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Neoliberalism, Civic Identity, and Resistance: An Ethnographic Case Study of a Community Development Organization

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Neoliberalism, Civic Identity, and Resistance:

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Community Development Organization

by

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requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

Research on the marketization of the nonprofit sector and how it has come to operate in more business-like ways has been well documented in recent years. This research has largely focused on how marketization has pervaded the nonprofit sector, yet little research has been done on how business-like values and modes of acting are manifesting in nonprofits. Even less understood are the impacts marketization may have on foundational civic values in the nonprofit sector. As marketized discourses proliferate, concerns have been raised about threats to nonprofit autonomy and the sector's important civic role. This dissertation aims to fill this gap by recounting the results of an ethnographic case study of a community development organization which interrogates these concepts through a multi-faceted theoretical framework incorporating Foucauldian conceptions of power and knowledge, Cruikshank's technologies of citizenship and Smith's institutional ethnography (IE). Findings indicate that marketized discourses manifest in response to perceived risks within the organization as well as key moments in the organizational life cycle. Results point to a state of fused discourses, both market and civic, that manifest toward different ends within particular contextual and temporal settings and which are also stratified in the organization. Resistance discourses to marketization were also identified and include balance, self-determination, and asset based community development. Paradoxically, this study also finds that some mechanisms of marketization prove useful in preserving civic discourses. Overall, even if neoliberal marketization is considered to be inevitable, the results of this study point to some mechanisms that can serve to balance market and civic discourses within nonprofits.

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Dedication

For David, who always listens to my big ideas, encourages me to act on them, and makes me laugh every day. For my family both here and gone, blood and chosen. Thank you for loving me.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude for all those who have helped and supported me in obtaining my dream of completing a doctorate degree. First and foremost, I would like to thank my research participants for their willingness and candidness in sharing aspects of their personal and public lives. I am grateful for the work you do with passion and care on the front lines of the nonprofit sector. Thank you to my husband David for your love, endless editing, and for allowing me to always chase my big dreams. Thank you to my sister for developing my love and curiosity for learning early on, for being my biggest fan, and the sacrifices you made to push me to always seek the joy in life. To my father for teaching me about social justice and ethics at a young age, to be critically minded, and to question "naturalized" authority. I have a seat at the table because you sacrificed for me to have one. To my mother, thank you for teaching me how to be an independent woman and letting me seek out my own path. To the many supportive members of my academic cohort, thank you for the long hours of study groups, beers, and tears. Graduate school is not a zero sum game as many would have us believe. I am grateful for the ways we supported each other through this journey. Thank you to my peers and colleagues in the civic leadership minor, namely Jane Carr, Jennifer Joyalle, Kevin Kecskes and Peter Chaille. You have all taught me the art and joy of collaboration and continue to help me develop as a critical civic educator. Our work together has echoed the same sentiments as this research- that the civic education for democracy we strive to give our students is so important in creating a more just and equitable society. Thank you also to my many students over the years who continue to provide me with

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Nonprofits provide a diverse range of vital services, delivering much of our nation's hospital care, higher education, social welfare services, employment training, community development, housing, and many other services (McKeever, 2018). Moreover, the American nonprofit sector comprises about 80% of the individual and family social service agencies in the United States (Salamon, 2013). As the sector has grown, government has come to increasingly utilize nonprofits as instruments for the extension of the welfare state when markets and governments prove unable to deliver vital social goods (Salamon & Gronbjerg, 2002; Hasenfeld and Garrow, 2021; Xie, 2020). The nonprofit sector is seen as a viable and preferable instrument for carrying out a service provision role because of its ability to "limit transaction costs through [its] presumed trustworthiness, experience in service delivery, and responsiveness to diverse client groups" (Ferris, 2001, p. 395). However, as marketized discourses proliferate in the nonprofit sector under the rise of neoliberalism, hallmarked by market fundamentalism, concerns are raised about threats to nonprofit autonomy, threats to the sector's important civic role, and to its identity (see Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Sandberg, 2013). Nonprofits, by their character and nature, are primed and expected to deliver caring services, while at the same time serve to cultivate cooperation, voice, and civic sensibilities in society (Horton-Smith, 1973; Putnam, 1993; Abzug, 1999; O'Connell, 1999; Berger and Nuehaus, 2001; Edwards and Foley, 2001; Salamon, 2001; Eberly & Streeter, 2002; Fung, 2003; Warren, 2004; Avner, 2016). As marketized discourses and "business-like" practices are incorporated into nonprofits, there is concern that nonprofits

may lose their ability to adequately respond to the needs of communities (Sandberg, 2013; Eikenberry, 2009; Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Salamon, 1997).

Marketized discourses may also be affecting the individuals that populate them, thus potentially exacerbating these issues. Research has shown that organizations have a direct impact on the individual identities of those embedded within them (Brown, 2019; Fleming, 2014; Sluss & Ashforth, 2008; Ashforth et al., 2008; Albert et al., 1998). However, as nonprofits take on more business-like identities and practices as a result of neoliberalization processes, little is known about how the *civic identities* of those working within and receiving services from the nonprofit sector are preserved or changed, if they are at all, as these neoliberal rationalities take hold. It has been argued that as professionalization[1] in nonprofits occurs (associated with a process of marketization which will be explained below), NPO practitioners learn to govern themselves in ways that manage conduct "through a variety of techniques and knowledges through our beliefs, aspirations, and desires" (King, 2017, p. 244; Rose, 1996). Socialization practices occur within these environments which encourage NPO practitioners to behave and act in particularly defined "appropriate ways" through ongoing processes of professionalization identity work (Fournier, 1999; Noordegraff, 2011). As individuals take on these codes of conduct within professional environments, the question is what impact this has on their civic identity, and thus on their civic engagement, or action upon those identities. This research questions not only how individuals in organizations identify civically but how they enact (or do not) those identities as well.

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[1] This concept will be given further treatment below

Civic engagement "is understood as important because it provides opportunities for individuals to develop civic skills, fosters social solidarity, and enhances the legitimacy of representative democracy" (Schlozman, Verba, & Brady, 1999, p. 94). It has been well documented in the study of American civil society that nonprofits are sites for civic engagement encouraging community involvement and enhancing individual and collective actions to further the public good (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Weisbrod, 1986). Nonprofits form the social infrastructure of civil society, manifest engagement and facilitation of trust, social inclusion and communal responsibility (Putnam, 2000). They are sites for civically oriented educational experiences, providing the development of efficacy and competence, and the engendering of positive *feelings about self* and community (Schlozman, Verba, & Brady, 1999; Eliasoph, 2013). Nonprofits are important sites where *civic identities* are developed, constructed, and expressed, for nonprofit workers, beneficiaries and members of nonprofits. Thus, as market values and business like practices are imported into daily practices, the question remains whether this has any impact on the way people perceive civic identity. This research aims to investigate how civic identity is understood within the nonprofit under shifting trends towards marketization.

The marketization of the nonprofit sector has substantial implications for how theory and practice in the sector is understood, as it informs how individuals operate within them. As marketized values may act to crowd out intrinsic civic values (Sandel, 2013), there are implications for how the nonprofit sector's civic role in the contemporary moment is understood. The aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of how the principles of neoliberalism bear on the conceptualizations of civic identity within the

nonprofit. Documenting this phenomenon will allow for a better understanding of how and if marketization impacts the foundational conceptions of the nonprofit as sites for civic identity development and civic engagement and thus may have implications for how the nonprofit sector's foundationally civic role in a democratic society is understood. Further, because this work uses a critical approach to examine power, knowledge and meaning making, this work may provide impetus to reexamine and reflect on civic roles, as marketized ways of doing the work in the nonprofit are taken on, and to address any problematic trends that may be potentially challenged, resisted, or transformed with new information. This work both documents this phenomenon and calls for deeper reflection on whether and how civic roles have changed as a result of marketized practices, and to consider what might be done to reverse these trends, should they not be in alignment with the foundational and core civic values and role as a sector.

This study documents the results of an in depth qualitative ethnographic case study, which examined a "marketized" community development organization drawing on theoretical insights from a Foucauldian governmentality lens, discourse theory, technologies of citizenship (Cruikshank, 1999), and institutional ethnography (IE) (Smith, 2009), which will all be given thorough treatment in Chapter 2. This work represents the results of a study conducted in a single community development corporation (CDC) in a mid-sized metropolitan city in the United States to examine how neoliberal market discourses manifested in the organization and how they influenced workers' and beneficiaries' conceptions and understandings of civic identity. This work examines how these discourses are produced, enacted, internalized and resisted within the organizational environment. Further, the experiences and feelings of workers and

beneficiaries as they are embedded within wider organizational resource environments are analyzed. This research is concerned with developing a better understanding of how the organization itself is entrenched within wider neoliberal discourses and how these might be imported and understood within the organization.

Situating the Research

The following literature review first documents the foundational civic role of nonprofits. Second, the neoliberal trends that have characterized the United States in the last fifty years are outlined, followed by a discussion of how marketized discourses have been adopted by the nonprofit sector under these shifting trends towards neoliberalization. Third, studies on organizational life, workplace, and identity, are reviewed and connections are established for how nonprofit organizations may act to shape individuals' civic identities. The concepts of civic identity and civic agency, and their relationships to the nonprofit sector are detailed. Finally, documented evidence on the impact of marketization processes on nonprofit organizations, and on those embedded in them, workers and beneficiaries are explicated. The logic is that as organizations change, so too do the individual identities within them.

Nonprofits' Civic Role

In the early 19th century, Alexis de Tocqueville, a French statesman, in his analysis of American democracy noted that, "Nothing deserve[d] to attract our attention more than the intellectual and moral associations of America" (2003, p. 600). In his seminal work, *Democracy in America,* Tocqueville argues that the spirit of association is one of the distinctive characteristics of American life. He states that:

Americans of all ages, conditions, and all dispositions constantly unite together. Not only do they have commercial and industrial associations to which all belong but also a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very specialized, large and small (Tocqueville, 2003, p. 596).

He proposed that in a nation where individuals were independent and weak, "they can achieve almost nothing by themselves" and if not learning how to help each other voluntarily, might sink into an impotent state (1831, p. 597). Tocqueville noted how Americans had a propensity for pursuing collective desires according to endless objectives which served to prevent despotism by upholding pluralist pursuits crucial to a healthy democracy.

Currently, nonprofits provide a vast array of social services, but they also still play a crucial civic role in society to which Tocqueville spoke. Nonprofits give expression to pluralist desires, cultivate civic virtues, are producers of social capital, and act as purveyors of social good, promote freedom, and encourage individuals to act in the public interest (Horton-Smith, 1973; Putnam, 1993; Abzug, 1999; O'Connell, 1999; Berger and Nuehaus, 2001; Edwards & Foley, 2001; Salamon, 2001; Eberly & Streeter, 2002; Fung, 2003; Warren, 2004; Taylor, 2010; King and Griffin, 2019; Sandberg and Elliott, 2019). Further, nonprofits take an expressive role in society by providing a vehicle for creativity in religion, arts, cultural, and social expression, play a role in community building—which further creates bonds of reciprocity and social capital among the polity—as well as fulfill human social and psychological needs (Skocpol, 2004; Putnam, 1996). The nonprofit sector has long been held to play a critical value guardian role in society by "emphasizing individual initiative of the public good" and

fulfills this role by promoting both individualism, whereby individuals can act on matters that concern them, and solidarity, whereby people have responsibilities to themselves and to others in their communities (Salamon, 2014, pp. 11-14). Nonprofits also act as mediating structures between individuals and larger structures which shield us from pure individualism and isolation from society (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977). Robert Putnam (1996), in his hallmark work on civic associations in Italy, provided empirical evidence that civic community has implications for developing successful, legitimate, and accountable political institutions. Many scholars also argue that the nonprofit sector was formed from the need to make up for the failures of the market and of government, to provide for the market's positive and negative externalities (Young, 1989; Douglas, 1987; Weisbrod, 1972; Ott, 2001; Mayar, 2006), to enrich society in a different and more equitable way, and to promote participatory citizenship (Warren, 2003). These elements are deeply embedded in the American tradition and serve to promote stable, healthy, and functioning democracies (Warren, 2003).

Many nonprofit organizations serve explicitly political functions with distinct public policy objectives, acting as advocates to articulate a range of values and opinions in American society. However, nonprofits also serve the secondary political role of priming individuals to act as the responsible citizens needed for a healthy functioning democracy. The nonprofit sector has a multi-dimensional role in promoting the democratic capabilities necessary to function optimally in a democratic society (Eberly & Streeter, 2002; Eikenberry, 2009; Warren, 2004). Democracies are constituted by "an ecology" of institutions that must work together to enhance "the basic norm of democracy; that individuals should have equal chances to influence those collective

decisions that affect them" (Warren, 2003, p. 46). Warren claims that nonprofits serve to

develop the democratic capabilities of citizens by educating and helping them to cultivate

political efficacy, by giving groups public voice, and by developing and communicating

information (see also Walzer, 1983). They serve institutional functions, such as providing

representation and voice, often for groups that cannot protect themselves or that have

been traditionally marginalized from politics, within institutions of government when

more formal representation breaks down, acting to "resolve conflicts and coordinate

policies across sectors" (Warren, 2003, p. 47). He further claims three means to taking

collective action in societies, through power and rulemaking (government), through

coordinated money exchange (markets), and through "the social resources of custom,

traditions, norms, and agreement upon common purposes" which are cultivated in the

nonprofit sector (Warren, 2003, p. 47). Each must operate in tandem in order for

democracies to thrive. Finally, he asserts that it is social organization in the nonprofit

sector, via cultivating and preserving norms in society that serves democracy by

providing collective projects and common purpose, freedom, commitment, and freely

associative social relations. This gives the nonprofit sector more legitimacy than for-

profit firms to perform the public's business because of its non-coercive nature, so that

nonprofits may act as trustworthy mediating institutions (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977).

Associational organization provides space for non-coercive political deliberations on

notions of the good life, or "what we should do and how we should live," which cannot

occur in markets which have no "location, brains, or speech," nor in coercive

governmental structures (Warren, 2003, p. 48). Thus, associations, and the services

provided by them, in the nonprofit sector provide some of the conditions necessary for healthy democracy.

