representation. Additionally, employing thematic analysis expands the potential ground for examination to any given text. In this research, I utilized organizational policies, but the same technique could be used to analyze legislative policies, rules, and regulations set forth by various government organizations, or even transcripts of speeches or meetings.

Ultimately (and perhaps excitingly), this dissertation asks many more questions than it answers. To build on Chapter 1, I would like to consider the salary and board information

disaggregated by nonprofit subsector, rather than nonprofit size. Women are concentrated in specific types of nonprofits; comparing those subsectors to those in which men are overrepresented would enable a better consideration of how glass walls manifest in the nonprofit sector. Additionally, I limited this dataset to organizations that actually paid their executive director, but considering the gender composition of the boards in organizations without a paid executive director would provide more holistic view of pay considerations in the nonprofit sector. Finally, Chapter 1 sets up some interesting qualitative questions. For instance, the 990 data can only tell researchers the outcome of remuneration decisions, not the criteria by which the boards made them, the negotiation by potential hires, or the process used to set salaries. Those questions require qualitative methods to answer.

Chapters 3 and 4 only demonstrate that there is space for active representation within the creation of organizational documents detailing sexual harassment and parental leave policies. The next step is to consider whether and how women actually engage in active representation when writing or implementing these policies. Additionally, qualitative thematic analysis can be supplemented with quantitative content analysis, which would allow for a broader cross-section of nonprofits and invite a consideration of other organizational variables. Meanwhile, sexual harassment policies are only one aspect of a broader organizational discourse regarding sexual harassment that includes training, the perceptions of employees, and the implementation of the policy. Each of these components reflect an important area for further examination.

Finally, Chapter 3 offers several new directions for further research. For instance, many nonprofits feature just one employee; it would be fascinating to consider how they negotiate their parental leave and what the organization does in their absence. Additionally, the preponderance

of literature regarding parental leave considers the individual taking the leave, creating an opportunity to consider how their colleagues negotiate the workload in their absence.

The nonprofit and government sectors

Nonprofit organizations and the government work hand in hand to provide crucial services to communities. As supplements, complements, and adversaries to government, nonprofit organizations help to fill service gaps that, if left unattended, would have serious consequences for community members (Young, 1998). Nonprofit organizations heavily depend on government support (Hrywna, 2019) and thus become an extension of government, though they remain a distinct entity. The boundaries between the two sectors have become blurred enough that there are many lessons that the government can learn from the nonprofit sector and vice versa.

This dissertation does not include a full thematic analysis of government sexual harassment and parental leave policies. However, the similarities between the nonprofit and government sectors enables some transferability between the two contexts. In part my findings strengthen the notion that the government and nonprofit sectors are similar in their approaches to sexual harassment and parental leaves. Both sectors share a predilection upheld traditional conceptions of the subjects of the policies (sexual harassment and parental leave respectively) and women more broadly. However, the nonprofit sector would benefit from incorporating a greater emphasis on plain language and detail whereas the government policies should incorporate a more nuanced perception of their employees as individuals rather than workers.

There are some strengths to this approach. While generalizability is not the goal of qualitative research, Guba argues that this “does not obviate the possibility of some transferability between two contexts may occur because of certain essential similarities between

them.” (p. 81) This is not to say that the distinct characteristics of any context can be ignored, or that every result can be transferred to a new context. However, it does mean that because of the similarities between the government and nonprofit sectors, my findings have the potential to serve as the basis for a thematic analysis of government policies.

As the lines between the nonprofit and government sectors blur, both can be expected to ensure equality between their female and male employees. In order to do so, both sectors must critically examine their sexual harassment and parental leave policies.

Final Thoughts

Undoing institutional structures that perpetuate marginalization is not an easy task. American society pushes organizations toward particular ways of being and thinking, whether people within those organizations recognize those forces or not. The first step is to take stock of where the nonprofit sector currently sits, and think deeply about the messages that nonprofit organizations send to their female employees. However, this sector is comprised of organizations and people looking to solve some of the most wicked and enduring problems—poverty, illiteracy, illness, abuse, and addiction. If any sector is up to the challenge of achieving equality for their own employees, it is the world of nonprofits, which works so passionately to achieve equality for their clients and constituents.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Search terms used to determine board roles

boardmember	boardmebr	boardmemder
bofdirectors	boardmem	boardmemebe
bmember	boardmemb	boardmemebr
bod	boardmembber	boardmemer
bodmember	boardmembe	boardmemmber
bdmember	boardmember1	boardmemnber
b0ardmember	boardmember2	boardmemner
baordmember	boardmember3	boardmenber
bd bddirector	boardmemberfaculty	boardmmbber
bddirectors	boardmemberfirstvp	boardmmbbr
bdmemberco	boardmemberpastpresident	boardmmeber
bdmembers	boardmemberslrva	boardnember
bdofdir	boardmemberstudent	boardofdir
bdofdirect	boardmemberceo	boardofdirec
bdofdirector	boardmemberclerk	boardofdirector
bdofdirectorbod	boardmemberfinancecommittee	boardofdirect
bdofdirectors	boardmemberfounder	boardofdirect0rs
bdofgov	boardmemberincomingpresiden	boardofdirector
bdofgovenors	boardmemberseescho	boardofdirectormember
bdofgovernors	boardmemberandchairofbusine	boardofdirectorpastpresiden
bdMember	boardmemberandeslteacher	boardofdirectors
bdOfdir	boardmemberandmedicalmgr	boardofdirectorspresidente
bdocbm	boardmemberandpasttreasurer	boardofdirectorsdk
bmmbr	boardmemberandtransplantsurg	boardofdirectorsmember
bmdmem	boardmemberformerpresident	boardofdirectorsus
bomember	boardmembercfo	boardofdirectorsusa
boarmember	boardmemberchaplainstvin	boardofdirectorsdirector
boarbmember	boardmemberdirector	boardofgov
board	boardmembervolunteer	boardofgovrep
boarddir	boardmemberwebmaster	boardofgovern
boardceo	boardmembere	boardofgovernor
boarddirect	boardmembers	boardofgovernormember
boarddirector	boardmembersfinancecomm	boardofgovernors
boarddirectormember	boardmembershipgovernance	boardofgovernorsmember
boardmamber	boardmembert	boardofgrandtrustees
boardmb	boardmembetr	boardoftru
boardmber	boardmembr	boardoftruste
boardmbr	boardmembur	boardoftrustee

boardoftrusteemember	chairelectdirector	governingcouncil
boardoftrustees	chairmanelec	governingcouncilmember
boardoftrusteesmember	chairmanelect	governor
boardoftrusteesboardofgover	chairmanelectbod	memb
boardoffice	communityboardmember	membe
boardofficer	cpresident	member
boardperson	Dir	memberbd
boardpresidentelec	directcha	memberboardofdirectors
boardpresidentelect	director	memberboardoftrustees
boardrep	directorboard	memberbod
boardrepres	directorboardofdirectors	memberdirector
boardrepresentative	directorboardoftrustees	memberofbo
boardtrustee	directorbod	memberofboard
boardtrustee	directortrustee	memberofboardofdirectors
boardMember	directora	memberofbod
boardemember	directorassistanttreas	memberofdirectors
boardmembership	directorassistanttreasurer	memberoftheboard
boardmmembe	directorasstreas	memberboardofgovernors
boardmember	directorb	memberbdOfdir
boarmmember	directorc	preselect
bod1	directorceo	members
bod2	directorofboard	mrbbdgov
bodmemberandfounder	directoroftheboard	officeboardmember
bodtrustee	directoroftrustee	officer
boddirector	directorchairelect	officerboar
boeardmembe	directorbm	officerdirector
boradmember	directorboardmember	trustee
boradofdirectors	directorboardoftrustee	trustee
bordmember	eboard	trusteechairelect
borrdmember	eboardmemb	trusteeboard
botmember	eboardmember	trusteeboardofdirecto
bpardmember	edirector	trusteebrd
brdmbr	electedboardmember	trusteedirector
brdmem	electedbod	trusteemember
brdmember	electeddirector	trusteeofboard
brdmembere	electedmember	trusteeofficer
brdofdir	electtdire	trusteeboardof
brdofdirectors	epresident	trusteeboardofdirectors
brdofgov	fullboardmember	trusteeceo
brdMem	generalboard	trusteeboardmember
brdMember	generalboardmember	trusteebodmember
broad	generalboardmembers	trusteedire
broadmember	govcommmember	trustee
chairelec	governingboard	trustees
chairelect	governingboardmember	trustte
chairelectexecutivecommittee	governingco	trusttee