As neoliberal values which rationalize market mentalities as applicable to all that is social encroach on civil society, the question remains, are the ways in which nonprofits conceptualize their civic role changing, and if so, how? Neoliberal conceptions of citizenship, which are explained in detail below, reduce members of society to market actors[2]. This poses the danger of changing the intrinsic nature of the civic values necessary for democratic life and may act to inhibit equitable access to civic institutions (Sandel, 2013). If nonprofit workers begin to view themselves and treat their beneficiaries solely as market actors, their foundational role in developing civic capabilities is called into question. The following section outlines neoliberalism in the nonprofit followed by a discussion of how these discourses get imported into the sector under neoliberal rationalities.

Neoliberalism in the Nonprofit Sector: The Marketization of the Nonprofit Sector

As nonprofits have increasingly taken on roles in providing social services, a result of neoliberalism itself[3], the question remains—how well has the nonprofit's civic

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[2] Full treatment of neoliberal citizenship is given beginning on p. 66

[3] Neoliberalism reflects the institutional logic of business management, or New Public Management (NPM) which embraces the reorganization of public organizations into product and cost centers shifting towards competition within and among public organization and the private sector and seeks cost-efficient modes of service delivery. The principles of NPM as reducing the size of government, adopting business models in government, devolving program administration to state and local governments, restructuring government to emphasize results over process, and privatizing services As a result, nonprofits have had to adapt to changing government policies that emphasize contracting out, devolution, and privatization and have taken on the logic of NPM which shifts from value driven rationalities to efficiency (Grønbjerg & Salamon, 2002; DeVita & Twombly 2006; Smith, 2006; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012, p. 302-303; Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000). Further, nonprofits have taken on roles in social service as federal social-welfare spending is decreased, and devolution and privatization of social services has become the norm under neoliberal welfare policies (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012, p. 303).

role been preserved as marketized discourses are imported into civil society? Studies

show that as nonprofits take on service roles, they have also taken on neoliberal identities

in part (Cruikshank, 1999; Soss, 2001; Lyon-Callo, 2004). Classical liberalism is

concerned with exchange "which naturalized the market as a system with its own

rationality, its own interest, and its own specific efficiency" and as the ultimate means for

distributing goods and services (Read, 2009, p. 27). However, *neoliberalism* extends

economic rationale to social and political relations with a shifted focus from exchange to

competition which has significant effects on society. Neoliberalism is defined by Peck

and Tickell (2002) as a mode of free market economic theory that has become the

dominant ideological rationalization and contemporary state reform. It combines

"commitment to the extension of markets and logics of competitiveness with a profound

antipathy to all kinds of Keynesian and/or collectivist strategies" and is marked by

"aggressive forms of state downsizing, austerity financing, and public service reform"

(Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 383). Neoliberalism is promoted as more efficient government,

the application of market solutions to social problems, and the government-driven

promotion of individualized competition and market-based policies (Lyon-Callo, 2004).

It has been conceptualized as an ideology, a project, a logic of governance, and a

rationality (Braedley & Luxton, 2010, p. 10) and has varying meanings and applications

in varying settings and contexts. According to Connell, it has been broadly conceived of

as the agenda of economic and social transformation under the banner of the free market

that has come to dominate global politics in the last quarter century, and the institutional

arrangements acted out to implement the neoliberal experiment (2010, p. 22). In the

literature on nonprofits, neoliberalism has been defined as norms emphasizing a:

Minimalist welfare state, taxation, and business regulation programs; flexible

labor markets and decentralized capital-labor relations unencumbered by strong

unions and collective bargaining; and the absence of barriers to international

capital mobility. It includes institutionalized normative principles favoring free

market solutions to economic problems, rather than bargaining or indicative

planning. (Campbell & Pederson, 2001, p. 5, as cited in King, 2017).

Neoliberalism seems to be everywhere and is perplexingly elusive as it operates within

specific sites of incorporation and reproduction (Peck & Tickell, 2002). However, as

Peck and Tickell argue, studies of neoliberalism should aim to bring attention to local

peculiarities, or everyday actions in micro settings, to examine how subjectivities and

organizational features are embedded in wider networks and structures of

neoliberalizations, which is the aim of this dissertation.

Neoliberalism emerged in the 1970s, advanced a radical market-centered agenda, and

aligned with liberalism in that "it prizes the possessive individuals, and privileges the

freedoms associated with private property, market relations, and trade across nations"

(Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011, p. 20). It treats market rationality as a normative ideal to

be pursued through public authority and is the standard for evaluating institutional

designs (Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011). According to Harvey (2005), the 1950s and

1960s were characterized by "embedded liberalism" where market strategies and

activities were surrounded by social and political constraints (p. 11). Under this

framework, "the nonprofit human service sector operated in a policy environment that at

least partially encouraged social equality and the expansion of social rights" (p. 11).

However, this frame began to shift under neoliberalism "epitomized by the administration

of President Ronald Reagan" (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012). Under neoliberalism, human well-being is thought to be advanced by "liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2002, p. 2). Under this paradigm, human well-being becomes the responsibility of the individual who is to manage one's own risk. Individuals are expected to embrace a morality of individual liberty, competition, individual responsibility and work ethic (Hasenfel and Garrow, 2012, p. 301). It has been argued (as cited in the first section of this chapter) that these values are the antithesis of democratic values such as cooperation, solidarity, empathy and care that scholars argue are necessary for optimally functioning democratic societies. The following section documents theories on why and how nonprofits have come to adopt market like values under neoliberal reform.

Resource Dependency Theory, Isomorphism and the Adoption of Market Logics in Nonprofits

As neoliberalism takes hold on a global level, so too do marketized ways of knowing and being. Changes in the relationships between nonprofit, government, and market actors are "compelling nonprofit organizations to become more market-like in their actions, structures, and philosophies" (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004, p. 133). Marketized discourses have been proliferated in the nonprofit sector as a result of increasingly competitive conditions in the neoliberal marketplace. Theories on resource dependency (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) and isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) have proved useful in hypothesizing as to *why* and *how* this occurs.

Resource dependency theory has been posed as one explanation for how nonprofits have become more market-like. Resource dependency theory assumes that as nonprofits need resources to survive, and interact with others who control these resources, they take on the qualities of the environments in which they interact. It has been well explored in the literature that resource environments, specifically funding organizations, are changing the ways nonprofits operate via resource dependency (Schmid, 2013; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Adams & Perlmutter, 1992; Alexander, 1999; Bush, 1992; Osbourne & Geabler, 1992; Salamon, 1993; Skloot, 2000; Young, 1998). Schmid (2013) addresses the identity blurring of nonprofits as each of the environments in which they operate-- government, business, and philanthropic--can change characteristics in organizations with impacts on organizational ideologies and missions (p. 242). He notes several changes in nonprofit identity as a result of interrelated processes including: 1) organizations adapting to changes in the task environment at various stages of their life cycle, 2) pressures for growth and dominance exerted by internal units of the organization leading to changes in ideology, goals, objectives, strategies, technologies, and structure, and 3) expectations and constraints imposed by agents in the organizational environment (2013, p. 244).

Eikenberry and Kluver (2004) further explain (2004) how resource dependency theory is useful for understanding how nonprofits have been influenced by public and private funders. The authors argue that changes in relationships in the funding environments have "influenced the need for nonprofit organizations to use market like strategies to deal with resource constraints" (2004, p. 133). Scott and Meyer (1991) further state that "within the institutional environment there are rules and requirements to which individual organizations must conform if they are to receive support and

legitimacy" (p. 123, as cited in Jaffee, 2001, p. 228). Thus, in order to understand the attitudes and behaviors of nonprofit organizations, "the resource environment" must also be examined, as "environmental constraints and influences have compelled nonprofit organizations to adopt the methods and values of the market" (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004, p. 133). Eikenberry and Kluver further elaborate on four areas that have played a role in the marketization process including a growing reliance on the generation of commercial revenue, an increase in performance-based contract competition, changes in philanthropy, and the proliferation of social entrepreneurship (p. 134), all of which exert pressure on nonprofit organizations to become more market like. First, as government retrenchment and decreases in private donations occurred in the 1970's and 80's, there was a sharp increase in strategies to seek out fee for service incomes and other commercial sources of funds (Salamon, 1993, p. 24). Additionally, as government scaled back and contracted out social welfare services to nonprofits, there was an increased emphasis on competition, performance measurement, and the marketized language such as risk sharing, pay for performance, and bonuses. The contract approach shifted risk to providers using methods of the market (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004, p. 134). Third, changes in philanthropy have significantly impacted the way we see nonprofit work. The authors state that old philanthropy led by private foundations and focused on charitable institutions has shifted to new philanthropy led by individual issue focused donors (Catalogue for Philanthropy 2000, p. 61; Greenfeld, 1999, as cited in Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004, p. 134). These "new economy entrepreneurs, executives of large companies, and financial advisors" treat charitable causes like business ventures and "desire a way of giving that is consistent with their own results-oriented values and

patterns of behavior" (p. 134). Alongside these changes came "demands for ROI (return on investments, SROI (social return on investments), FROI (financial return on investment), or EROI (emotional return on investment)" (Gingold 2000, para. 4, as cited in Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004, p. 134). Finally, a shift towards social entrepreneurship has been embodied by nonprofit organizational leaders (Adams & Perlmutter, 1991). Social entrepreneurs are "nonprofit executives who pay attention to market forces without losing sight of their organizations underlying missions and seek to use the language and skills of the business world to advance the material well-being of their members or clients" (Dees, Emerson, & Economy, 2001). Social entrepreneurs are driven by innovative, entrepreneurial enterprise-based solutions and the sustainability of the organization often via earned income streams with for profit partners (See discussion in Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004).

Resource dependency theory offers one hypothesis as to why nonprofits have taken on market like values, a result of resource scarcity under neoliberal reforms. Normative isomorphism is another explanation which compliments resource dependency theory in explaining why nonprofits have taken on the language of the market. Normative isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) under New Public Management (NPM) is yet another explanation for how nonprofit agencies have taken on the language of neoliberalism and can explain on a theoretical level, the processes by which nonprofits have come to internalize neoliberal values such as market fundamentalism. Isomorphism is described as the processes by which close-working organizations move toward similarity over time and similarities emerge as a result of increased complex interdependence. Dart (2004, p. 419) states that "as business structures and market

models have become organizing models" in modern day societies, nonprofit

organizations may take these on as they seek legitimacy and enact legitimacy seeking

behaviors (as cited in Guo, 2006). As organizations compete for resources, political

power, legitimacy and economic fitness, they may change their goals and adopt new

practices (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify three forms of isomorphic changes that occur:

First, "coercive isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of

legitimacy" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150), occurring as external stakeholders

impose changes in the organizational environment. Second, "mimetic isomorphism

resulting from standard responses to uncertainty" (p. 150) where organizations "adopt

best practices from peer organizations…that are perceived as successful" (Suykins, 2020,

p. 132). Third, "normative isomorphism is associated with professionalization"

(DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150). Some scholars argue that nonprofits in particular

mimic neoliberal values as processes of *professionalization* occur (Hwang & Powell,

2009; Sandberg, 2013). This is important as the technologies of professionalization,

which will be detailed in Chapter 3,[4] are an important phenomenon under study here. The

logic is that groups with similar education and professional backgrounds and who are

embedded in professional networks, have been instilled with a logic of professionalism

which confines the logic of what is acceptable, knowable, and actionable given the

bounds of how one understands "professionalism." A professional logic "tells them

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[4] Professionalization, or the selection of professional personnel (Hwang & Powell, 2009) in the nonprofit sector has also been linked to marketization. Professionalism is understood to incorporate characterizations such as: strategic planning, the use of consultants, independent financial audits, quantitative or highly systematic program evaluations, high percentages of paid employees versus volunteers, high levels of professional training and personal development, and credentialism (Hwang & Powell, 2009).

which practices they should follow in a given situation" (Lowndes & Roberts, 2013, p. 60). Under normative isomorphism, nonprofits are hypothesized to orient themselves towards particular kinds of conduct concerned with "optimization of performance, aptitude and states" (Dean, 1996, p. 48; Sandberg, 2011). As professional logics are imported into the nonprofit sector, nonprofit managers take on rationalization projects, implementing roles and rules about who they are and what they do (Hwang & Powell, 2009), and measurement becomes central to the rationalization project. This becomes an evolving form of social organization within nonprofits and takes the form of strategic planning, professional development training, the use of credentialed experts, independent financial audits, development of evaluation tools, writing plans, responding to benchmarks created by others, hiring consultants for advice, and quantitative program evaluations, all of which represent attempts to measure and formalize nonprofits' activities (Hwang & Powell, 2009). As the management of risk and the quantification of activities become paramount to the rationalization project, there remains the question of how these activities, moving toward more market like behaviors, might act to impede or shift civic values.

We know that the nonprofit sector has indeed become more professionalized and thus more market like in their operation and structure as the adoption of market like values are taken on, but the question remains; how are the civic identity of individuals within nonprofits, are constructed, adapted, resisted, etc. in response to these changes? The following section explores how organizations act to construct identity, then outlines the literature on civic identity construction.

Organizations and the Identity Construction Processes

The literature on how organizations shape individual identities is vast, and has been explored from interdisciplinary perspectives spanning sociology, psychology and organizational theory to name a few, and cannot be thoroughly treated in the length of this work. However, evidence shows that organizations are playing an increasingly central role in our lives (Brown, 2019; Fleming, 2014; Sluss & Ashforth, 2008; Ashforth et al., 2008; Albert et al., 1998; duGay, 1995; Denhardt, 1981). Human beings are in a constant state of negotiating who they are and who they want to be. The environments in which individuals are embedded provide the context for how people subjectively understand themselves. Thus, in order to better understand people and the organizations they comprise, the relationship and impacts each one has on the other warrants investigation. Identity research is extensive and spans across disciplines as well (Brown, 2019; Fleming, 2014; Sluss & Ashforth, 2008; Ashforth et al., 2008; Albert et al., 1998). The following conversation is specially focused on the relationships between organizational workplaces and identity as this is the focus of the study.

Identity here refers to "the meanings that individuals attach reflexively to their selves as they seek to answers questions such as: 'How shall I relate to others?' 'What shall I strive to become?' and, 'How will I make the basic decisions required to guide my life?' (Baumeister, 1986, as cited in Brown 2015, p. 22). Identity is "people's subjectively construed understandings of who they were, are, and desire to become, are implicated in, and thus key to understanding and explaining almost everything that happens in and around organizations" (Brown, 2015, p. 22). Identity is "the central, distinctive, and enduring characteristic of an organization; it is how the collective

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answers the question 'who are we as an organization?'" (p. 265). In a review of the

literature, Ashforth and Corley (2008) find that organizational identity is linked to

organizational images, strategic decision making and "even many key organizational

variables at the individual level" (Corley et al., 2006) Further, "the more identity

perceptions are widely shared and densely articulated by members of the collective or

role, the stronger is the identity" (cf. Cole & Bruch, 2006; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004).

Thus, there is a stronger potential for identification—and disidentification (i.e., "This is

not me"; Elsbach, 1999).

According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978) individuals define themselves

in categories, for example, age, gender, race, religion, etc. Similarly, organizational

identity is a sense of belonging to a collective which links members of an organization

through emotional and cognitive attachment. The identity construction process occurs

through social exchanges, social structure, and other social processes in relation to one

another and the organization (Berger & Luckman, 1966, in Buk, 2017). Further, it is

constructed through the transmission of organizational values and through dialogues (see

discussion in Buk, 2017). This transmission process occurs via engaging with

organizational discourses[5] in the exchanges between insiders and outsiders (Coupland &

Brown, 2004 in Buk, 2017). Through sensemaking of these discourses, identity is

constructed as people "author versions of their realties and identities in their performance

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[5] The concept of discourse will be given thorough treatment in Chapter 2. Discourses are defined as the ways of specifying knowledge and truth, or what is possible to say at any given moment in time (Ramazanoglu, 1993). Discourse explains why and how something is *sayable* at any given time, and is used to designate the forms, representations, codes, conventions and habits of language that produce culturally and historically located meanings (Brooker, 1999).Generally speaking, it is the text and talk that governs our conduct.

of work tasks" (Karreman & Alvesson, 2001; see discussion in Brown et al., 2014). This process is how individuals interpret and make meaning in organizations. Therefore, this work utilizes a discursive approach to understanding workplace and organizational identity. A discursive approach to understanding workplace identity focuses on language, meaning and discourse in the development of identity drawing on the work of Foucault which will be detailed in Chapter 2. But the core belief behind this methodological lens is that identity is shaped by discourses, both in the workplace and larger macro societal level discourses such as neoliberal ideology (see discussion in Jaros, 2014).

There are several studies that address identity in the workplace using a discursive approach. For example, Knights and McCabe (2003) found that managerial discourses appealed to workers' desire for autonomy and responsibility where workers "embrace[d] teamwork, develop[ed] a strong team-based collective identity, and bec[a]me self-monitoring, self-disciplining ―subjects" evidencing that workers had adopted "management's rhetoric and requirements of ―team discourse and identified with its goals and values" (in Jaros, 2014. p. 50). Similarly, Winiecki (2009) used a discursive approach to analyze new technology on workplace identity. They found that management's performance-based standards, established by management for its own ends, had an individualizing effect on workers, creating jealousy, peer pressure, and higher/lower self-esteem in individual workers. Workers were susceptible to managerial rhetoric and developed identities in line with managerial goals. In their review of relevant research, Ashforth and Corley (2008) found evidence of negative implications of organizational identity construction such as commitments to failing organizational projects (Haslam et al., 2006), resistance to organizational change (Bouchikhi &

Kimberly, 2003), antisocial behaviors arising from threats to an employee's identity (Aquino & Douglas, 2003; Schwartz, 1987), and the hindrance of shared cognition to the detriment of group performance (Michel & Jehn, 2003). Finally, Brown (2017) draws attention to issues of agency and process in relation to organizational identities, finding that identity manifests in fractured and contradictory ways in organizations.

Just as managerial discourses have impacted workers in these private organizations, there also exists ample evidence that neoliberal discourses have impacted the nonprofit sector in various ways which will be explored further below. The following section defines civic identity and civic agency, and explores the connections between a changing nonprofit sector and its potential impacts on civic identity.

Civic Identity (CI) and Civic Agency (CA)

Nonprofits have long been held to provide the associational space for the cultivation of civic sensibilities as well as an arena for individuals to express the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Horton-Smith, 1973; Putnam, 1993; Abzug 1999; O'Connell, 1999; Berger & Nuehaus, 2001; Edwards & Foley, 2001; Salamon, 2001; Eberly & Streeter, 2002; Fung, 2003; Warren, 2004). In short, nonprofits help cultivate civic identity. Civic identity (CI) has been explored by scholars in terms of definitions, descriptions, practices and institutions associated with engendering civic identity in individuals (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997; Atkins & Hart, 2003; Knefelkamp, 2008; Colby & Sullivan, 2009; Hatcher, 2011; Youniss, 2011; Chrocetti, Jahromi, & Meeus, 2012; Hart, Richardson, & Wilkenfeld, 2015). Atkins and Hart (2003) conceptualize CI as *a sense of connection to community*, and the *responsibilities that contribute to the health of community* which are developed through a) participation in one's community, b)

acquisition of knowledge about the community, and c) adoption of fundamental

democratic principles such as willingness to tolerate the views of others outside

mainstream views. It is the *aspect of identity that leads one to take public action* and

describes when one sees oneself as an active participant in society with *a strong*

commitment to work with others toward the public good (Colby & Sullivan, 2009;

Knefelkamp, 2008; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997). This sense of civic identity,

combined with cultivation of purpose and the ability to put knowledge to responsible and

practical use (Colby & Sullivan, 2009), is critical to understanding why and how civic

engagement[6] occurs. It is related to both intellectual and ethical development, includes

critical thinking and empathy for others, and is a deliberately chosen and repeated aspect

of self (Knefelkamp, 2008).

Hart, Richardson, and Wilkenfeld (2015) assert that civic identity is best understood

as having subjective, ethical, and political facets. In their view, civic identity is

understood as a sense of self encompassing beliefs and emotions but varies across

persons, historical eras, and across countries. They also note the similarities of civic

identity to moral and national identities, and that this conception is most useful when

linked to specific geographical areas and can be distinguished from moral identities (p.

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[6] Civic engagement is defined here as: "Civic engagement is, in essence, the common thread of participation in and building of one's community. For example, political and non-political behaviors – which can be a part of civic engagement – range from traditional group-oriented activities, such as participation in community groups and membership associations, to activities that are done individually rather than collectively, such as voting. Civic engagement also encompasses activities that can be done either alone or with a group, such as volunteering. Finally, civic engagement can also include activities that people do with others, but which are less formal. These can include activities that family members or neighbors do together, such as talking about politics, exchanging favors with neighbors, gathering around the dinner table, or even engaging in online activities that allow people to stay connected to each other." (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2010).

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774). This differs from citizenship[7] which is described as membership, rights and participation and demands some degree of identification with other citizens, and the state. For this work, one should think of civic identity as a different concept than citizenship. Civic identity includes the experiences, beliefs, and emotions concerning membership, rights, and participation, not just geographically defined to nation state but to other communities as well. It is important to note that communities of place (geographical communities defined by rule of law and membership rights often associated with the concept of citizenship) is a limited understanding of community for this work. This work expands community to mean a community of ideas as well, a social unit with some commonality such as norms, customs, values and identity. Civic identity is connected to psychological, political, and demographic contexts where the psychological elements include trust between, civic knowledge of community, and sense of belonging to one's community.

According to Knefelkamp (2008), civic identity has some essential characteristics: 1) it does not develop in isolation but over time and through engagement with others within the context of real social, political, and economic structures; 2) it is connected to complex intellectual and ethical development, expanding capacity to think and act as citizens; 3) it is a holistic practice requiring the integration of critical thinking and the capacity for empathy; and, 4) becomes a deliberately chosen and repeatedly enacted aspect of the self (pp. 2-3). Civic identity is not a static phenomenon but is enacted in everyday relationships between the self and others. Civic identity composes the core beliefs that enable or restrict one to take civic action, in other words, one's civic agency.

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[7] The concept of citizenship as it applies to this work is explained further below.

While civic identity is a psychological understanding of one's beliefs and morality in relation to civic understandings of the self, *civic agency* is the ability to act on those beliefs and values. Civic agency (CA) is informed by one's citizenship status and civic identity and describes the power one has to act on one's expressions of identity in civic life. These distinctions are important as identity, agency, and actions do not always align. Boyte (2008) defines agency as the ability "to negotiate and transform the world around us, which is understood to be fluid and open" (p. 2). Though, "attention to agency has been overshadowed by an emphasis upon clear and explicit rules of conduct, concepts that permit relatively little scope for the exercise of situationally based judgment" (Emirbayer & Mishe, 1998, in Boyte, 2008, p. 2). Dahlgren (2006) notes that as this notion of civic agency gains relevance in the discussions of declining democratic participation in the United States, we should expand our understanding of agency to include "seeing citizenship not just in formal terms but also in regard to meaning, practices, communication and identities" (p. 267). Important to note here is that the concepts of citizenship, civic identity, and civic agency are complexly interconnected yet should be thought of as distinct from one another in the ways they are socially constructed, constrained, and/or enabled as embedded within relations of power. Results from this study will point to important distinctions between notions of citizenship, civic identity and civic agency. For example, one may identify with a certain kind of civic identity, but not be afforded the agency within marketized organizational environments to act upon those identities. The following discussion describes how neoliberalism has put the nonprofit sector's civic role at risk.

Nonprofit Sector's Civic Role at Risk

In the last decade there have been several studies documenting the danger marketization poses to civil society and the nonprofit sector (Dempsey & Saunders, 2010; Wirgau, Farley, & Jensen, 2010; Eikenberry, 2009; King 2004; Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; LeRoux, 2005; Alexander, Nank, & Stivers 1999; Cooney, 2006; Milligan & Fyfe, 2005; Dart, 2004; Turner, 2001; Backman & Smith, 2000; Ryan, 1999). Much of the existing literature points to how as nonprofit organizations (NPOs) take on market values, they may "lose the ability to adequately respond to the needs of the communities that they have traditionally served" and jeopardize their roles as "guardians of societal values, service providers, advocates for the interests of local communities and purveyors of social capital" (Sandberg, 2013, pp. 3-4), potentially a result of a transformed conceptualizations of civic identity. As changes in resource environments have increased the levels of marketization[8] on organizations which have drastically altered the way nonprofits conduct themselves in a marketized environment, organizational identity comes into question. Several impacts of the increasing marketization of the nonprofit sector have been well documented and are exemplified by changes in nonprofit management (Dempsey & Saunders, 2010), budgeting (LeRoux, 2005), and fundraising (Eikenberry, 2009; King 2004; Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009; Wirgau, Farley, & Jensen, 2010). For example, a study of social entrepreneurs, Dempsey and Saunders (2010) found that social entrepreneurship narratives offered visions of meaningful work for solving social problems, yet also "celebrated a troubling account of work/life balance centered on

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[8] It is explained further in this chapter how marketized discourses are taken on via the adoption of technologies of performance.

self-sacrifice, underpaid and unpaid labor and the privileging of organizational commitment at the expense of health, family and other aspects of social reproduction" (p. 437) which reproduced problematic assumptions regarding work and professional life. LeRoux (2005) studied entrepreneurial efforts to generate income in nonprofits finding that nonprofits experiencing reductions in government funding and private contributions are more likely to take on entrepreneurial measures.

In a localized study of nonprofits, Alexander, Nank, and Stivers (1999) examined the impact of welfare reform on social service nonprofits where the adoption of market ideologies were taken on as part of this process. They found that these organizations 1) experienced bifurcation in the organization which created conflict between fulfilling organizational mission and meeting funding requirements, 2) experienced increased and intensified dependence on local and state agencies, which left them vulnerable to shifts in state and local policy, and 3) experienced a loss of public service character which changed the nature of their services and diminished their ability to be political. Overall, the market, or business orientation "pushed smaller organizations to forswear advocacy that threatened the flow of government dollars" and "forced them to compromise their own sense of the public interest" (p. 462). Backman and Smith (2000) further argue that the increased commercialization of nonprofits has influences on nonprofits' ability to contribute social capital because commercial activities weaken social networks, make networks of relationships less stable, reduce the size, diversity, and involvement of governing boards, and reduce levels of voluntary participation. Yet, there are ways in which organizations can hold onto these civic roles under changing circumstances.

Milligan and Fyfe (2005) argue that the connections between nonprofit organizations (specifically voluntary welfare associations), and citizenship are much more complex than the current discourses allow as they explore how different settings within which these associations are organized can act to facilitate or constrain the development of active citizenship. They found that grassroots organizations are far more likely to empower citizens by creating spaces in which people can directly influence decisions affecting their lives. This was achieved by allowing beneficiaries to identify their needs rather than being offered standardized programs increasing community ownership of the organization, providing services designed to meet the needs of the specific client group the organization was set up to serve in ways that are sensitive to local difference, and fostering decision making in non-hierarchical and informal ways to increase participation (pp. 424-425). This work is a good lens with which to frame this study as it gives evidence of ways that organizations have resisted market values to liberate civic identities and actions in a marketized environment.

However, Milligan and Fyfe (2005) also demonstrated that increasingly complex services provided in nonprofit organizations coupled with heightened public expectations, the drive towards professionalization as part of the "inevitable" growth process, and aiming towards the creation of a corporate image have resulted in some nonprofits moving away from their grassroots origins to a more bureaucratic and hierarchical structure. In addition, the development of corporate structure with unified policy and decision-making has decreased local autonomy, and bureaucratization and professionalism has created a struggle in maintaining flexibility and the ability to make decisions quickly, causing volunteers to feel "pushed out" as the drive for

professionalism is causing a loss of local identity (pp. 427-428). The drive towards

organizational growth can result in the disempowerment of clients and a promotion of

passive citizenship (p. 417).