trutee	e-board member	boarddirectormember
turste	member board of directors	boardmember
tustee	member bod	boardmb
votingdirec	member, board of directors	boardmber
votingdirector	member, board of trustess	boardmbr
votingmembe	member-bod	boardmebr
votingmember	trustee/	boardmem
votingtrustee	trustee/board of directors	boardmemb
b/o/d	trustee/boardmember	boardmembber
bd member	trustee/director	boardmembe
bd. of directors	trustee/member	boardmember1
board'	voting bd. Member	boardmember2
board - member	votingbdmember	boardmember3
board dir	boardmember	boardmemberfaculty
board dir	bofdirectors	boardmemberfirstvp
board mbr-	bmember	boardmemberpastpresident
board mbr.	bod	boardmemberslrva
board mem/	bodmember	boardmemberstudent
board member	bdmember	boardmemberceo
board member.	b0ardmember	boardmemberclerk
board member/ceo	baordmember	boardmemberfinancecommittee
board of dir.	bd bddirector	boardmemberfounder
board of directors' member	bddirectors	boardmemberincomingpresiden
board of governors member	bdmemberco	boardmemberseescho
board of trustees member	bdmembers	boardmemberandchairofbusine
board president-elect	bdofdir	boardmemberandeslteacher
board, member	bdofdirect	boardmemberandmedicalmgr
board/dir	bdofdirector	boardmemberandpasttreasurer
board/trustee	bdofdirectorbod	boardmemberandtransplantsurg
boardmember	bdofdirectors	boardmemberformerpresident
bod	bdofgov	boardmembercfo
bod member	bdofgovenors	boardmemberchaplainstvin
bodmember	bdofgovernors	boardmemberdirector
brd. Member/	bdMember	boardmembervolunteer
brd.member	bdOfdir	boardmemberwebmaster
chair elect	bdocbm	boardmembere
chair-elect	bmmbr	boardmembers
director, board	bmdmem	boardmembersfinancecomm
director/	bomember	boardmembershipgovernance
director/board of trustees	boarmember	boardmembert
director/boardmember	boarbmember	boardmembetr
director/bod	board	boardmbr
director/trustee	boarddir	boardmembur
directorboard of directors	boardceo	boardmemder
director-chair elect	boarddirect	boardmemebe
e-board	boarddirector	boardmemebr

boardmemer	boardrepresentative	directorboardoftrustees
boardmemmber	boardtruste	directorbod
boardmemnber	boardtrustee	directortrustee
boardmemner	boardMember	directora
boardmenber	boardemember	directorassistanttreas
boardmmer	boardmembership	directorassistanttreasurer
boardmmbr	boardmmembe	directorasstreas
boardmmeber	boardmember	directorb
boardnenber	boarmmember	directorc
boardofdir	bod1	directorceo
boardofdirec	bod2	directorofboard
boardofdirector	bodmemberandfounder	directoroftheboard
boardofdirect	bodtrustee	directoroftrustee
boardofdirect0rs	boddirector	directorchairelect
boardofdirector	boeardmembe	directorbm
boardofdirectormember	boradmember	directorboardmember
boardofdirectorpastpresiden	boradofdirectors	directorboardoftrustee
boardofdirectors	bordmember	eboard
boardofdirectorspresidente	borrdmember	eboardmemb
boardofdirectorsdk	botmember	eboardmember
boardofdirectorsmember	bpardmember	edirector
boardofdirectorsus	brdmbr	electedboardmember
boardofdirectorsusa	brdmem	electedbod
boardofdirectorsdirector	brdmember	electeddirector
boardofgov	brdmembere	electedmember
boardofgovrep	brdofdir	electtddire
boardofgovern	brdofdirectors	epresident
boardofgovernor	brdofgov	fullboardmember
boardofgovernormember	brdMem	generalboard
boardofgovernors	brdMember	generalboardmember
boardofgovernorsmember	broad	generalboardmembers
boardofgrandtrustees	broadmember	govcommmember
boardoftru	chairelec	governingboard
boardoftruste	chairelect	governingboardmember
boardoftrustee	chairelectexecutivecommittee	governingco
boardoftrusteemember	chairelectdirector	governingcouncil
boardoftrustees	chairmanelec	governingcouncilmember
boardoftrusteesmember	chairmanelect	governor
boardoftrusteesboardofgover	chairmanelectbod	memb
boardoffice	communityboardmember	membe
boardofficer	cpresident	member
boardperson	dir	memberbd
boardpresidentelec	directcha	memberboardofdirectors
boardpresidentelect	director	memberboardoftrustees
boardrep	directorboard	memberbod
boardrepres	directorboardofdirectors	memberdirector

memberofbo	board'	voting bd. Member
memberofboard	board – member	votingbdmember
memberofboardofdirectors	board dir	boardmemberchairperson
memberofbod	board dir	stchairperson
memberofdirectors	board mbr-	bdpresident
memberoftheboard	board mbr.	bdchair
memberboardofgovernors	board mem/	bdchairma
memberbdOfdir	board member	bdchairman
preselect	board member.	bdchairperson
members	board member/ceo	bdchariman
mrbbdgv	board of dir.	bdmemberchair
officeboardmember	board of directors' member	bdPres
officer	board of governors member	boardchai
officerboar	board of trustees member	boardchair
officerdirector	board president-elect	boardchairman
trustee	board, member	boardchairperson
trustee	board/dir	boardpr
trusteechairelect	board/trustee	boardpresident
trusteeboard	boardmember	boardchairdirector
trusteeboardofdirecto	bod	boardchairtreasurer
trusteebrd	bod member	boardchairandtreasurer
trusteedirector	bodmember	boardchairelectboardmember
trusteemember	brd. Member/	boardchairboardmember
trusteeofboard	brd.member	boardchairceoshs
trusteeofficer	chair elect	boardchairpresident
trusteeboardof	chair-elect	boardchairschoolteacher
trusteeboardofdirectors	director, board	boardchairelect
trusteeceo	director/	boardchairm
trusteeboardmember	director/board of trustees	boardchairmandirector
trusteebodmember	director/boardmember	boardchairmanpresident
trusteedire	director/bod	boardchairmanoftheboa
trustee	director/trustee	boardchairmanfounder
trustees	directorboard of directors	boardchairmanelect
trustte	director-chair elect	boardchairmn
trusttee	e-board	boardchairp
trutee	e-board member	boardchairpersonfinancialoffi
turtee	member board of directors	boardchairpersonpresident
tustee	member bod	boardchariman
votingdirec	member, board of directors	boardchiarman
votingdirector	member, board of trustess	boardchirman
votingmembe	member-bod	boardcochairman
votingmember	trustee/	boardcocha
votingtrustee	trustee/board of directors	boardcochair
b/o/d	trustee/boardmember	boardcochairtreasurer
bd member	trustee/director	boardcopres
bd. of directors	trustee/member	boardmbrchair

boardmemchair	bodchairexecdirector	chairexecutivecommittee
boardmemberboardchair	bodchairmantreasurer	chairtreasurer
boardmemberchair	bodmemberpresident	chairtrustee
boardmemberchairman	bodpresiden	chairtrustees
boardmembercochair	bodvchairman	chairboardmember
boardmemberpresident	bogchairman	chairboardoftruste
boardmemberpresidentceo	boradpres	chaircompensation
boardmemberandchair	botchair	chairdirect
boardmemberboardchairman	botchairsjhs	chairexecutivecomm
boardmemberchairmanoftheboa	botchairper	chairmembertrustee
boardmemberpres	brdchairman	chairofficerdirector
boardmemberchairfin	broadchariman	chairpastc
boardmemberpresidentelect	chair	chairpastchair
boardofdirectorchairman	chairboardofdirectors	chairpastpresident
boardofdirectorpreside	chairboardoftrustees	chairprestrustee
boardofdirectorschair	chairceo	chairsectreastrustee
boardofdirectorschairman	chairdir	chairsecret
boardofdirectorspresident	chairdirector	chairsecretary
boardofdirectorschairperson	chairexec	chairsecretarytrustee
boardofgovernorpresident	chairpres	chairtreas
boardofgovernorsp	Chairpresident	chairtreasurerexecdirector
boardofgovernorschair	chairboard	chairtruste
boardofgovernorschairman	chairbod	chairvicechair
boardofgovernorstreasurer	chairmember	chairvicepresident
boardofgovernorsvicech	chairofboard	chairaman
boardoftrusteechairman	chairofbordofdirector	chairamn
boardoftrusteeschairman	chairofexecommittee	chairanboardofdirectors
boardoftrusteeschair	chairofexecCommittee	chaireman
boardpredsi	chairofexecutivecommittee	chairladyoftheboard
boardpres	chairofthe	chairm
boardpresid	chairoftheboard	chairmaboardoftrustese
boardpresiden	chairoftheboardofdirectors	chairmain
boardpresidentandchair	chairoftheboardmember	chairmainoftheboard
boardpresidentandsecret	chairoftheboardelect	chairman
boardpresidentfounder	chairoftheexecommittee	chairmanboard
boardpresidentceo	cairoftru	chairmanboardofdir
boardpresidentdirector	chairoftrust	chairmanboardofdirect
boardpresidentexecdir	chairoftrustee	chairmanboardofdirectors
boardpresidentmember	chairperson	chairmanboardoftruste
boardpresidenttreasurer	chairpresident	chairmanboardoftrustee
boardsolicitorchair	chairwoman	chairmanboardoftrustees
bodchairman	chairwomean	chairmanboardtrustee
bodchairperson	chairboardofdirector	chairmanbod
bodpres	chairboardtrustees	chairmane
bodpresident	chairdirec	chairmanele
bodchair	chairexeccom	chairmanelect

chairmanelectchairman
chairmanelectandsecretary
chairmantrustee
chairmanceo
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chairmandirector
chairmanp
chairmanpresident
chairmansecretary
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chairmantreasurer
chairmanandceo
chairmananddirector
chairmanandpresident
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chairmanandsecretaryofthebo
chairmanandtreasurer
chairmanandtrustee
chairmanbd
chairmanbdofdir
chairmanboarddirectors
chairmanboardmembers
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chairmanoftheboardsecr
chairmanoftheexeccommittee
chairmanofthetrustees
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chairmanboardofdirecto
chairmanboardofdiretors
chairmanceopresident
chairmanceotrustee
chairmanexeccomm
chairmanexeccommittee
chairmanexecutivecommit
chairmanexecutivecommittee
chairmanfounder
chairmanmember
chairmanpres
chairmanpresidentceo
chairmansecretarytreasurer
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chairmanvicechairsecretary
chairmanvpdirector
chairmanboardmember
chairmanboardmenber
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chairmanexecutivecommitt
chairmanexecutivedirector
chairmanpresidentoftheboard
chairmanpresidentdir
chairmanpresidentdirecto
chairmanpresidentdirector
chairmanpresidenttrustee
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chairpersontrustee
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chairpersonandsecretary
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chairpersonpresident
chairpersonsecretary
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cochair
cochairperson
cochairandtreasurer
cochairoftheboard
cochairman
cochairmantrustee
cochairmanoftheboard
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cochairs
directorboardchair
directorchair
directorchairman
directorpresident
directorchairperson
directorandchairman
directorandpresident
directorandpresidentceoofth

directorchairmanofboard
directorchairmanoftheboard
directorchairmanpresident
directorpresidentceo
directorpresidenttreasurer
directorpresidenttreas
directorpresidentvp
directorcochair
directorcha
directorchairoftheboar
directorchairoftheboard
directorpres
directorvicechairman
directorvicechairmanoftheboa
directorvicepresident
eboardchairman
governingboardchair
governingboardpresident
officerchair
officerchairman
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presandchairman
presandclerk
presandsec
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prestreasdir
presboardmember

presbod
preschai
preschiefexecutiveofficer
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presdirsecretary
prestreasdirector
pressectytr
preschairman
prestreasdirconsultant
presvp
presbdchm
presceodir
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preschair
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presvicechairtrustee
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presdientelect
presdientceo
presedent
preident
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presidentboardchair
presidentboardchairman
presidentboardmember
presidentbod
presidentceo
presidentchair
presidentchairman
presidentdir
presidentdirector
presidentandchair
presidentandchairman
presidentandchairmanofthebo
presidentandchairmanoftheex

presidentanddirector
presidentandexecutivedirector
presidentandtreasurer
presidentandtreasurerofboard
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presidentelect
presidentofbd
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presidentboardofdirect
presidentboardofdirectors
presidentceodirector
presidentceoardmember
presidenttreasurertrustee
presidentboardchaor
presidentchairofboard
presidentchairmanexecutivecou
presidentchairmanofthebd
presidentchairmanoftheboard
presidentchairperson
presidentdirec
presidentdirector
presidentdirectortrustee
presidentsec
presidentsecre
presidentsecretary
presidenttreas
presidenttreasurer
presidenttrustee
presidentvicepresident
presidentboard
trusteeboardchairman
trusteech
trusteechair
trusteechairman
trusteechairperson
trusteepresident
trusteepresidentceo
trusteepresientceo
trusteechmn
trusteepr
trusteeandboardchair
trusteeandchairman
trusteeandpresident

trusteecha	board member, president/ceo	chairman - elect&chairman
trusteechairm	board member/board chair	chairman board of directors
trusteechairmanpresident	board member/chair	chairman of board of direc
trusteepresidentchairman	board member/chairman	chairman of board of trustees
trusteeboardchair	board member/chairperson	chairman of board/presiden
trusteeboardpresident	board member/president	chairman of the board/president
trusteechai	board member/president/ceo	chairman of the board/secr
trusteechairexecomte	board member; president	chairman, ceo, & president
trusteechairpresident	board of directors; chair	chairman, ceo, president
trusteechairma	board of directors; chairman	chairman, ceo, trustee
trusteechairmn	board of directors president	chairman, director
trusteepres	board of directors, chair	chairman, elect
trusteepresandvicechair	board of directors, chairman	chairman, executive committee
trusteepresceo	board of directors, president	chairman, member
trusteepressecy	board of governor, president	chairman, president
trusteeboardvicepreside	board president/ceo	chairman, secretary
trusteetreasur	board president/member	chairperson - trustee
trusteec	board/chairman	chairperson & director
trusteechar	bod chairperson	chairperson of tboard
trusteeschairm	bod member/president	chairperson of the board
bd chair	borad pres	chairperson, board of direc
bd president	bot chair, sjhs	chairperson/
bd. chairman	bot chairperson	chairperson/president
bd.chairperson	chair	chair-trustee
bd/chairman	chair - board of directors	chair-truste
board chair	chair-board of trustees	chairwoman
board chair-	chair of the board of directors	chairman, secretary, treasurer
board chair.	chair of the board, member	chairman/board member
board chair/director	chair, director	chairman/board of trustee
board chairman	chair, trustee	chairman/ceo/director
board chairman	chair/board member	chairman/ceo/president
board chairman/director	chair/board of truste	chairman/executive comm
board chairman/founder	chair/bod	chairman/executive committ
board chairman/president	chair/compensation	chairman/executive director
board chairperson	chair/officer/director	chairman/pres
board member & president	chair/past c	chairman/pres.
board member / chair	chair/past chair	chairman/president
board member / president	chair/pres	chairman/president of the board
board member chair	chair/president	chairman/president/director
board member president	chair/secret	chairman/secr
board member, board chair	chair/secretary	chairman/secretary
board member, chair	chair/trustee	chairman/tr
board member, chairman	chair/vice president	chairman/treas
board member, chairperson	chairlady of the board	chairman-board member
board member, pres	chairmain	chairmen
board member, president	chairman - board of direct	chairperson