As discussed, nonprofit organizations have historically been seen as sites where

notions of citizenship are typically invigorated (Turner, 2001). Turner states, "the third

sector and more specifically voluntary associations, can provide opportunities for social

participation, for democratic involvement on the local level, and thus for active

citizenship" (p. 200). These organizations are crucial to the promotion of citizen

involvement in communities as they foster trust, reciprocity, solidarity, cooperation,

create networks of relations conducive to civic engagement and the concern for the

common good (Milligan and Fyfe, 2005, p. 418). This begs the questions, as

organizations become marketized, can they be both marketized and spaces for

invigorating civic life? Again, this research addresses if and how these roles are being

preserved or changing under marketization.

Organizational identity is defined as "what is central, distinctive, and enduring" about

an organization (Schmid, 2013, p. 243). Organizational identity "affects not only how an

organization defines itself but also the strategic issues and problems are defined and

resolved" (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991, as cited in Schmid, 2013, p. 243). Yet,

organizations do not typically hold only one identity. Indeed, Stone (1996) argues that

organizations must create multiple identities to deal with conflicting environmental

pressures. Researchers have documented how organizations cope with multiple identities

in various ways such as:

> [E]liminating some identities, exploiting advantages through
> compartmentalization or integration, tolerating the enduring problems of multiple
> [identities], finding a higher level (meta) identity that successfully integrates
> existing identities, creating an entirely new identity, or downplaying the problems
> and allowing one or more identities to slowly decay (Pratt & Foreman, 2000;
> Whetten & Godfrey, 1998, as cited in Schmid, 2013, p. 243).

As nonprofits adapt to changing resource environments under marketization, it makes sense that organizational civic identities may shift as well.

Alexander, Nank, and Stivers (1999) found that organizations that have become more market oriented have shifted their focus from public goods like advocacy and education to meeting client demands. Ryan (1999) argues that when nonprofits are challenged to become more competitive they have less time and energy for providing these public goods. Marketization has been shown to negatively impact nonprofits' ability to create spaces for civic action and engagement (Cooney, 2006; Dart, 2004). Backman and Smith (2000) found that commercialization of nonprofits (often associated with marketization; see Mayer, Meyer, & Steinbereithner, 2016) has long terms costs for community building. Commercialization reduced organizations' ability to create social capital, weakened and destabilized social networks, reduced the size, diversity, and involvement of boards, and reduced levels of voluntary association. All of which signals a change in organizational priorities and perhaps in identity as well.

Patricia Webster's (2014) recent dissertation makes explicit the diminishing role of active citizenship in organizations in her study of New Zealand charitable organizations as she documented the influence of marketized government on the

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changing nature of these organizations (p. 338). She found that while some aspects of marketization were beneficial such as stronger accountability, strategic planning around aims and objectives, and improved attention to diverse needs, the negative consequences included *erosion in organizational voice, values, associational life, and independence* (p. 341). This research shows that there are in fact unintended consequences of marketization that compromised particular dimensions of civic identity and civic action. While the literature does suggest that marketization provides several benefits like efficiency and predictability, it also affects their ability to fulfill their traditional roles as enhancers and maintainers of civil society, thus imperiling civil society itself (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). As neoliberal values take hold in civil society, and a growth imperative prevails, the impacts on civic identity and agency warrant closer investigation. The questions remains, how do these changing organizational identities impact worker identities, beneficiary identities, and the civic identity construction process between workers and beneficiaries?

Neoliberalism and Civic Identity

Now that neoliberalism has been outlined, as well as its impacts on the nonprofit sector at large, the connections between neoliberalism and civic identity are made explicit below. This work expands an understanding of the concept of "citizenship" as it applies to this research and discusses the implications of neoliberalization. Citizenship has a variety of contested meanings. It has been conceived of a reference to membership in a community (Bosniak, 2003, p. 185), linked to the nation state (Bosniak, 2003, p. 183), or referred to as a legal status that can constitute rights and duties (Fudge, 2005, p. 633; Korpi, 1998, p. ix). In a Tocquevillian sense, "self-governing citizens are those that have

the capacity and power to participate in politics, to act on their collective interests, desires, and goals" (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 19). Rather than subjects having power enacted over them, citizens are seen as having power themselves. However, as Cruikshank argues, it is misleading to separate the terms of subjectivity, agency, and citizenship, as these are shaped by a "tangled field of power and knowledge that both enables and constrains the possibilities of citizenship" (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 10). The hypothesis is that neoliberalism as a form of power knowledge within the nonprofit, produces certain forms of citizenship for workers and clients in the nonprofit sector, which in turn enable and constrain possibilities in the field. Soss, Fording, and Schram (2002) provide an explanation of neoliberal citizenship which recasts citizenship as a quasi-market role. Here, citizens are "not defined by their mutual engagement in a democratic mode of governance" but defined by "their discipline and prudence as consumers, workers, and tax paying investors" (p. 43). Further, they state that "self-reliance as a worker and self-discipline as a community member are treated as not just a moral good but prerequisite for citizenship" (Mayer, 2008, p. 167). Thus, the civic cultivation evident in Warren's explanation of the nonprofit's civic role, has "shifted to emphasize the civic primacy of market competence and the necessity of modifying behaviors to meet civic expectations" (Soss et al., p. 43). According to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), citizenship in a democracy:

> Gives membership status to individuals within political units, confers an identity
> on individuals, constitutes a set of values usually interpreted as commitment to
> the common good of a particular political unit, involves practicing a degree of
> participation in the process of political life, and implies gaining and using

knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of

governance. Citizenship also confers membership, identity, values, and rights of

participation… (p. 653)

However, as neoliberalism, a combination of market ideology and an aggressive

individualism that merges capitalistic and democratic spheres, has become dominant in

American culture and has replaced the dichotomy between democracy and markets with a

"democracy *for* markets" rhetoric (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006, p. 662). Abowitz and

Harnish further argue:

Democratic citizenship takes on an instrumental turn designed to serve the growth

of capitalistic markets…yet most political theorists reject neoliberalism as a civic

discourse [because it] reflects an individualism so severe as to be incompatible

with the civic ideals long associated with democratic public life (2006, p. 662).

They further suggest that neoliberalism's emphasis on individualism comes at the

expense of the egalitarian, communal, and public ideals of democratic life, which is why

we must critically examine these processes in the nonprofit sector, as they are crucial to

social inclusion and the development of civic ideals.

Larner (2000) further asserts that neoliberalism, as a form of governance, is premised

on market relationships, which emphasize "post-welfare state citizenship regimes." She

explores how the various frames we use to construct conceptions of neoliberalism affect

how we perceive spaces within it for leveraging social justice. Neoliberalism as a policy

framework, neoliberalism as an ideology, and neoliberalism as a lens for governmentality

all have different implications for understanding the welfare state and the conceivability

of new political strategies for social justice and collective forms of well-being (Larner,

2000, p. 6). Important for this study, Larner also explores neoliberalism as a shift from ideology to discourse, as well as through the lens of governmentality. She states:

> Discourse is understood not simply as a form of rhetoric disseminated by hegemonic economic and political groups, nor as the framework within which people represent their lived experiences, but rather as a system of meaning that constitutes institutions, practices, and identities in contradictory and disjunctive ways (Larner, 2000, p. 12).

It is this system of interlocking, contradictory, and disjunctive meanings that is under examination in this study. Further, she explains that while neoliberalism means less government, it does not mean less governance. Rather, it utilizes governance to encourage institutions and individuals to conform to the norms of the market and to shape their subjectivities accordingly. It encourages people to be responsible for their own well-being and to take personal responsibility for the systematic forces and policies that stand directly in the path to this achievement. As humans make sense of the world in relation to the contexts within which they are embedded, it is not a leap to assume that since organizations greatly impact personal identities, thus would also have some role in shaping civic identities. Organizational work life impacts the ways in which individuals understand themselves in the world, as well as has a role in shaping individual's belief systems (Brown, 2019; Sluss & Ashforth, 2008; Ashforth et al., 2008; Albert et al., 1998; Denhardt, 1981).

The literature documents the risk to nonprofits' identity as civic organizations, but not necessarily workers' and beneficiaries' civic identities within that milieu. The understanding and expression of civic identity are complicated a by a number of factors

in the workplace environment (e.g., education and training, career paths, power, hierarchy, workplace architecture, skills, and external environments (Jaros, 2012). As the nonprofit sector trends towards marketization, it is unclear how these trends are impacting the civic identities of its employees and beneficiaries. However, there is some evidence of the impacts on individuals' identities in the nonprofit sector emerging, which is further explored below.

Impacts of Marketization on Nonprofit Workers

As discussed above, organizational life has become a natural part of our social worlds, and so too does it shape personal identities as we search for meaning and "develop ways of acting through which we may pursue meaning which we hold important" (Denhardt, 1981, p. 1). As nonprofit organizations, employees and beneficiaries adapt towards marketized ways of knowing, doing, and acting, there remain questions about how these changes have impacted organizational identities as well as individual identities within those organizations. There have been significant studies of how organizations use normative controls which encroach on the private lives of employees (Barker, 1993; Kunda, 1992; Scase & Goffee, 1989). According to Kunda (1992) "even though workers try to maintain distance from the workplace, many workers find work and non-work aspects of social ties are experienced as hard to separate, requiring constant definition and redefinition and are never fully resolved" (p. 169). Individuals are embedded in organizations as work becomes an undeniable part of who we are. As marketization occurs in those organizational environments and marketized discourses are taken on, the questions remains how these discourses impact workers and beneficiaries.

Much of the literature on nonprofit workers examines the proliferation of entrepreneurialism and documents the process by which nonprofit employees take up aspects of the new prudentialism that is a part of neoliberalization (see Power, 1999) as the workplace becomes professionalized in the ways discussed above. In the neoliberal marketplace, "all things are measured by their worth as enterprises and by their ability to compete" (Sandberg, 2013). Faced with the task of learning to compete, nonprofits have taken on aspects of prudentialism in which they manage risk by making prudent choices to maintain the nonprofit (Sandberg, 2013, p. 31). Prudentialism is facilitated by institutional mechanisms that "subject experts' authority to enumeration, calculation, monitoring, and evaluation" (Rose, 1996; Sandberg, 2013, p. 31). These mechanisms establish organizational self-management by quantifying everything to better enable the prediction and calculation of risk to the organization (Sandberg, 2013, p. 31). Dean states that this "new prudentialism suggests a new role for professionals as the calculators, managers and tutors of risk, taking on educative, estimative and preventative functions" (Dean, 2010, p. 195; Rose, 1996). That is, professionals help calculate and manage risk in the nonprofit sector by adopting and managing various *technologies of performance*, which are:

> [T]he technologies of government designed to penetrate the enclosures of expertise fostered under the welfare state and to subsume the substantive domains of expertise (of the doctor the nurse, the social worker, the school principle, the professor) to new formal calculative regimes. These technologies of performance, then, are utilized from above, as an indirect means of regulating agencies

transforming professionals into calculating individuals within calculable spaces

subject to particular calculative regimes (Dean, 2010, p. 197).

The enactment of prudentialism and the management of the technologies of performance

require active, free individuals who know how to use information to maintain and

manage risk (Dean 2010) Thus, to manage risk, citizens must be "capable of self-

government" (Cruikshank, 1999). Self-governing citizens then activate their own agency

to act in a way that is responsible which is in their own best interest and the in the interest

of their organization (Sandberg, 2013, p. 31). As nonprofits take on prudent behaviors

aimed at self-management and risk calculation to maintain the organization in a

competitive environment, logics associated with self-governing, responsibilized

citizenship are also imported. This has implications for how people perceive themselves

and their civic roles in society. One of the aims of this research is to illuminate the

relationship between marketized discourses and the nonprofit worker, exploring the

impact of these discourses on *the marketized nonprofit worker*, a new subject that has

been recently typified in the literature on the marketization of the nonprofit (Cunningham

et al., 2017; King, 2017; Sandberg, 2016; Bromley & Orchard, 2015; Dey & Teasedale,

2013; Smith, 2008)

Recent work points to how individuals within the nonprofit have changed their

behaviors as they adapt to marketization. As social enterprise has been proliferated under

scarce resources, many have begun to discuss the nonprofit worker as behaving more like

the "entrepreneur" as nonprofits begin to resemble social enterprises (Sandberg, 2016;

Dey & Teasedale, 2019; Jones & Spicer, 2009; Swedberg, 2006). Sandberg (2016) states:

Concomitant with the nonprofit sector's increased marketization over the past several generations is its entrepreneurialization. That is, the notions of the entrepreneur and of entrepreneurialism—particularly of becoming an Entrepreneur and being entrepreneurial—have proliferated in a remarkably short time and are taking firm hold in the nonprofit sector (p.55).

As nonprofits become more strategic and professionally managed, the social entrepreneur has emerged as an economic actor, a "dynamic individual in reforming, revolutionizing and fundamentally changing organizational, community, environmental, and social circumstances (hopefully) for the better" (Sandberg, 2016, p. 56). As nonprofits attempt to become more strategic, professionalized workers become ideal types that can set goals, gather information and manage risk within scarce resource environments. The advancement of entrepreneurial ideas in nonprofits generally involves stakeholders increasingly utilizing entrepreneurial discourses "namely those associated with social entrepreneurship, but also those connected with strategic governance" (Sandberg 2016). An emphasis on entrepreneurialism and strategic governance tends to deemphasize organizational mission (Bush 1992) and marginalize the organization's beneficiaries (Sandberg 2013; Woolford and Curran 2013) in favor of maintaining organizational performance (Mirabella 2013). In her study of the nonprofit sector's technologies of professionalization, Sandberg (2012b, 2013) deems the ideal professional nonprofit manager to be an info-manager, purposed with facilitating the acquisition of information about the nonprofit, and its internal and external environments, and then utilizing that information to engage in rational decision-making processes to more effectively guide the organization toward the achievement of preformed goals. The entrepreneurial info-

manager facilitates the strategic governance of the nonprofit organization in order to maintain and sustain it, which often is framed by keeping up a competitive edge. The entrepreneur acts as a change agent whose purpose is to adopt a social mission and sustain its value, recognize and pursue new opportunities to serve that mission, engage in continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning, act boldly without being limited by resources, and to exhibit accountability for outcomes created (Dees, 2001, p. 4, Also see discussion in Sandberg, 2016, p. 56). Sandberg (2016) further states that the vision of the social entrepreneur heavily emphasizes "the role of an often dynamic individual in reforming, revolutionizing, and fundamentally changing organizational, community, environmental, and social circumstances (hopefully) for the better" (p. 56). The danger of the enterprise model in nonprofits is increasingly becoming the focus of nonprofit scholars (Sandberg, 2016; Young, 2001; Dart, 2004: Dees, 1998, 2003; Emerson & Twerksy, 1996; Skloot, 1987). The enterprise model positions interpersonal relationships on competition, potentially crowding out values like care and compassion, values vital for participatory liberal democracies (Sandberg, 2016; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Stone, 2000, 2008). As entrepreneurialism and professionalized discourses are imported into the nonprofit, literature is beginning to point towards its impacts on nonprofit employees.