chairperson'	pres./chairman	president/treasurer/trustee
chariman	pres./dir	president/trustee
chairman-ele	pres./direct	president-board
chariman-elect	pres./treas	trustee-board chairman
director & cfo	pres./treas./dir./consultant	trustee - chairman
co-chair and treasurer	pres.\dir.	trustee - president
director - board chair	pres.-elect	trustee - president/ceo
director & chariman	pres/bd chm	trustee - president/ceo
director and chairman	pres/bd of dir	trustee & chair
director, chairman	pres/board member	trustee & chairman
director, chairman of the board	pres/ceo	trustee & chairperson
director, chairman of the board	pres/ceo/dir	trustee and president
director, chairperson	pres/ceo/treas	trustee, cha
director, president, ceo	pres/dir	trustee, chair
director, president, treas	pres/direc	trustee, chairman
director, president, treasurer, clerk	pres/direct	trustee, chairman & president
director, president/	pres/director	trustee/board president
director,president&treasurer	pres/pres elect	truatee/chair
director/board chair	pres/pres-el	trustee chair person
director/chair	pres/sect	trustee/chairma
director/chair of the board	pres/sec'y	trustee/chairman
director/chairman	pres/treas	trustee/chairperson
director/president	pres/treas/dir	trustee/pres/ceo
director-chairman	pres/treasurer/director	trustee/pres/secy
director-chairperson	pres/vice chair/trustee	trustee; president
directorpres	president	trustee-board vice-president
director-president	president el	trustee-chai
directorvice president	president elect	trustee-char
e board chairman	pres-elect	trustees chairm
governing board chair	president & chair	board of directors chairperson
governing board president	president & director	secretarychairperson
officer - chair	president and chairman	treasurerchairmanoftheboard
officer - chairman	president, ceo, board member	trusteechai
officer/chair	president/board chairman	trusteechair
officer/chair officer/directors	president/board chaor	trusteechairman
pres & secty	president/chair	trusteechairmantrustee
pres board	president/chair of board	trusteechairperson
pres, secretary, treasury	president/chairman	treasurer/chairman
pres, treas	president/chairman executive council	treasurer/chairperson
pres, treas, dir	president/chairman of the bd	trustee- chairman
pres.& dir.	president/chairperson	treas/sec/ch
pres. & trea	president/dir	bd secy
pres., dir., secretary	president/direc	bd treas
pres., treas,-director	president/director	bd treasurer
pres.,dir.	president/direcctor	bd treasury
pres./ceo	president/sec	bd treas

bd treasurer	boardvptreasurer	execbdmemb
board secretary	boardexcomm	execbdmember
board secretary treasurer	bodsec	execboard
board treasurer	bodsecretary	execboardc
board director/secretary	bodsecretarytreasurer	execboardchair
board member secretary	bodsectreas	execboardm
board member and secretary	bodtre	execboardmbr
board member and treasurer	bodtreasurer	execboardmemb
board member secretary treasurer	bodrecordingsecretary	execboardmember
board member secretary	bodsecretar	execboardo
board member/board secretary	bodtreasure	execboardpp
board member secretary treasurer	broadtreasurer	execboards
board member/treas	broadvicchairperson	execboardtreasurer
board of directors secretary	directorexecutivecommittee	execbrd
board of directors treasurer	directors	execbrdmemb
board of trustees - secretary	directorse	excommmember
board of trustees - treasurer	directorsec	excomm
board rec secty	directorsecretary	excommMbr
board recording sec	directorsecretarytreas	excommittee
board recording secretary	directorsecretarytreasur	excommitteechairman
board se	directorsecretarytreasurer	excommitteeemember
board sec	directortreasurer	exccouncil
board sectreas	directorsectreas	execBoard
board sec/trea	directorsecr	execBoardcommittee
board sec/trsr	directort	excommChairman
board secret	directortreasurer	execCommMember
board secretar	directorandsectreas	execCommittee
board secretary/board treasurer	directorandsecretary	execCommitteemember
boardsecretarydirector	directorandsecretarytreas	executivecommitteechair
boardsecretarytreasuer	directorandsecretarytreasurer	executiveboard
boardsecretarydevelopmentcom	directorandtreasurer	executiveboard
boardsectr	directorsecretarytre	executivecommittee
boardsecy	directorsecretarycommitteec	executivecommitteemember
boardsecyt	directortreasuer	governingboardtreasurer
boardtrea	directorsecretarytreasu	memberofexecutivecomm
boardtreas	directorexecutivecommitt	memberexecC
boardtreasu	directorsectreasurer	memberexecCommittee
boardtreasuer	directorsect	officersecretary
boardtreasurerdirector	directortr	officertreasurer
boardtreasurerfinance	directortre	officersecr
boardtreasurermember	directortreas	officertrea
boardtreasurersecretary	directorvic	secretary
boardtreaurer	directorvicechairperson	secretarytre
boardvpsecretary	directortrea	secretarytreasurer
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secretaryoftheboard
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treaschair
treaschairbrdacctsrvs
treasboardmember
treasdirect
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treasdirec
treassectary
treasasstsec
treasasstsecretarytrustee
treasbrdmem
treasclerk
treasdirecr
treasmember
treaspreselect
treassecch
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treasurerandmemberofboard
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treasurerclerk
treasurerclerkdirector
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treasurerexecutivedirector
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treasurersecretary
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treasurersecre
treasurersecretaryceo
treasurersecretaryclerk
treasurersecretarydirect
treasurersecy
treasurertrust

treasurervicesecretary	trusteetre	board-secretary
treasurerdire	trusteetreas	bod sec/treas
treasurerere	trusteeboardtreasurer	bod secretary
treasurerexecutive	trusteesecr	bod secretary/treasurer
treasurernew	trusteesecrtreasurer	bod treasurer
treasurerpresident	trusteesecretarytreasure	bod/secretary
treasures	trusteesecytreas	bod/treasurer
treasuresdirector	trusteetrea	director & s
treasuret	trusteetreasur	director & secretary
treasurer	trusteetreasurersecretary	director & secretary/treasurer
treasury	trusteevarious	director, secretary
treasurysecretary	trusteeboardsectreas	director, secretary, & treasurer
treasyrersecretary	bd. secretary	director, secretary, treas
treaurer	board member & secretary	director, secretary, treasurer
treaurerdirector	board member & treasurer	director, secretary/treasurer
treauser	board member (secretary)	director, secretary-treasurer
treausrer	board member / secretary	director, treasurer
treasurer	board member / treasurer	director,secretary
treasurer	board member /secretary	director,secretary/treasurer
trerasurer	board member secretary	director,treasurer
tres	board member secretary/treasurer	director/executive committee
tressec	board member, sec/treas	director/s
tresdir	board member, secretary	director/sec
trestrustee	board member, treasurer	director/sec/treas
tresasurer	board member/secretary	director/secretary
tresaurer	board member/treasurer	director/secretary/treas
trестee	board member; secretary	director/secretary/treasur
tresure	board member; treasurer	director/secretary/treasurer
tresurer	board membersecretary	director/secretary-treasurer
tresurerboard	board membertreasurer	director/sec-treas
tresurerboardmember	board of directors secretary	director/t
tresurerboardofdirectors	board of directors treasurer	director/treas.
tresurerdirec	board of directors/treasurer	director/treasurer
trusteeboardsecretary	board of directors-secretary	directorsec
trusteesecretary	board of directors-treasurer	directorsecretary
trusteesecretarytreasu	board sec.	directortreasurer
trusteesecretarytreasurer	board sec/treas	exec bd.
trusteetreasurer	board sec/treasurer	exec comm.
trusteesec	board secretary	officer/secretary
trusteesectreas	board secretary/treasurer	officer/treasurer
trusteesectreasurer	board secretary-treasurer	scretary-treasurer
trusteeandsecretary	board sectreas	sec & treas
trusteeandtreasurer	board treas.	sec & treas.
trusteesectre	board treasurer	sec & treasu
trusteeofficersecretary	board treasurersecretary	sec & treasurer
trusteeofficertreasurer	boardsecretary	sec / dir

sec / treas
sec / treasu
sec / treasurer
sec / trustee
sec /treas
sec /treasurer
sec bod
sec of board
sec of treasurer
sec trea
sec treasure
sec treasury
sec tres
sec, dir
sec, treas.
sec,director
sec.
sec. - treas.
sec. & dir
sec. & treas
sec. / treas
sec. / treas.
sec. \ treas
sec. trea
sec. trea.
sec. treas
sec. treas.
sec. treasurer
sec. treasurer
sec. -treasurer
sec.- treasurer
sec. treasury
sec. tres.
sec., treas.
sec./ treas.
sec./ treasurer
sec./ trustee
sec./dir.
sec./director
sec./tr.
sec./treas.
sec./treas./director
sec./treasur
sec./treasurer
sec./tres
sec./tres.

sec./trustee
sec.\treas.
sec.-treas.
sec.treas
sec.-treas
sec.-treas.
sec.-treasurer
sec/ treas
sec/ treas / director
sec/ treas.
sec/ treasur
sec/ treasurer
sec/ tres
sec/dir
sec/dir.
sec/director
sec/tr
sec/trea
sec/treas
sec/treas -
sec/treas.
sec/treas/di
sec/treas/director
sec/treasu
sec/treasur
sec/treasure
sec/treasurer
sec/treasury
sec/tres
sec/tres/director
sec/trustee
sec\treas
sec\treasurer
sec+treas
secretary/re
secretary-treasurer
secr / treas
secr.
secr. & treas.
secr.treasurer
secr/treas
secr/treas.
secr/treasur
secr/treasurer
secr/tres
secretary/treasurer

secretary-treasurer
secretary-
secretary -
secretary &
secretary & board member
secretary & director
secretary & treasurer
secretary & trustee
secretary /
secretary / board member
secretary / director
secretary / exec. dir.
secretary / tre
secretary / treasurer
secretary / trustee
secretary /treasurer
secretary bd.
secretary board
secretary board member
secretary board of directors
secretary board of trustees
secretary director
secretary tr
secretary tre
secretary treas.
secretary treasurer
secretary -treasurer
secretary- treasurer
secretary tres
secretary trustee
secretary&tr
secretary, board
secretary, board member
secretary, board of directors
secretary, board of trustees
secretary, bod
secretary, dir
secretary, director
secretary, t
secretary, trea
secretary, treas.
secretary, treasurer
secretary, treasurer, dir
secretary, treasurer, director
secretary, trustee
secretary,treas.

secretary,treasurer
 secretary.
 secretary. board member
 secretary./treasurer
 secretary/
 secretary/ board member
 secretary/ director
 secretary/ t
 secretary/ trea
 secretary/ treasurer
 secretary/ trustee
 secretary/bd
 secretary/board director
 secretary/board of directors
 secretary/bod
 secretary/dir
 secretary/dir.
 secretary/director
 secretary/tr
 secretary/tr.
 secretary/trea
 secretary/trea.
 secretary/treas
 secretary/treas.
 secretary/treasure
 secretary/treasurer
 secretary/treasurer - trustee
 secretary/treasurer & dire
 secretary/treasurer of boa
 secretary/treasurer of board
 secretary/treasurer of the board of
 trustees
 secretary/treasurer/direct
 secretary/treasurer/director
 secretary/treasurer/trustee
 secretary/treasury
 secretary/treaurer
 secretary/tres
 secretary/trustee
 secretary\ treasurer
 secretary\di
 secretary\tr
 secretary\treas
 secretary-board
 secretary-board member
 secretary-board of directors

secretary-board of trustees
 secretary-bod
 secretarydir
 secretarydirector
 secretary-director
 secretarytr
 secretary-tr
 secretary-tre
 secretary-treas
 secretary-treasuer
 secretarytreasurer
 secretary-treasurer
 secretarytreasurer director
 secretarytreasurer of the board
 secretary-treasurer of the board
 secretary-treasury
 secretary-tres
 secretarytrustee
 secretary-trustee
 secretay-treasurer
 secretery/treasurer
 secrettreas
 secr/treas
 secr-treas
 secretreasure
 secretreasurer
 sect /treas
 sect treasurer
 sect.
 sect. / treas.
 sect./treas
 sect./treas.
 sect/trea
 sect/treas
 sect/treas.
 sect/treasurer
 sectrea
 sec-trea
 sec-trea,dir
 sectreas
 sec-treas
 sec-treas & director
 sec-treas, board of directors
 sec-treas.
 sec-treas/director
 sec-treas-dir

sec-treasuer
 sectreasure
 sec-treasure
 sectreasurer
 sec-treasurer
 sectres
 sec-tres
 secretary /
 secretary-treasurer
 sectrustee
 secttreas
 sect-treas
 sect'y
 secty, treasurer
 secty.
 secty/treas
 sect'y/treas
 sect'ly/treas
 secty/treas.
 secty/treasurer
 sectytreas
 secty-treas
 secty-treas.
 secty-treasu
 sec'y
 secy / treas
 secy treas
 sec'y treas
 sec'y -treas
 secy treasurer
 secy- treasurer
 sec'y treasurer
 secy,dir
 secy,treasurer
 secy.
 secy./treasurer
 secy.-treasurer
 secy/dir
 sec'y/director
 secy/treas
 sec'y/treas
 secy/treas.
 sec'y/treas.
 sec'y/treas/dir
 sec'y/treasu
 secy/treasurer

sec'y/treasurer
secydirector
secytreas
secy-treas
sec'y-treas
secy-treasur
secy-treasurer
sec'y-treasurer
secy-trustee
treas / dir
treas / trustee
treas dir
treas, dir
treas, director
treas,dir
treas,director
treas.
treas. & dir
treas. & secr.
treas./dir
treas./dir.
treas./director
treas./sec.
treas./secr.
treas/dir
treas/direc
treas/director
treas/sec
treas/secr
treas/secy
treas/sec'y
treas-dir
treas-direct
treas-director
treastrustee
treasure/director
treasurer-
treasurer -
treasurer & board
treasurer & board member
treasurer & director
treasurer & trustee
treasurer &dir
treasurer (current)
treasurer /
treasurer / board member

treasurer / director
treasurer / secretary
treasurer / trustee
treasurer board
treasurer board member
treasurer board of trustees
treasurer bod
treasurer director
treasurer secretary
treasurer, bd of trustees
treasurer, board
treasurer, board member
treasurer, board of trustees
treasurer, bod
treasurer, dir
treasurer, director
treasurer, secretary
treasurer, trustee
treasurer, vice chair
treasurer, vice-president
treasurer,director
treasurer.
treasurer/
treasurer/ secretary
treasurer/ trustee
treasurer/board director
treasurer/board member
treasurer/board of directors
treasurer/bod
treasurer/bot
treasurer/d
treasurer/dir
treasurer/dir.
treasurer/director
treasurer/sec
treasurer/sec.
treasurer/secr.
treasurer/secretary
treasurer/sec'y
treasurer/tr
treasurer/trustee
treasurer\di
treasurer\director
treasurer-board member
treasurer-board of directors
treasurer-board of trustees

treasurerdir
treasurerdirector
treasurer-director
treasurer-executive committee
treasurers
treasurersec
treasurersecretary
treasurertrustee
treasury, secretary
treasury/secretary
tres.
tres/dir
tresurer &
trustee & secretary
trustee & treasurer
trustee / secretary
trustee / treasurer
trustee sec.
trustee secretary
trustee treasurer
trustee, sec
trustee, sec/treas
trustee, secretary
trustee, secretary/treasurer
trustee, treasurer
trustee/ board secretary
trustee/ treasurer
trustee/sec
trustee/sec/treas
trustee/sec/treasurer
trustee/secretary
trustee/sec-tre
trustee/sec-treas
trustee/treas
trustee/treas.
trustee/treasurer
trustee: secretary
trustee: treasurer
trustee; secretary
trustee; treasurer
trustee-board sec/treas
1st v pres
1st v president
1st vp
1st vice chair
1st vice