For example, Cunningham, Baines, and Shields (2017) found that market embracing austerity measures were driving workplace erosion, particularly in participation, on both the level of control workers have over their daily tasks, and representative security such as union and non-union forms of representation. Management became more assertive as they faced pressures to cut costs and meet funder

expectations, intensifying the work for employees. Evidence showed that worker autonomy broke down under austerity measures, funders increasingly demanded performance and accountability measures, and work processes and content became dominated by outputs rather than care. Further, as reporting requirements took over 30% of workers' time, bureaucracy eroded the degree to which workers exercised control over how services were delivered (p. 375). Overall, the study found that pressures under austerity measures provided an incentive for "management to undermine or challenge the legitimacy of forms of representative voice that might challenge these measures" (p. 3). This work provides some evidence that civic agency was constricted under austerity measures in the workplace as new technologies of performance take hold.

Daniel King (2017) discusses the process of *how* individuals take on new logics under marketization of the nonprofit. In an auto-ethnography he documented the ways in which he was taught professionalization through "technologies of performance," which include funding, evaluation and monitoring procedures; and "technologies of agency," which involve the "often

subtle socialization mechanisms into the sector" (p. 241). These concepts, technologies of performance and technologies of agency are explored further in chapter 2, but this describes the process by which codes of conduct govern behavior, and are taken on as discourses and activities at work change under neoliberalism. King also points to the dangers of marketization on worker civic identity stating: "The more I saw myself as a nonprofit professional and became more committed to achieving the funders' aims, the more distant I became from [the organization's] original ethos" (p. 254). A preoccupation with paperwork and funder outcomes shifted interest and attention from the client's

needs. King also struggled to maintain his ties to social equity where his attention shifted from an idealistic dreamer concerned with social inequality to (as a nonprofit professional) seeing clients as self-regulating subjects (Dean, 1999), responsible, and responsibilized for their own conditions. Overall, King (2017) warns that technologies of performance, these everyday practices such as filling out paperwork "do not simply reflect reality, they produce it which change the conditions of possibility for personhood and action" (p. 254). This account provides evidence that marketized ways of being and knowing and doing do have unintended consequences for civic identity and agency, and can change workers perceptions of beneficiaries civic identity, constructing a self-sufficient, responsible beneficiary, aligning with neoliberal rhetoric's.

Smith's (2008) work provides an argument for how neoliberalism also might be producing new conceptions of nonprofit workers' civic roles. She argues that privatization, deregulation of the business sector, and austerity measures under neoliberalism have created a scenario where the politics that were once taking place within radical social movements are now the domain of the "nonprofit industrial complex" where institutions are contracted to provide human services. She states, "Although their technical professionalization as service subcontractors allows them to compete effectively in the emerging neo-liberal social policy arena, their structural positioning can make it more difficult for them to maintain close solidarity ties with [the] disadvantaged" (p. 132). Here, the professionalization that accompanies marketization in the "nonprofit industrial complex" may move organizations further from the civic work and role intended. Smith's work suggests that neoliberalism has negative connotations for the social and civic conceptions of nonprofit workers themselves, limiting their ability to

help to mobilize communities against social ills. Again, this illuminates the need to better explore and understand the subjective experiences of nonprofit workers as they relate to workplace, neoliberal technologies, and civic identity as Smith notes that the role of the worker is changing under neoliberal practices.

Some of the literature on social enterprise in the UK has begun to explore the narratives of workers within a marketized sector. The meanings of social enterprise are contested within the nonprofit field, but most definitions refer to market-based strategies aimed at achieving a social purpose (Dey & Teasesdale, 2013; Kerlin, 2006; Dart, 2004). Dey and Teasedale's work on the identity politics of social entrepreneurs is useful here. In a qualitative study, they aimed to conceptualize the way nonprofit practitioners "endorse[d] or reject[ed] the inherent norms and principles of social enterprise" reintroducing a sense of agency to worker narratives to highlight how "processes of identification, counter-identification, and disidentification perpetuate or transgress the discourse of social enterprise" (2013, p. 249). They discovered five sub-modes of (dis)identification which reveal how workers reflected acceptance of and resistance to social enterprise discourses (p. 258). First, the mode "enthusiastic engagement" referred to individuals that identified with the discourses of social enterprise and incorporated it into their own worldviews (2013, p. 256). Second, "reflective endorsement," was marked by a more reflective mode of judgement where social enterprise was not endorsed as automatic, but as a result of reasoning where individuals were able to displace the identities subscribed to them by discourse (2013, p. 259). Third, they found the counter identification of "private irony" where workers denounced the dominant social enterprise discourse but in ways that were private with an "uneasy sense of standing under a sign to

which one does and does not belong while publicly truthful to its ideas" (Butler, 1993, p. 219, in Dey & Teasedale, 2013). Fourth, authors identified "public opposition," a more overt form of counter identification, where individuals problematized social enterprise and raised concerns about its limiting effects (p. 261). Finally, "pure disidentification" was marked as displacement, where one not only "rejects the dominant discourse by publicly or privately criticizing it" but also uses the "code as raw material for representing a disempowered politics that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant culture" (Muñoz, 1999, p. 31, in Dey & Teasedale, 2013). Here individuals eschewed dominant discourses by adopting alternative forms of identity. Under this mode, individuals made choices about competing discourses and negotiated their own understanding within their own worlds (Dey & Teasedale, 2013, p. 263).

However, the literature does not point to marketization fully diminishing civic agency; on the contrary many studies have shown that it has enabled new forms of civic agency. In a study in the Canadian nonprofit social service sector, Baines (2010) found that nonprofits are finding new processes to exercise voice under marketized models. They explore the impacts of changes in the sector on employees across eight unionized nonprofit organizations, and found that workers adopted a form of social unionism in the face of neoliberal restructuring. This unionism allowed nonprofit workers to create new processes to express voice around issues such as sectoral funding, the growth of poverty and homelessness, racial and gender equity, larger social policy issues, agency-specific issues such as sharing power in the workplace and community, workload, service quality, and workplace health and safety (p. 10). They found that while "voluntary spirit and participation" was hard to maintain, unionism was a means by which these attributes

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could be extended and recreated (p. 17), as workers renegotiated activism in the workplace. This article highlights what authors claim as the "irrepressibility of the participatory spirit and its capacity to seek new forms and practices despite the stretched and restructured conditions of today's nonprofit social services sector" (p. 10). This works represents new forms of civic identity and agency emerging in the nonprofit workplace under neoliberal reform. Duval and Gendron (2020) found similar evidence of alternatives to market discourses in their study of a long standing nongovernmental organizations, where the organization achieved building a "reputation of expertise centered on the dynamic adaptation of the market and participatory (i.e., grassroots, solidarity-focused) discourses" (p. 62). They accomplished this by producing artifacts (guidelines, forms, and articles) promoting an alternative participatory discourse, that highlighted strategic behaviors "outside the typical confines of funding transactions…illustrating how an organization, against the power of control over financial resources, endeavors to cultivate a counter discourse through the 'soft' power of expertise" (p. 62). This work stands as evidence of organizations resistance to market discourses, and the explicit incorporation of civic values.

Maier and Meyer (2011) further explain diverse notions of governance in nonprofits arguing that different notions of governance are rooted in different discourses of organization in civil society. They present a typology of five discourses of civil society organizations (CSOs); managerialism, domestic, grassroots, professionalist, and civic discourses where each has implications for governance. Specifically, grassroots discourses are framed by principles and positions. In these organizations, "goals are typically abstract and difficult to realize, [therefore] being true to one's principles is

considered an indicator of success" (p.747). Further decisions are made by consensus, actors are constructed as autonomous as a right and a responsibility, where members "have to deal with different opinions, argue their way through controversies, and come to joint decisions" (p.747). Relationships between actors are characterized by egalitarianism and collectivism and hierarchies are viewed a suspicious, communication aims for maximum participation and openness, and there are often ill defined boundaries (pp. 747-748). Second, a civic discourse is found, and constructs the organization as a "res publica" where mass support and proper procedures are important. In these organizations, "much time is dedicated to talking about proper, formal, written procedures," "written rules, elections, and consensus are crucial" and provide "clarity and fairness" (pp. 748-749). In grassroots discourse, accountability is towards one another and in civic discourses accountability is framed by being accountable towards the membership base.

Parkinson and Howarth (2008) come a bit closer to understanding marketized worker civic identity in their study of how people "doing" social enterprise appropriate or re-write the discourse to articulate their own realities focused on local issues, collective action, geographical community, and local power struggles, rather than the managerially defined rhetoric used to promote efficiency, business discipline, and financial independence (p. 287). They found that interviewees (social entrepreneurs) drew their legitimacy from social morality which brings critical awareness to the tensions between marketized discourse and civic identity. This body of work illuminates the capacities for individuals to retain a certain degree of agency in "punctuating, resisting, or transgressing the authoritarian inscription of discourse" where identities can be both perpetuated and rearticulated under a dominant discourse of social enterprise (2013, p. 256). This work

provides insight into how workers engage with or resist neoliberal discourses, but tells us little about how their civic identities are shaped by it, which is one such aim of this research. While the literature is scarce, it is growing. This study builds on this scholarship and expands it.

Impacts on Nonprofit Beneficiaries

This growing body of literature on the narratives of social enterprise workers can also be extended into better understanding how beneficiaries of services identify, or (dis)identify with market discourses in nonprofits. This work also aims to explore how nonprofit workers construct the civic identities of their beneficiaries under neoliberal reforms. Many studies have outlined the transformation of poverty governance under neoliberal rationalities within service organizations with particular impacts on citizenship (Cruikshank, 1996; Lyon-Callo, 2004; Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2001) which will be further explicated in Chapter 2. In brief here, Lyon-Callo's (2004) work provides an example of the effects of neoliberalism in the homeless sheltering industry. He argues that homelessness can only be understood within the context of increasing neoliberal policies, practices, and discourses. He found that under neoliberal policy reforms, attention became increasingly focused on individualized and market-based practices of reform and governance which had major implications for how subjects and workers were conceived of through the discourses (technologies of citizenship) of *self-help* and *deviancy*. Lyon-Callo's work explores the relationship between workers and beneficiaries through the lens of service provision, much aligned with a market ideology where everything is understood through the context of the exchange of goods of services. Soss, Ford, and Schram (2011) further argue that as paternalism meets neoliberalism, clients

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are increasingly managed via codes of conduct which discipline the poor, what they term "poverty governance," as welfare programs become more punitive and intentions are set on diverting clients from seeking assistance. In scarce resource environments, and increasing reporting pressures, they claim that poverty governance in particular has transformed technologies of citizenship in particular ways which will be further explored in chapter 2.

Mitchel (2004) in a study of immigrant education and policy reform in the EU found that neoliberal governmentality had shifted education for immigrants from "emphasizing democratic tools, personal development, and critical thinking, lifelong learning" to the primary affirmation of "the constant formation and reformation of work skills" (p. 392). Immigrants were made to become responsible for their own citizenship training "with respect to a successful adaptation to the nation and to the labor market of a fast-changing global economy" (p. 392). The stress on the necessity for mobilization and self-empowerment led to growing exclusion of immigrant minorities as neoliberalism was embraced with "soft cultural rhetoric" alongside "hard economic policies as extending marketplace rationality marginalized social inclusion rhetorics" (p. 392). This work stands as evidence that neoliberal reform is changing the nature of how workers perceive beneficiary identities in social service education programs, and has implications for my research. While these studies provide evidence that the civic role of nonprofits is changing under market orientations, this literature on how these discourses may affect the civic identities of both workers *and* especially beneficiaries in the nonprofit sector is limited. Even more limited is the knowledge of the relational, interpersonal interactions between workers and clients as identities become socially

constructed and reconstructed. While beneficiaries do interact with programs in organizations, it is largely the front line workers that are enacting the organizational logics in these relationships. This key relationship between worker and beneficiaries is explored in this work. Below is a reiteration of the problem statement and the questions this research poses to add to the literature on this topic.

Problem Statement and Research Questions

Important to note here is that some scholars have posited that marketization and business techniques are powerful tools for social change (Bishop & Green, 2008; Frances, 2008; Pallotta, 2008). For example, Frances (2008) and Pallotta (2008) argue for changing the rules that govern charitable work to be more compatible with the market. As they point out, the rules governing charity were formed in a time when the charitable sector was small and are inadequate when it comes to dealing with the complex problems in the modern world (Webster, 2014, p. 6). However, the topic of interest here is not whether marketization is normatively good or bad, but whether and how it shapes worker and beneficiary citizenship as a dominant discourse in the nonprofit sector, and to what effect. Research shows that the marketization of the sector not only acts to shape subjects, both workers and beneficiaries, through the lens of neoliberal rationalities (Cruikshank, 1996; Lyon-Callo, 2004; Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2001), but may also have implications on how certain forms of citizenship are conceived within civil society. Further, clients and beneficiaries are becoming increasingly marginalized from the organizations that exist to serve them (Sandberg, 2012) and increasingly marketized themselves (Lyon-Callo, 2004). This environment has direct implications for the nonprofit sector's ability to fulfill its traditional political and civic roles as signalers of

collective political will, and holds consequences for how democratic processes unfold and how people are able, or not, to participate in them.