1st vice chairman	boardvicep	execboardvicechair
1st vice chairperson	boardvicepre	officervicechairofboard
1st vice chr	boardvicepres	officervicechairman
1st vice p	boardvicepresident	officerboardvp
1st vice pr	boardvicepresidentdirec	officersecretaryvicechair
1st vice pre	boardvicepresidenttreas	officersecretaryvicechr
1st vice presid	boardvicech	officervicechair
1st vice presi	boardvicechairceoagh	officervicechairchairelect
1st vice presid	boardvicechairvicepres	officervps
1st vice president	boardvptrsr	secvpres
1st vice prsident	boardvpresident	secvicepres
1st vice pres	bodvp	secvicepresid
bd secretary	bodvicechairman	sectreasvicepresident
bd vice pres	bodvicepresi	secvicechair
board vicechair	bodvicechair	secretaryvicepresident
board vice chairman	bod1stvicechair	secretaryabdtreasurer
board 1st vice chair	bodmembervicepresident	secretaryan
board 1st vice chairman	bodvchairman	secretaryandboardmember
board 1st vice chairperson	bodvicechairperson	secretaryandboardofdirectors
board co-vice chair	bodvicepresident	secretaryanddirector
board co-vice president	bodvicepre	secretaryandtreasure
bd v p	bodvicepres	secretaryandtreasurer
bd vp	bodvptreasurer	secretaryandtreasurerdirect
bd vice chai	brdvchmn	secretaryandtresurer
bd vice chair	brdvicechair	secretaryandvp
bd vice chairperson	directorvicechair	secretaryandvicepresident
bd vice-chm	directorvicechairandsecret	secretaryandvicechair
board first vice chair	directorvicechairman	secretaryandvptrustee
board first vice president	directorvicepresident	secretaryvicechair
board member 1st vice chair	director1stvicepresident	secretarytreasurervicechair
board member vice chair	directorv	secretaryvi
board member vp	directorvicepres	secretaryvice
board member and vice chair	directorvpdirectorbod	secretaryvicechairman
board member and vice chairman	directorandvicepres	secretaryvicechairperson
board of directors vice chairperson	directorandvicepresiden	secretaryvp
board of directors vice president	directorandvicepresident	secretarypresidentelect
board of directors vp	directorandvicechair	treasvicechair
board of trustees - vice chair	directorandvicechairman	treasvicep
boardvchair	directorandvp	treasvp
boardvpresmember	directorvp	treasurerchairman
boardvp	director1stvicechair	treasurerandchair
boardvpres	director1stvice	treasurerchairperson
boardvice	director1stvicechairperson	treasurervicechair
boardvicec	director1stvicepresiden	treasurervp
boardvicechairperson	directorsboardvicechair	treasurervicechairman
boardvicechariman	execboardv	treasurervicepresident

treasurerandvicepresident
 treasurervicechairdirecto
 treasurervicechairmanvp
 treasurerchairelect
 treasurerchairmanelect
 tresvicepr
 trusteeboardvicechairman
 trusteevchair
 trusteevicechair
 trusteevicechairman
 trusteevicechairmantreasure
 trusteevicechairperson
 trusteevicepres
 trusteevicepresident
 trusteevp
 trusteeandvicepresident
 trusteevpsec
 trusteevicechairtreas
 trusteeboardvicepresident
 trusteeseniorvicechair
 trusteevpresident
 trusteevice
 trusteevicechairrecording
 trusteevicechairsec
 trusteevicechairsecretary
 trusteeviceprestreasurer
 trusteevpsecretary
 trusteevicechairoftheboard
 vpresiden
 vchair
 vchairperson
 vchairdir
 vchairvpresident
 vchairmain
 vchairman
 vchairmantreasurerdir
 vchairmanbod
 vchairmantreasboardmemb
 vchairmantreasbrdmember
 vchairperso
 vchairtrustee
 vchariman
 vp
 vpboardofd
 vpdir
 vprdir

vpres
 vpresdirector
 vpressec
 vprestreas
 vprestrustee
 vpresanddir
 vpressecy
 preselec
 vpressecr
 vpresdir
 vpresexecdir
 vpresplaye
 vpresident
 vpresiden
 vpresident
 vpresidenteditor
 vpresidentsecretary
 vpresidentdirector
 vpresidentdir
 vpresidenttrustee
 vpresidet
 vpresidnet
 vpresient
 vprestrea
 vchair
 vchairtreasurer
 vchairbod
 vchairm
 vchairman
 vchairmanoftheboard
 vchairmantreasbrdmember
 vchairmandirector
 vchairmanpt
 vchairpers
 vchairperson
 vchairwoma
 vcochairm
 vp
 vpsecty
 vprestrste
 vpresofb
 vpresd
 vprestru
 vpresdire
 vpresidenttreasurer
 vpresidentbd

vchairdir
 vchairmansectreasurer
 vchairmanbod
 vptreas
 vptreasurer
 vpsec
 vpsectr
 vpsecretary
 vpdirect
 vpdirector
 vpsectreas
 vpsectreasurer
 vpsecretarytreasurer
 vchairpersn
 vsd
 vcepresidenti
 vchairtreas
 vchairperso
 vecepresident
 vicpres
 vicpresiden
 vicchairman
 vice
 vicechair
 vicechairman
 vicechairperson
 vicepres
 vicepresdir
 vicepresi
 vicepresident
 vicesec
 vicetrea
 vicebdchair
 vicebdcha
 viceboardchair
 viceboardchairperson
 vicech
 vicechaiman
 vicechaiperson
 vicechairtrustee
 vicechairdirector
 vicechairsecretary
 vicechairsecretaryanddirec
 vice chair/vice president
 vice chair and director
 vice chair and president

vice chair and secretary	vice chairman bod	vice chairwoman of the bo
vice chair and treasurer	vice chairman of board	vice chairwoman/treasurer
vice chair and trustee	vice chairman of executive com	vice char
vice chair and vice pres	vice chairman of the bd.	vice char.
vice chair of board	vice chairman of the board	vice chari
vice chair of the board	vice chairman of the direrctor	vice charima
vice chair of the board of directors	vice chairman-board of directors	vice chariman
vice chair finance/treasurer	vice chairman, board of directors	vice chariman/director
vice chair/board member	vice chairman/board of trustee	vice chariperson
vice chair/chair	vice chairman/coo	vice charmain
vice chair/chair elect	vice chairman/dir/sec	vice charman
vice chair/chair of board elect	vice chairman/exec comm	vice chmn
vice chair/executive comm	vice chairman/sec/dir	vice chrman
vice chair/executive committee	vice chairman/sec/treasure	vice chrmn
vice chair/member	vice chairman/treasurer/di	vice p
vice chair/s	vice chairman/vice pres.	vice perside
vice chair/sec	vice chairman/vice preside	vice persident
vice chair/sec/treas	vice chairman/vice president/trustee	vice pesident
vice chair/sec/trustee	vice chairman/vp of the board	vice predident
vice chair/secr	vice chairmand of the board	vice president
vice chair/secr/treas	vice chairmawoman of the board	vice preisde
vice chair/secretary/treas	vice chairme	vice preident
vice chair/secy/trustee	vice chairmen	vice pres/board member
vice chair/t	vice chairment	vice pres/director
vice chair/trea	vice chairmman	vice pres/secretary
vice chair/treas/trustee	vice chairmn	vice pres/treasurer
vice chair/treasurer of the board	vice chairp	vice pres/treas
vice chair/treasurer/secretary	vice chairpe	vice pres and trustee
vice chair/tres	vice chairpersib	vice pres bod
vice chair/v	vice chairpersion	vice pres of board
vice chair/vice president	vice chairpersn	vice presd
vice chair bod	vice chairperso	vice pres/treas/director
vice chairm	vice chairperson/trustee	vicepresbo
vice chairma	vice chairperson/director	vicepres/ch
vice chairmain	vice chairperson/secretary	vicepres/di
vice chairman of the board	vice chairperson/executi	vicepres/se
vice chairman & trustee	vice chairperson of the bo	vice pres/sec
vice chairman & ceo	vice chairperson of the board	vice pres/sec/treas/direct
vice chairman & chairman	vice chairperson, board of	vice pres/sec/treasurer
vice chairman & director	vice chairperson/treasurer	vice pres/secr
vice chairman & treasurer	vice chairperson/assistant secretary	vice pres/secr/personnel comm
vice chairman and chairman ele	vice chairperson/executive	vice pres/secty
vice chairman and director	vice chairprsn	vice pres/secy
vice chairman and treasure	vice chairsperson	vice pres/tr
vice chairman and trustee	vice chairwo	vice pres/trustee
vice chairman board of advisors	vice chairwoman	vice pres/various