Peck and Tickell (2002) assert that studies of neoliberalism should aim to bring attention to local peculiarities, or everyday actions in micro settings, to examine how subjectivities and organizational features are embedded in wider networks and structures of neoliberalizations. This project seeks to extend analysis from the individual standpoints[9] and daily practices of workers and beneficiaries of services in the nonprofit sector into other sites, enlarging the scope of what is visible from that site to better understand how civic identity is entangled and embedded within larger neoliberal discourses. The aim is to connect local sites extending from the case study to other sites, "making visible how we are connected into the extended social relations of ruling and economy and their intersections" (Smith, 2005, p. 29). Neoliberal and marketized rhetoric within organizations may act not only to frame the way nonprofits deliver services, but act to socially, and internally construct or reinforce *neoliberal citizenship,* and the discourses associated with it. The guiding research questions are:

> How has neoliberal marketization of the nonprofit sector affected the everyday practices of a nonprofit service organization? How have these discourses come to manifest?

> How do neoliberal discourses and neoliberal practices shape nonprofit worker citizenship identity? What is the relationship between nonprofit worker civic identities and the social construction of beneficiary civic identity?

> Is neoliberal citizenship the dominant discourse, and is it practiced and/or resisted by nonprofit workers? If found, what forms of knowledge, meaning, and civic identity are constituted under neoliberal discourse in the nonprofit?

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[9] Harding (1988) identifies standpoint in terms of the social positioning of the subject of knowledge, the knower and creator of knowledge and is used in doing discursive work (Smith, 2005).

What emerging counter discourses to neoliberalism can be identified as useful resistance tools, and/or tools to serve the sector in preserving and reclaiming its democratic and civic functions?

By engaging these questions, an understanding of how neoliberal discourses constitute certain practices and identities of workers and beneficiaries on the local level of the nonprofit may emerge. Examining everyday practices in the nonprofit sector, identifying neoliberal discourses, and assessing the impact on vulnerable populations and communities may move nonprofit academics and practitioners further toward discovering the aims towards constructing democratic and active citizenship in the sector that has long been held to be the space in which civil society is encouraged and cultivated.

Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation proceeds as follows. In Chapter 1, the literature on neoliberalism in the nonprofit sector is reviewed to explore how the processes of neoliberalization have manifested over time in the sector. The literature on the relationship between organizations and the construction of civic identity are explored and then juxtaposed with the tenets of neoliberalism to explicate a theory of neoliberal citizenship. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the study's methodology and methods by detailing the form of discourse analysis used to examine the research questions posed in this work. Also discussed are theories drawn from the work of Michel Foucault and other scholars that build on his work that informed the study. Chapter 2 also contains the following: 1) a discussion of Dean's (1999) analytics of government, governmentality, discourse and bio power, followed by a discussion of what Foucault referred to as neoliberal governing rationalities; 2) a discussion of the work of Barbara Cruikshank (1999) to explore what she terms the *technologies of citizenship*, a strategy of government employed to produce

particular kinds of citizens capable of self-government under liberal democracies, which

provides a framework to begin an exploration of neoliberal citizenship on the local level;

and, 3) an explication of Dorothy Smith's (2005) institutional ethnography as a guiding

methodological framework which calls for the reorganization of the relations of

knowledge of the social[10]. It asks the researcher to investigate the coordination of

discourses embedded within institutional and organizational contexts, which follows from

Foucault's theoretical approach. The multi-methodological approach privileges

ethnography's emphasis on the value of institutional discourse and its textual

manifestations, while a governmentality approach pushes this discourse study to connect

it to history, power, and the practices of government. Meanwhile, there is little in the

governmentality literature that "resonates with the activist orientation and social justice

commitments that inform much of the research conducted by institutional ethnographers"

(Teghtsoonian, 2016, p. 371). This work intentionally marries governmentality's

attention to and understanding of dominant discourses with institutional ethnography's

activist orientation. In Chapter 3 the empirical setting and research strategy are outlined

including a detailed description of methods of data collection and analysis drawing on

both inductive and deductive methods. Chapter 4 includes a discussion of the results and

analysis of the study. Chapter 5 outlines implications for future research and

organizational practices in the nonprofit sector.

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[10] Smith (2010) posits that knowledge of society is socially organized: in order to know or understand
society, a researcher needs to start from individual experiences.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical and Methodological Grounding: Analyzing Neoliberal Citizenship

This chapter covers the theoretical and methodological frameworks that inform this study. First, the work of Michel Foucault (1991; 1979) and other scholars drawing on his work provide crucial analytical tools for this study. Foucault "offers theoretical insights about how concrete actions produce the conceptual frameworks within which humans are made into subjects and how the processes of governmentality work together to produce hegemony" (Lyon-Callo, 2004, p. 17). Second, Barbara Cruikshank's (1999) work demonstrates how everyday practices based on historically produced conceptual understandings produce certain realities and knowledges of citizenship. These conceptions become the basis for governance. Cruickshank builds on Foucault's work by explicating a theory of neoliberal citizenship, which produces self-governing citizens that subject individuals to power, rather than create autonomy from power. Both offer a theory of power-knowledge that can explain how "citizens are brought into being" as a strategy of government which acts to transform subjects into citizens via the "technologies of citizenship" (Cruikshank, 1999, p. 1). This research is concerned with both the discourses of citizenship as shaped by neoliberalism, as well as counter-discourses that resist these dominant discourses that might emerge. Third, while this work does not explicitly claim to be an institutional ethnography, Dorothy Smith's institutional ethnography (IE) is used in this work as an analytical tool, due to its emphasis on the

reorganization of the relations of knowledge of the social[11] by investigating the coordination of discourses embedded within institutional and organizational contexts. This method of inquiry attempts to make visible the sites of people's local lived experiences and "proposes to enlarge the scope of what becomes visible from that site, mapping the relations that connect one local site to others" (p. 29). As a methodological tool, IE acts to render more visible the extended social relations of ruling and economy at multiple intersections.

Analytics of Government, Discourse, and Bio-Power

Foucault's governmentality, regimes of practices, conceptions of power, and an analytics of government provide key analytical tools and theoretical frames to examine the construction of neoliberal citizenship identities in nonprofit organizations. Government is not meant to refer only to political structures but to the way in which the conduct of individuals or groups are directed (p. 221). Government can refer to the way one conducts oneself as well as others. Dean (2010) further clarifies Foucault's notion of government:

> Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a
> multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and
> forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires,
> aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends

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[11] Smith's (2005) institutional ethnography is designed to make language a key to understanding how institutions are coordinated by social relationships. The reorganization of the social refers to the point of entry of the social as the actualities of people's everyday lives and experiences to discover the social as it extends beyond experience. She further states that our abilities to act within institutions derive from the organizations and social relations that institutions both produce and are produced by (p. 18). Smith (2010) posits that knowledge of society is socially organized: in order to know or understand society, a researcher needs to start from individual experiences.

with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects, and outcomes

(p. 18).

Governmentality is defined as how this government is a way of conceptualizing

"rationalized programs, strategies and tactics for the conduct of conduct (defined below)

for acting upon the actions of others in order to achieve certain ends" (Rose, 1996, p.

322). Governmentality provides a view on power that "links technologies of the self with

technologies of domination, the constitution of the subject to the formation of the state;

and [differentiates] between power and domination" (Lemke, 2002, p. 51). The concept

is introduced by Foucault in order to study "the 'autonomous' individual's capacity for

self-control" as it is "linked to forms of political rule and economic exploitation" and

articulates a "political knowledge" (Foucault 1997b, 67, as discussed in Lemke, 2002). It

is governmentality that defines discursive regimes, or what is possible to say at any given

time. This work is concerned with how neoliberal rationalities function as a "politics of

truth, producing new forms of knowledge, inventing different notions and concepts that

contribute to the 'government' of new domains of regulation and intervention" (Lemke,

2002, p. 55). Neoliberalism constitutes a new mode of governmentality, with interest,

investment, and competition, as its operative terms rather than rights and laws (Read,

2009, p. 29) which is further explored below. The American nonprofit sector has assumed

a neoliberal governing rationality which provides a rationalization scheme through which

people govern themselves and others (Foucault, 2008; Dean, 2010; Cruikshank, 1999).

This research examines these relationships on the local level of the nonprofit to elucidate

how power operates in these spaces to produce certain forms of citizenship and

empowerment, providing insights as to how citizenship in socially constructed by those

working on the local level as neoliberal logics are imported, and if it impacts how they conceive of beneficiaries. Further, neoliberal governmentality is taken here to be an already established dominant discourse.

Key to this analytic process is Foucault's concept of discourse. Power is produced and enacted, and produces certain forms of governmentality, through discourse. In a Foucauldian framework, discourses are defined as the ways of specifying knowledge and truth, or what is possible to say at any given moment in time (Ramazanoglu, 1993). Discourse explains why and how something is *sayable* at any given time, and is used to designate the forms, representations, codes, conventions and habits of language that produce culturally and historically located meanings (Brooker, 1999). In this research, neoliberalism is taken to be an established discursive formation which establishes certain orders of truth that shape and establish certain identities and subjectivities. Here, discourse is considered not just as the study of text and talk but embedded in larger social phenomena as a system of representation (see Howarth, 2000). Hall (1992) further clarifies a Foucauldian conception of discourse as:

> A group of statements which provide language for talking about—a way of representing the knowledge about—a particular topic at a particular historical moment … Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But … since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do-our conduct—all practices have a discursive aspect. (p. 291)

In other words, the way we speak about or know something, has been confined by certain sets of practices, which in turn confine our practices within certain discursive

regimes. Here power is exercised through individuals or institutions, but it is constituted

within discourses that produce truths about what can be. The coupling of a set of

practices and a regime of truth form a *dispotif* of power-knowledge that mark a certain

reality (Foucault, 1979, p. 19). Discourses are historically specific and contingent on

where things can only be true, or come to be known as true, within a specific historical

context. Foucault's famous example is that of mental illness, where madness, a

temporally constructed set of culturally specific symptoms of abnormality became

meaningful or intelligible only after practices to calculate madness were employed by

institutionalized psychiatry thus producing a subject: the madman. The madman was

constructed by the psychiatric knowledge, language, practices, and calculations that

described them. In this work, just as madness as a discourse took hold and needed to be

managed, so too have certain practices and technologies of neoliberalism been justified

and proliferated in the American nonprofit sector which may have implications for how

we conceive of the *citizen*.

 Foucault's work, most notably *Discipline and Punish* (1975), *Power/Knowledge*

(1972), and *The History of Sexuality Volume 1* (1976), provide a useful definition of

power that is critical to this work. Power is conceived of as "a network of force relations

throughout society, relations that are characterized by resistance and which interconnect

means of local tactics and larger strategies" (Lynch, 2011, p. 14). In other words, power

is everywhere and is enacted through the relationships. More importantly however, is that

different mechanisms of power create different types of knowledge that reinforce certain

forms of power. Here, power is diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge, and

regimes of truth (Foucault, 1991). Foucault called the study of power "the analytics of

power: that is, toward a definition of the specific domain formed by relations of power, and toward determination of the instruments that will make possible its analysis" (Foucault, 1990, p. 82). Power is conceived of as a net-like organization, never localized here or there, not a commodity or a piece of wealth, but constantly circulating (Foucault, 1972, p. 98). In this view, "individuals are vehicles of power, not its points or application" (p. 98). Foucault sees every person as holding power in every set of social relations. He further articulates that individuals, or subjects, are effects of power operating to produce certain bodies, gestures, discourses, and desires as they "come to be identified and constituted as individuals" (p. 98). Power effectively makes us who we are, delineates our perceptions of how we view the world, and acts to subjectify us in particular ways.

An *analytics of government* is a method by which to examine governmentality as it plays out in social relations. In the analytics of government, the term *government* is defined as the conduct of conduct (Foucault, 1982, pp. 220-221). An analytics of government is concerned with how these forms of knowledge constitute a set of rules by which people govern, or how one governs oneself. This study is concerned with how citizens are shaped via governing rationalities in the nonprofit. Dean (2010) states "the central concern is how we govern and are governed within different regimes, and the conditions under which such regimes emerge, continue to operate, and are transformed" (p. 33). Regimes refer here to what Foucault explains as how thought operates within our organized ways of doing things though *regimes of practices* (Foucault, 1991b). The analytics of government is thus concerned with the governing practices through which we are governed and govern ourselves, and involve certain sets of truth and knowledge

which then comprise multiple forms of "practical, technical, and calculative rationality" (Dean, 2010, p. 28). Dean further explicates the four dimensions of an *analytics of government* as:

1) Characteristic forms of visibility, ways of seeing and perceiving

2) Distinctive ways of thinking and questioning, relying on definite vocabularies and procedures for the productions of truth

3) Specific ways of acting, intervening, and directing, made up of particular types of practical rationality (expertise and know how) and relying upon definite mechanism, techniques, and technologies

4) Characteristics of ways of forming subjects, selves, persons, actors, or agents (Dean, 2010, p. 33)

The analytics of government provides an analytical tool to study the localized nonprofit focused on ways of knowing and how they come to be, the practices associated with these particular ways of knowing, and how they shape subjects. These four dimensions give the researcher a lens with which to view how individuals in organizations view themselves and others, how they think and understand, how they respond or act in relation to governing discourses, and how these act to form certain kinds of subjects. Aligning with these four dimensions, this works aims to identify forms of visibility that align with the marketized logic such as entrepreneurial behaviors, prudentialism- managing and calculating risks, and markers of professionalism. How do workers engage with these discourses? Further, where, why, and how these discourses are imported and exported from the organization- where do these ways of thinking and acting

originate and how are they enacted? And how do workers conceive of themselves in relation to work, and how do they form beneficiaries as subjects?