vice presden	vice president/secretary/treas	vpsca
vice president	vice president/sect/treas/dire	vpsectrustee
vice presdie	vice president/treas	vpsecdirector
vice president	vice president/treas/director	vpsectres
vice presdnt	vice president/treasurer	vpsecvchmn
vice present/treasurer	vice president/vicechair/secretary	vpsectreas
vice presi/secretary	vice president/vol chair	vpsecratry
vice present	vice presidents	vpsecretarytrustee
vice presid	vice presidetn	vpsecretarydirector
vice preside	vice presidn	vpsecretarydir
vice presiden	vice presidnet	vpsecretarytreasdirector
vice presiden/treasurer	vice presidnt	vpsecy
vice president/board member	vice presidt	vpsecydirector
vice president director	vice presieent	vpsecytreas
vice president/treasurer	vice presient	vptreasdir
vice president/trustee	vice president/board member	vptreasdirector
vice president & assistant secretary	vice presid	vptrastrustee
vice president/secretary	vice presode	vptheadirector
vice president/chairman	vice prieodent	vptheadrasstsecretary
vice president/sec	vice priesident	vptheadredirector
vice president and board member	vice priesident/secretary	vpvicechai
vice president and directo	vice prisident	vpresbod
vice president and director	vice prsdnt	vpresdirect
vice president and president ele	vice president	vpressecretar
vice president and secreta	vice chair/secretary/trustee	vpresidentchair
vicepresident and secretary	vicepresidenttreasurer	vpresidentt
vice president and treasur	vicepresidentvicechairman	1st v. pres
vice president and treasurer	vicepresise	1st v. president
vice president and treasury	vicepreskdent	1st vice-chair
vice president and trustee	vicetreasurer	1st vice-chairman
vice president and vice chair	visechairman	1st vice-chairperson
vice president of board	visepreside	1st vice-pre
vice president of the board	visepresident	1st vice-president
vice president/asst secretary	votingoff	1st vp
vice president/asst treasurer	vptheadrasur	1st v-p
vice president/board membe	vptheadrasurer	1st v-pres
vice president/chair	vppreside	bd secretary
vice president/chairman of	vppresident	bd vice pres
vice president/committees	vptrustee	bd vice-chair
vice president/dir	vpvicechair	bd vp
vice president/pres elect	vpsecretar	board 1st vice-chair
vice president/president	vpsecr	board member - 1st vice-president
vice president/president elct	vppreselect	board member & vice president
vice president/secretary/treasur	vppreselect	board member (vice chairman)
vice president/secretary/dir.	vppresidentelect	board member / vice chair
vice president/secretary/t	vps	board member vice chair

board member, v.p.
 board member, vice chair
 board member, vice chairman
 board member/ vp
 board member/vice chair
 board member/vice chairman
 board member/vice pres
 board member/vice president
 board member/vice-chair
 board member; vice president
 board v-chair
 board vice chair
 board vice chairman
 board vice-c
 board vicechair
 board vice-chair
 board vice-chairman
 board vice-chairperson
 board vice-pres.
 board vice-president
 board vice-president/treas
 board vp
 board v-p
 board, vice-chair
 bod v.chairman
 bod vice chair
 bod vice chairman
 bod vice-president
 bod vp
 bod, treasurer
 bod/ vice chair
 director & vice chair
 director & vice chairman
 director & vice president
 director & vice-chair
 director & vice-chair.
 director and vicepresident
 director and vice-president
 director v
 director vice chair
 director vice chairman
 director vice president
 director vp
 director, vice chair
 director, vice chairman
 director, vice president

director, vice-chair
 director, vice-chairman
 director, vice-president
 director, vp
 director,vice president
 director/1st vice president
 director/v
 director/v.p
 director/v.p.
 director/vice chair
 director/vice chairman
 director/vice president
 director/vice-chair
 director/vice-chairman
 director/vice-president
 director/vp
 officer/secretary/vice chr.
 secretary/vice chair
 secretary/vice president
 secretary/vice-chair
 secretary/vice-president
 secretary/vp
 secretary-treasurer/vice chair
 secretaryvice chair
 secretaryvp
 treasurer / vp
 treasurer/vice chair
 treasurer/vice president
 treasurer/vp
 trustee & vice chair
 trustee & vice president
 trustee & vice-president
 trustee &vp
 trustee vice chair
 trustee vice president
 trustee, vice chair
 trustee, vice chairman
 trustee, vice pres.
 trustee, vice-chair
 trustee, vice-president
 trustee,vice-president
 trustee,vp
 trustee,vp, sec
 trustee/ vice chairman
 trustee/ vice president
 trustee / vice president

trustee: vice chairman
 trustee-vice chair of the board
 trustee-vice chairman
 trustee-vice president
 v chairman,
 v chairperson
 v pres & treas.
 v pres treas
 v pres.
 v pres/director
 v pres/sec
 v pres/treas
 v pres/trustee
 v pres-director
 v -president
 v- president
 v president/secretary
 v. chair/treasurer
 v. chairman/director
 v. pres
 v. pres & director
 v. pres.
 v. pres. & secr
 v. pres./director
 v. pres./sec.
 v. pres/sec.
 v. pres/treas.
 v. presiden
 v. president
 v. presidet
 v. presidnet
 v. presient
 v.chairman
 v.p
 v.p, & treasurer
 v.p.
 v.p. & sec
 v.p. & treas
 v.p. & treasurer
 v.p. treasurer
 v.p., secretary
 v.p., treasurer
 v.pres
 v.-pres.
 v.president
 v.president-

v.president/
 v/chairman
 v/p
 v/pres
 v/president
 v-chair
 v-chairman
 vice chair
 vice- chair
 vice chair -
 vice chair (
 vice chair / secretary
 vice chair / trustee
 vice chair, trustee
 vice chair.
 vice chair/ treasurer
 vice chair/director
 vice chair/sec.
 vice chair/secretary
 vice chair/secretary/treasurer
 vice chair/treas/trustee
 vice chair/treasurer
 vice chair/trustee
 vice chairdirector
 vice chair-executive committee
 vice chairm.
 vice chairman
 vice -chairman
 vice- chairman
 vice chairman treasurer
 vice chairman trustee
 vice chairman, bod
 vice chairman, director
 vice chairman, treasurer
 vice chairman, trustee
 vice chairman/ director
 vice chairman/ trustee
 vice chairman/ceo
 vice chairman/chairman
 vice chairman/director
 vice chairman/secretary
 vice chairman/treasurer
 vice chairman/trustee
 vice chairman-bod
 vice chairmantrustee
 vice chairp.

vice chairperson
 vice- chairperson
 vice chairperson / director
 vice chairperson, director
 vice chairperson, secretary
 vice chairperson/director
 vice chairperson/secretary
 vice chairperson/treasurer
 vice chairperson/trustee
 vice chairperson-trustee
 vice chairsecretary
 vice char.
 vice chariman/director
 vice pres
 vice- pres
 vice pres -
 vice pres &
 vice pres /
 vice pres dir
 vice pres,
 vice pres, t
 vice pres, treasurer
 vice pres.
 vice- pres.
 vice pres. & director
 vice pres. & secretary
 vice pres. / director
 vice pres./dir
 vice pres./dir.
 vice pres./director
 vice pres./secretary
 vice pres./t
 vice pres./treas.
 vice pres./treas./director
 vice pres./treasurer
 vice- pres/ director
 vice pres/ treasurer
 vice pres/board member
 vice pres/d
 vice pres/d.
 vice pres/director
 vice pres/sec.
 vice pres/secretary
 vice pres/treas
 vice pres/treas/director
 vice pres/treasurer

vice presid
 vice presi
 vice -presid
 vice- presid
 vice presid.
 vice president
 vice -president
 vice- president
 vice president & board member
 vice president & director
 vice president & treasurer
 vice president & trustee
 vice president , director
 vice president / board member
 vice president / director
 vice president / secretary
 vice president / treasurer
 vice president / trustee
 vice president and president-elect
 vice president, director
 vice president, secretary
 vice president, treasurer
 vice president, trustee
 vice president/ secretary
 vice president/ treasurer
 vice president/asst. secretary
 vice president/board member
 vice president/chairman
 vice president/director
 vice president/sec
 vice president/secretary
 vice president/secretary/treasurer
 vice president/treasurer
 vice president/treasurer &
 vice president/trustee
 vice president; director
 vice president; president
 vice presidentdirector
 vice presidentsecretary
 vice presidenttreasurer
 vice pres-sec
 vice prieodent
 vice. pres.
 vice. president
 vice/chair
 vice/pres

vice/president	vice-chairman/secretary	vice-president & trustee
vice/president treasurer	vice-chairman/treasurer	vice-president and directo
vice=president	vicechairman/trustee	vice-president and secretary
vice-ch	vice-chairman\treasurer	vice-president board member
vicechair	vice-chairmen	vice-president of the board
vice-chair - trustee	vice-chairpe	vice-president, director
vicechair &	vice-chairpersn	vice-president, secretary
vice-chair & treasurer	vice-chairperso	vice-president, treasurer
vice-chair & trustee	vicechairperson	vice-president/board membe
vice-chair / treasurer	vice-chairperson	vice-president/director
vice-chair and director	vice-chairperson, board of directors	vicepresident/secretary
vice-chair and trustee	vice-chairperson/director	vice-president/secretary
vice-chair of board	vice-chairperson/secretary	vice-president/treasurer
vice-chair of the board	vice-chairperson/treasurer	vice-president/treasurer/director
vice-chair person	vice-chairperson/trustee	vice-president/trustee
vice-chair,	vice-chairperson-trustee	vice-presidenttreasurer
vice-chair, board	vice-chairwoman	vice-presidn
vice-chair, board of dir.	vice-charima	vice-president
vice-chair, secretary	vicechariman	vp
vice-chair.	vice-chariman	v-p
vice-chair/ treasurer	vice-chrmn	v-p & director
vice-chair/d	vice-preident	vp & sec
vice-chair/director	vicepres	vp & secretary
vice-chair/s	vice-pres	v-p & treas
vice-chair/secretary	vice-pres -	vp & treasurer
vice-chair/t	vice-pres.	vp / secretary
vice-chair/trustee	vice-pres./d	vp / treas
vice-chairmain	vicepres/dir	vp / treasur
vicechairman	vice-pres/director	vp / treasurer
vice-chairman	vice-pres/se	v-p, treasurer
vice-chairman & director	vice-pres/secretary	v-p/ treasurer
vice-chairman & secretary	vice-pres/tr	v-p/director
vice-chairman & treasurer	vice-pres/treas	vp/president
vice-chairman & trustee	vice-pres; secretary	vp/sec, trustee
vice-chairman / director	vice-pres; treasurer	vp/sec.
vice-chairman and director	vice-president	vp/sec/treas
vice-chairman and trustee	vice-presdir	vp/sec/treasurer
vice-chairman board of directors	vice-presid.	vp/secretary
vice-chairman of board	vice-preside	vp/secretary/director
vice-chairman of the board	vicepresiden	vp/secretary/treasurer
vice-chairman of the board of	vice-presiden	vp/secty
directors	vicepresident	vp/sec'y
vice-chairman, board of directors	vice-president	vp/secy/director
vice-chairman, director	vice-president & director	vp/treas
vice-chairman, trustee	vice-president & secretary	vp/treasurer
vice-chairman/director	vice-president & treasurer	vp/treasurer/director

vp/trustee
vp/vice chair
vpres
v-pres
vpres & dir
v-pres.
v-pres/dir
vpres/director
v-pres/director
vpres/sec
v-pres/treas

v-pres/trustee
vpresdir
v-presdirector
v-presiden
vpresident
v-president
vpsecretary
vptreas
vptreasurer
trustee/vice chair
trustee/vice chairman

trustee/vice chairperson
trustee/vice pres.
trustee/vice president
trustee/vice-chair
trustee/vice-chair, secretary
trustee/vice-chairman
trustee/vice-chairperson
trustee/vice-president
trustee/vp
trustee/vp/sec

Appendix 2: Missions of the organizations selected to provide sexual harassment and parental leave policies.

Note: Those missions marked with an asterisk are included in both Chapters 3 and 4.

*	The [Organization] serves men, women, and children of all ages, races, incomes, and religions throughout the Monadnock region with services and programs designed to increase health, teach life and leadership skills and promote family unity.
*	Every child deserves a safe and permanent home. Therefore, [Organization]. provides highly trained and supported advocate volunteers for abused and neglected children in [the] County. These court appointed special advocates volunteers speak on behalf of the child's best interest until the child is in a safe and permanent home.
	The [Organization] is dedicated to preserving the civil liberties enshrined in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. Through litigation, lobbying, and communications, the [Organization] works to preserve and enhance the rights of all citizens of Georgia with political partnership. Foremost among these rights are freedom of speech and religion, the right to equal treatment under the law and the right to privacy.
*	The association organizes seven area park districts to provide special recreation programs to the physically and mentally handicapped within their districts.
	Make quality end-of-life care available to individuals and families facing serious illness.
*	[The organization] is one of the oldest non-profit organization dedicated to enhancing mental health and wellness of Georgians through education, outreach and advocacy. We envision that Georgians will have access to mental wellness resources and thrive in compassionate communities.
	To reduce and eliminate homelessness by offering shelter, job training, intervention and permanent supportive housing
*	Stories that stir the soul
	[Organization's] mission is to connect people, inspire hope and promote positive change through contemporary theatre and the stories of our times. We strive to be a dynamic leader in the production and development of contemporary theatre in the Southeast.
*	To provide an emergency shelter for runaway and homeless youth from ages 11 to 17 services provided include counseling, tutoring, drug, and health education, and recreational activities.
*	Provides an after school program and summer camp activities for people with developmental disabilities
*	Legal advocacy for children.
	[Organization] transforms people, communities and perspectives through laughter
	To maximize the impact of the [partner organizations], enabling them to share food, resources, and best practices to help close the meal gap and ensure a hunger-free Georgia.
*	To meet the geriatric care, residential, and programmatic needs of the Jewish community and the specialized geriatric care needs of the community at large, through the operation of the home and related services. Programs and facilities shall be conducted in accordance with Jewish dietary laws, religious and cultural practices and shall maintain an environment informed by Jewish values and supportive of Jewish identity.
	To develop each individual in mountain biking as a life-long sport in a positive environment

*	[Organization's] mission to inspire wonder, exploration, and appreciate of our world.
	[Organization] seeks to be faithful to the Christian mission to provide for those in need. The mission of [the organization] is to build a rural, self-reliant community for adults with intellectual and developmental disabilities, offering training, housing, recreation, and dignified
*	employment, as well as opportunities for growth in mind, body, and spirit.
	To advocate for the civil and human rights of Asian American, Pacific Islanders, and Native Hawaiians in Georgia. Through a combination of policy advocacy at local, state, and federal levels, and by supporting candidates that believe in our values, we fight to create a better
*	Georgia for us all.
*	Conservation, education, research, and community enrichment of arctic, sub arctic, and like climate animals.
	The mission of [Organization] is to increase understanding and participation in a local food system that supports sustainable production and increases access to local products. By pursuing this mission the community of Savannah will benefit from better diet and nutrition, decreased
*	health care costs, stronger and healthier community interaction and a stronger local economy.
	{Organization} works to improve children's reading achievement by addressing barriers related to accessibility and appeal of reading material. We give books to children whose reading opportunities outside of school might be otherwise limited due to geography, income, or other factors. Our vision is a work where all children have equal and consistent access to books, love to read.
	[Organization]'s primary purpose is to educate minorities about the political process, to build voter turnout in elections, and to promote civic responsibility among local communities.