Finally, Foucault's notion of bio-politics, or *bio-power*, is a useful concept for exploring power and resistance in the neoliberalized nonprofit sector, especially as it concerns the management of bodies, and the production of specific types of citizens. This concept explains how power is used to manage human populations in society. In the *History of Sexuality Volume 1*, he describes bio-power as power that takes hold of human life, and as the power "to foster life or disallow it to the point of death" (1990, p. 138). Bio-power accesses the body through social norms, is internalized by the subject rather than being exercised from the top down, and is "dispersed throughout society rather than located in an individual or government body" (Taylor, 2011, p. 43). This rationality marks a shift from a sovereign's right to take life, to the power to incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and organize the forces of life, tasks that have become normalized under new prudentialism in the nonprofit. This power is used to manage populations and bodies, in the form of regulating "the problems of birthrate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration" (Foucault, 1990, p. 140). Taylor purports, "Modern states recognized the necessity of understanding the characteristics, structures, or trends of their populations in order to manage them or to compensate for what they could not control" (2011, p. 46). Here, knowledge production about the management of populations is centered in institutional settings, for example education, mental institutions, prisons, and the industrialized nonprofit sector. The notion of bio politics is especially useful for an analysis of the neoliberalization of the nonprofit sector. As neoliberal rationalities expand into the nonprofit sector, so too enters the state's logic and

values regarding managing and controlling populations. This has major implications for how marketized values come to dominate the calculation and management of individuals' bodies within the sector, and how new notions of worker responsibilities, and civic sensibilities, might justify the management of beneficiaries' bodies in the sector.

For Foucault, power does not just ascend from institutions above enforcing ways of being and acting, it is circulatory, and stems from the ways we speak about our world. Those who control the production of knowledge have access to the production of discursive regimes but all individuals operate in that regime, using power in everyday practices to uphold particular logics. Power operates at every level of social life. It is not always negative but it is productive. Power is not domination, but a productive force that can be enacted in response to domination, thus this research is also concerned with how power is used to resist neoliberal conceptions of citizenship. Here, freedom must still exist in order to enact power. Dominant discourses allow for no freedom and no power, thus revealing counter conducts reveals spaces of power enacted. Foucault states, "Power traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse, it needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). This conception of power as productive reveals some key spaces for resistance. According to Foucault, where there is power there is resistance. One understanding of resistance for Foucault is the concept of counter conducts which can be adopted to form different forms of conduct.

These are not to be conceived of as revolts against state sovereignty and exploitation (Dean, 2010, p. 21), but are new forms of conduct that explore other

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objectives and new ways of thinking about our relationship to others and to external structures. They are a form of conscientious objection (Dean, 2010, p. 21). For Foucault, resistance is itself a productive expression of power where reverse discourses, or counter discourses can be used to subvert hegemony and recast new "normals," as power stems from the ability to produce new knowledge. Foucault (1990) argues that there is a relational character to power relations and a multiplicity of points of resistance. The points of resistance are everywhere in the power network. He states, "Just as the network of power relations ends by forming a dense web that passes through apparatus and institutions, without being exactly localized in them, so too the swarm of points of resistance traverses social stratifications and individual unities" (1990, p. 96).

In an effort to "recast new normals," Eikenberry (2009) argues that nonprofits might act to thwart the forces of neoliberalism by providing spaces to facilitate "counter-discourses" to the more dominant market discourses. In particular, Eikenberry (2009) posits a counter discourse of democratic values to marketized values in which democratic discourse is reasserted in the nonprofit sector. Further, Sandberg and Elliott (2019) posit an ethics of care-based counter discourse to neoliberal modes of operation. Critical perspectives highlight the importance of power, coercion, domination, and resistance to status quo functions and organizational settings are unique political sites where we could expect to see opposition, subversion, and struggle against the status quo (Fleming & Spicer, 2008, p. 301). This study uses a mode of critical discourse analysis (an institutional ethnography) to reveal potential emerging counter discourses to the neoliberal governing rationalities that shape citizenship in the nonprofit.

In order to examine how neoliberal governing discourses may impact civic

identities in the nonprofit, it is useful to explore Foucault's arguments on how citizen

subjectivities are constituted under neoliberalism. In his employment of a critical

investigation of neoliberalism Foucault argues that neoliberalism itself is a particular

production of subjectivity where individuals are constituted as human capital (Read,

2009, p. 1). In order to situate Foucault's analysis of neoliberalism it will be useful to

distinguish between economic liberalism and neoliberalism, each with varying foci on

economic activity. As stated in Chapter One, classical liberalism is concerned with

exchange "which naturalized the market as a system with its own rationality, its own

interest, and its own specific efficiency" and as the ultimate means for distributing goods

and services (Read, 2009, p. 27). However, *neoliberalism* extends economic rationale to

social and political relations with a shifted focus from exchange to competition which has

significant effects on society. He states, "while exchange was seen as natural,

competition was an artificial relationship that had to be protected with intervention from

the state" and thus "neoliberalism entail[ed] a massive expansion of the field and scope of

economics" (p. 27). Under neoliberalism, there is such confidence in market rationality

that it is "extended to all sorts of areas that are neither exclusively, nor even primarily

concerned with economics such as the family, the birth rate, and crime and delinquency"

(Foucault, 2008, pp. 229-230, 243-246, 250-256; Dean, 2010, p. 72). Neoliberal

citizenship is the result of such tactics to create citizens are active, responsible, prudent,

and can monitor and transform personal behaviors to become active self-governing

citizens. The following characteristics were discerned as exemplary of the ideal

neoliberal citizen in the literature. The research coding schema began from dominant

discourses to critically trace their deployment in the case organization. The neoliberal citizen is:

1. Active, which is often taken to mean participation in wage labor work

2. The neoliberal citizen manages risk prudently and is a subject made capable of calculating and planning for potential threats and dangers

3. The neoliberal citizen is a responsible person capable of self- management, self-governance, and making reasonable choices, termed by Suzan Ilcan (2009) as privatized responsibility which describes the shift from social to private responsibility under neoliberalism

4. The neoliberal citizen is not reliant on government or social service for survival and is an autonomous, self-reliant, and empowered agent

5. The neoliberal citizen is an entrepreneur of the self who can maximize their personal interests, well-being, and quality of life through self-promotion and competition. (See full discussion in Woolford and Nelund, 2013).

As this list demonstrates, under neoliberalism, humans are made into self-governing subjects structured by economic rationalities rather than the rationality as a legal subject of the state. This distinction is critical for *recognizing and understanding new discourses of citizenship that might emerge as this transformation occurs*. Neoliberalism constitutes a new mode of governmentality, with interest, investment, and competition, as its operative terms rather than rights and laws (Read, 2009, p. 29). Here neoliberalism governs without directly governing because under competition, humans must be free to act and choose between competing strategies. Finally, [neo]liberalism is not a theory, ideology, or a philosophy of freedom or a set of policies, but a "Way of doing things oriented towards certain objectives" (Dean, 2010, p. 73). Inherent in neoliberalism is the idea that individuals can reform themselves to avoid becoming victims of social inequality, discrimination, economic deprivation and political subordination (Dean, 2010, p. 83) and have been "empowered" to actively participate in self-reformation to transform their conditions. Dean argues that "programs of empowerment are examples of how

contemporary liberal rationalities of government endeavor to operationalize the self-governing capacities of the governed in pursuit of governmental objectives" (p. 83). If subjects are made to be self-governing subjects, what is the role of the nonprofit in shaping these new subjectivities as neoliberal discourses are imported? Taking Foucault's cue, we must make more visible the everyday practices within the nonprofit sector in order to find out, seeking out answers as to how discourses are adopted and used (or not) to govern conduct. Additionally, we must pay careful attention to who and what produces knowledge and power, and through what systems it is produced, proliferated, and enacted. Cruikshank (1999) offers insight into how technologies of citizenship have acted to shape citizen subjectivities, which is explored below.

Technologies of Citizenship

Barbara Cruikshank's (1999) work situates citizenship within a Foucauldian lens and provides another useful theoretical tool with which to approach this research. In *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* she asserts that citizens are forged subjects, that "citizens are made" through relations of power, and the ways in which they are made can both constrain and enable human, social, and political possibility. She argues that it is misleading to separate the terms of subjectivity, agency, and citizenship from those of subjection, domination, and powerlessness in democratic theory and argues that the democratic citizen is not apart from the subject (a beneficiary of social services, the exploited worker, or the therapeutic patient). To explain:

> [B]eing just "another number," "dependent," or "in need of help" is not the
> antithesis of being an active citizen. Rather, it is to be in a tangled field of power

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and knowledge that both enables and constrains the possibilities of citizenships (p. 20).

Cruickshank is arguing that citizens and subjects are "not opposites" but that both are made and therefore subject to power (p. 20). Being a beneficiary of "help" does not preclude one from being a citizen. She frames this as an untrue subject/citizen dichotomy which obscures how citizens are made. Democratic governance as both voluntary and coercive, in that it produces citizens that must enlist the willing participation of its subject (p. 39). Democracy is a mode of exercising this power—the aforementioned bio-power. In liberal regimes, bio-power "bring[s] life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculation and made knowledge-power an agent of the transformation of human life" (p. 39). Cruikshank links Foucault's notion of bio-power using the example of welfare which is both voluntary and coercive where "the political rationality of bio-power turns human need, welfare, and desires into the terrain of governance" (p. 39). Like Foucault, Cruikshank is asserting that if we fail to scrutinize how citizen-subjects are made in democracies via particular power-knowledges, we "may overlook the constitutive discourses of citizenship that are characteristic of liberal democracies" (p. 24). Again, she argues that the citizen/subject dichotomy is not a useful conception in democratic theory, and that this dichotomy "obscures the ways in which citizens are made" (p. 20), which addresses one avenue of inquiry in this research: how are citizens "made" via discursive regimes of knowledge within the nonprofit?

Cruikshank defines the *technologies of citizenship* as the discourses, programs and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government (1999, p. 1). Examples include the following: neighborhood organizing

campaigns, empowerment programs, safe sex education, shelters for battered women, social service programs promoting self-help, self-sufficiency, or self-esteem, or a radically democratic social movements (pp. 1-2). Technologies of citizenship are the methods by which subjects are constituted as citizens to maximize political participation, and are "techniques" aimed at "empowering the poor, link[ing] subjectivities of citizens to their subjection, and link[ing] activism to discipline" (p. 68). According to Cruikshank, power is present at the micro-levels of everyday life, where citizens are constituted (p. 4) and can be studied on the local level. The technologies of citizenship, she demonstrates in her research, include the political logic of empowerment (p. 70-72), modeling the poor as a group (p. 76-80), and operationalizing power in ways that empower them to act (p. 80-83). Technologies of citizenship are the *strategies* by which subjects are "transformed from powerless to self-sufficiency and active citizenship through discourses, programs, and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government" (Mynttinen, 2012, p. 20). In other words, they are strategies composed to help people "help" themselves.

Specifically, Cruickshank makes her case through the examination of three historical case examples: Community Action Programs (CAPs) and the war on poverty, the self-esteem movement in California and the war against presumed welfare fraud that lauded the "welfare queen" as a stereotype and central figure in public discourse. In the CAPs case she claims that the poor had to be constituted as a group before they could have interests (p. 86). When the War on Poverty was waged, the state constituted the poor as a group with interests and power. She states, "the exercise of power in the War on Poverty did not determine the actions of the poor but determined that the poor would act"

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(p. 86). Power was operationalized via the state, to create subjects of power that could act. Second, she analyzed the self-esteem movement in California, particularly, the 1983 California Task Force to Promote Self-Esteem and Personal and Social Responsibility which she found to deliver programs (aimed at solving social programs). But rather waged "a social revolution not against capitalism, racism, and inequality, but against the order of the self and the way we govern ourselves" (p. 88). The state framed the lack of self- esteem as central to personal and social ills and framed it as a solution, "a practical technology for the production of certain kinds of selves-for making up people" (p. 89). For example, this took the form of statewide program goals aimed at getting clients to write, tell, and share their personal narratives of low self- esteem. Finally, Cruikshank explicates a theory of the so-called welfare queen as being directly tied to numbers and innovations in auditing techniques applied to welfare case data in the seventies (p. 104). This stereotype was used to scapegoat the poor and constitute a subject- the welfare queen. Through rationalized systems of domination and social control, "the terms of poor women's citizenship [became] the liberal terms of rights and responsibilities, the term of contract between citizens and state" (p. 113).

The logic follows that in order to get people to act on behalf of their own interests, these interests must first be constituted in order to be acted upon. Empowerment is to act on another's interests and desires so that they may conduct their own actions towards what is deemed an appropriate end and is this itself a power relationship deserving scrutiny (Cruickshank, 1999, p. 69). Empowerment shapes and alters a subject's capacity to act and promotes, transforms, and acts upon the capacities of the governed. Technologies of citizenship and technologies of discipline then, are the means

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by which government works to constitute interests and desires. Mynttinen (2004) summarizes this well stating that "the empowerment targets the 'powerless' to maximize their actions, motivations, interests, and economic and political involvements" (p. 20). The logic is that power is used to solicit participation in programs aimed at "transforming the poor into self-sufficient, active, productive, and participatory citizens" (p. 20). The work of building self- esteem "is a technology of citizenship and self-government for evaluating and acting upon ourselves so that the police, the guards, and the doctors do not have to" (p. 91). And that esteem building has become a professional act that have become almost mandatory in nonprofit missions and grant applications (p. 92). Empowerment as a technology acts to build esteem so that subjects are shaped into citizens capable of conducting themselves towards the ends of the state. Cruickshank (1999) states that if the object of empowerment is "to act upon another's interest and desires in order to conduct their actions toward an appropriate end" thus empowerment is itself a power relationship that deserves scrutiny (p. 69).

Soss, Ford, and Schram (2002) further explicate on technologies of citizenship in their study of welfare reform in Florida, detailing the performance systems under new public management which were deployed to govern poverty. They argue that as poverty governance became marketized under neoliberal reforms, technologies of citizenship were employed to ensure organizations "raising the odds that preferred paths will be freely chosen" (p. 207), thus, citizens are made to act in specific ways. They state, "autonomy at the frontlines is disciplined by a market rationality that focuses relentlessly on the bottom line of results" (p. 207). Both clients and workers on the front lines in welfare organizations became the subjects of new techniques at self-governance which

promoted a disciplinary stance towards clients that penalized vulnerable segments of the poor. Authors, drawing on the technologies of citizenship, coin this process as the *technologies of discipline* which govern both clients and case managers, with "incentives for right behavior and penalties for noncompliance; both aim to reshape the motivations of targets so that they will pursue preferred ends as self-regulating subjects; and neither controls behavior completely enough to forestall subversion" (p. 229). This work demonstrates that there is an identity construction process happening for both workers and clients as marketized logic take hold, and that it is in relation to one another. As workers take on new logics which act to govern clients in particular ways, so too do clients take on civic identities aimed at resisting, complying, or simply responding to these methods. The logic is that as technologies are imparted on both workers and clients, each are made, in particular ways, as subjects of power. This research proposes to examine alternative forms of knowledge about citizenship in the nonprofit and bring light to how our understandings of it are embedded within social relations and institutional orders. These examples demonstrate that the social construction of citizenship is defined by our relations to the state, and "like welfare queens, all citizens are also subjects" (p. 121). Others have found similar discourses at work in the governance of poverty and welfare (Dean, 2013; Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011; Lyon-Callo, 2004; Fraser & Gordon, 1994)

      This body of work on technologies of citizenship and of discipline provide a framework for better understanding some of the dimensions of neoliberal citizenship under study here, specifically as they relate to the social construction of the civic identity of beneficiaries. Perhaps it is possible that conceptions of citizenship may fall outside of

the technologies of citizenship that Cruikshank outlines, and be better explained as

resistance, or (dis)identification with neoliberal subjection (Dey & Teasedale, 2013).

Specifically, Cruikshank's work critiques taken for granted notions of

citizenship[12] and situates citizenship within an embedded set of power relations, as

subjects are not free to act, but compelled to act in certain ways. Cruikshank links the

operationalization of democratic theories of power to the "technologies of citizenship"

and then further relates this operationalization to the Foucauldian concept of bio-power.

She ultimately claims that "empowerment" (e.g., self-esteem programs) is actually a

measure of subjection rather than autonomy or freedom, and that the techniques of

creating empowered citizens extends from the reach of governmental authority, but is

also embedded in social relations. She posits that just like other discourses, the discourse

of the empowerment of citizens is "learned, habitual and material" (p. 123) and that

further studies of the technologies of citizenship and arts of government by which various

kinds of citizenship are constituted need to be further interrogated. This will facilitate a

better understanding of how citizens are made and can be remade. She states that "citizen

subjects are socially constituted, embody power relations, are subject to power relations,"

and that political power is exercised on the level of "a strategic field of small things" (p.

124). This dissertation heeds Cruikshank's call to attend to citizenship in the "field of

small things," thus, a case study in the practicable level of a local nonprofit. In order to

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[12] The Toquevillian notion that self-governing citizens have the capacity and power to participate in politics, to act on their collective interests, desires, and goals. The liberal-democratic view of citizenship was built around the idea of naturally free, equal, and sovereign citizens. In this view, democracy provides a forum in which citizens meet freely as equals to create agreement about issues of common concern. Freedom, equality, and sovereignty are natural traits and citizenship is their civil recognition (Olson, 2008, p. 40). Cruickshank (1999) reframes citizenship as a contested, embedded, and shifting under broader political discourses, arguing that citizens are also made as subjects viz technologies of citizenship (p. 19)

understand how citizenship is constituted, and may be constituted otherwise, we must first understand the material conditions under which they are produced. Both Foucault and Cruikshank see the productive form of power as the spaces to "refuse what we are" and "imagine and build up to what we could be" (p. 121).

This research endeavor is especially well suited to the theoretical frameworks found in Smith's institutional ethnography, which is drawn upon to better understand how to begin to map these power/knowledge relationships. While an *institutional ethnography* is not explicitly employed here due to its potential conflicts with Foucauldian lenses as well as its specific methodological framework, some of Smith's concepts provide useful analytical tools.

Institutional Ethnography

Institutional ethnography (IE) is an approach popularized by Dorothy Smith (2005), which reorganizes the relations of knowledge of the social by investigating the coordination of discourses embedded within institutional and organizational contexts. Smith's (2005) institutional ethnography is designed to make language a key to understanding how institutions are coordinated by social relationships. The reorganization of the social[13] refers to the point of entry of the social as the actualities of people's everyday lives and experiences. The aim is to discover the social as it extends beyond experience. The abilities to act within institutions derive from the organizations

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[13] The social refers to the rules and resources….recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems where structure is referred to the institutional features of societies (Giddens, 1984, p. 185). The social is ordered through shared norms, shared interpretations, roles, or rules that determine meaning (Bazerman, 1988). Smith (2005) includes that the social should move to a more inclusive conception of coordination, and conceived of as an ongoing historical process in which peoples doings are caught up and responsive to what others are doing; what they are doing is responsive to and given by what has been going on; every next act projects the future (p. 65).

and social relations that institutions both produce and are produced by (p. 18). This method of inquiry attempts to make visible the sites of people's local lived experiences and "proposes to enlarge the scope of what becomes visible from that site, mapping the relations that connect one local site to others" (p. 29). This acts to render more visible the extended social relations of ruling and economy at multiple intersections. In IE, institutions are the "complex of relations forming part of the ruling apparatus, organized around a distinctive function," and ethnography commits the researcher to an exploration of "the persons whose everyday world of working is organized thereby" (Smith, 1987, p. 160; Walby, 2005, p. 192).

IE explores everyday practices as they relate to texts (discussions, written and spoken communication, and documents) to analyze the ways in which the text-reader conversation is mediated. The logic is that as a reader activates a text, they both engage with language and are responding to it. From an IE lens, individuals' everyday experiences are embedded within a particular institutional order, which coordinates their experiences. Smith refers to this coordination as a set of "ruling relations" which are "forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places" (2005, p. 13). Ruling relations are the discursive regimes that rule and coordinate behavior and are exemplified by written texts and talk that both define and constrain certain ways of speaking, knowing, being and acting. This methodological approach focuses on both what the study informants, in this case, workers and clients in a selected community development agency, say and do, as well as the institutional context in which their behaviors are coordinated and organized.

Further, IE involves taking a "standpoint" which refers to the social positioning of a subject of knowledge. It begins from the notion that one begins inquiry from the position from which a subject views the world. This creates an entry point "into discovering the social that does not subordinate the knowing subject to objectified forms of knowledge of society or political economy … [it] works from the actualities of people's everyday lives and experience to discover the social as it extends beyond experience" (Smith, 2005, p. 10). Standpoint not only takes social reality as extending from the standpoint of those studied but allows the researcher to acknowledge their own standpoint in knowledge production.

Important to note is that IE as a project is activist and emancipatory in that "it proposes to realize an alternative form of knowledge of the social in which people's own knowledge of the world of their everyday practices is systematically extended to the social relations and institutional orders in which we participate" (Smith, 2005, p. 43). By identifying the discursive regimes within a social service nonprofit, a space is revealed for reformation of and resistance to certain discourses on the micro-level, which can act to reorganize social relations in ways that emerge from people's lived experiences. IE provides tools for discovering local people's experiences and how ruling relations and dominant discourses both rely on and determine people's identity and actions within an institutional setting. Because language coordinates subjectivity, IE emphasizes both the study of text and talk, with a particular emphasis on replicable texts, those which can be written, drawn, and reproducible (Quinlan, 2009), because texts in particular can "transform the local particularities of people, place, and time into standardized,

generalized, and especially translocal forms of coordinating people's behavior" (Smith, 2005, p. 101).

There are reasons this study does not employ an institutional ethnography methodology in its totality including that this study has been framed by a particular set of research questions. An institutional ethnography might start from the experience of and concerns of the membership of a nonprofit, letting those initial concerns guide the further formulation of the research design. Institutional ethnography allows respondents themselves to define "the problematic" and then the researchers traces the problematic from there, building accounts that would then define the researcher's next steps (Smith, 2005, p. 31). However, in this dissertation the preconceived problematic, neoliberal citizenship under marketized discourses in the nonprofit sector, has already been defined as the basis for inquiry. Thus, both Smith and Foucault are used as touchstones for this work, as it does not entirely fit into the IE framework, as a Foucauldian lens begins with a problematic, while Smith's methods allow the problematics to emerge from the standpoints of individuals. In this work, neoliberalization of the nonprofit has already been construed as the problematic, and is tracked accordingly in the data analysis process. Smith argues that Foucault's conception of discourse displaces the traditional basis of knowledge in individual perception and locates it externally to particular subjectivities as an order that imposes and coerces them, regulating how people's subjectivities are coordinated. This work marries Smith's and Foucault's perspectives incorporating both standpoint theory and a governmentality lens which requires that individuals are not only perceived as expert knowers of the lived experience (Smith, 2005), but also embedded within relationships with self and self, interpersonal

relationships involving some form of control or guidance, relations within social institutions and communities and relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty. Finally, IE focuses on the texts as they structure thinking, feeling, and intention, and asks the researcher to expose their own engagement with textually mediated interactions and the ruling relations by which they are organized. The text is seen as being active, and "activated" by the reader, which brings also, a set of informal rules in which they are embedded about how the reader approaches the text, called textual activation (Smith, 2005). Texts are not inert but brought to life by the "text-reader conversation" (p. 104) which is the process that translates the actual into the institutional (p. 104).

Further, Smith argues that under Foucauldian discourse theory, inquiry is directed to discursive events, or spoken or written effective statements that happen or have happened and to the distinctive forms of power that discourse represents (Foucault, 1972, p. 28; Smith, 2005, p. 17). Smith argues that there are some experiences that discourse will not speak (p. 18), and particularly that women remain marginal from the discourses of ruling relations, playing subordinate roles, lacking agency, and producing work for men's appropriation (p. 20), thus, institutional ethnography must begin from the standpoint of individuals, as the discourses that have been constructed have not always been inclusive. Further she states that "discursive practices creators for knowers a universalized subject transcending the local actualities of people's lives. For the knower positioned as such, people became objects of investigating and explanation; we are not its subjects, its knowers" (p. 22). This dissertation explicitly asks how the dominating

discourse affects civic identities, thus the discourse embedded in ruling relations must be considered as they shape subjectivities.

This chapter has reviewed the methodological frameworks used in this study: a Foucauldian power lens, Cruickshank's technologies of citizenship and Smith's IE. The following chapter explicates the methods by which this study was conducted and details case selection processes, data collection and analysis, as well as how these theoretical frameworks guided the data collection and analysis process.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH DESIGN AND EMPIRICAL SETTING

To answer the identified research questions an ethnographic case study was employed

combining both inductive and deductive methods of data analysis. The research questions

are reiterated here;

> How has the neoliberal marketization of the nonprofit sector affected the everyday
> practices of a nonprofit service organization? How have these discourses come to
> manifest?

> How do neoliberal discourses and neoliberal practices shape nonprofit worker
> citizenship identity? What is the relationship between nonprofit worker civic
> identities and the social construction of beneficiary civic identity?

> Is neoliberal citizenship the dominant discourse, and is it practiced and/or resisted by
> nonprofit workers? If found, what forms of knowledge, meaning, and civic identity
> are constituted under neoliberal discourse in the nonprofit?

> What emerging counter discourses to neoliberalism can be identified as useful
> resistance tools, and/or tools to serve the sector in preserving and reclaiming its
> democratic and civic functions?

The focus of this chapter is the justification of the appropriateness of an ethnographic

case study, the case selection process and determinants of eligibility, the recruitment

process, methodology, the instrumentation of data collection, the data analysis process, a

conversation regarding the reliability and validity for the single case approach. In

addition, the theoretical frameworks are explored further as they relate to data collection

and analysis processes. Finally, the limitations and implications of this study are

explicated.

Study Design: An Ethnographic Case Study Approach

An ethnographic case study approach, which is a qualitative method, is useful

when the purpose of study is to understand people's experiences of certain phenomenon,

and to interpret processes, practices, and meanings as they are embedded in wider

contexts. The qualitative researcher explores how people make sense of their world, and

seeks to define and interpret unclear phenomenon by focusing on meaning making

(Kakabadse & Steane, 2010). This study aims at providing an in-depth description to

understand both the process, impacts, and meaning making under neoliberalization

focusing on how and why questions to get a sense of the contextual conditions by which

these processes come to be. This work seeks to illuminate the local conditions under

which neoliberal discourses are enacted to understand what contexts produce market like

values, practices, and behaviors, and how this might impact conceptions of civic identity

and agency. A quantitative approach collecting and analyzing numerical data is not an

appropriate method for *this* particular study as it can "deflect attention away from the

everyday sense-making procedures of people" and "exclude observation of behavior in

everyday situations" (Silverman, 2015, p. 15). An analysis of the everyday context an

important aim of this research focused on the local level of the nonprofit. A quantitative

approach would be inappropriate for this study given that the research questions are

exploratory and involve understanding how people think and behave embedded within

larger contexts.

A case study approach provides several benefits. For example, Yin (2014) states

that compared with other methods, the strength of the case study, lies in its ability to

examine a case in-depth within its real life context to address descriptive and exploratory

questions such as what happened, and how and why something happened (p. 2). The

benefit of this approach is that it provides in depth descriptions to better understand the

processes of neoliberalization in nonprofits as they unfold within the context specific

conditions in the organization under study. Case studies help a researcher illuminate a particular situation to get an in-depth and first-hand understanding of the phenomenon under study, making direct observations and collecting data in natural settings (p. 3). A case study approach regards the perceptions of a group of people, who thus form the case of interest as embedded within a larger environment context (Yin, 2017).

A case study approach allowed me to develop qualitative accounts exploring complexities in the data in a real world environment that may not have been revealed in a review of research data alone. Further, being able to draw from multiple sources, including documents, observation, an interviews allowed for deeper analysis and exploration of my research questions. Document analysis allowed me to review levels of marketization in the environment as well as how and where these discourses flowed from, answering questions such as who and what questions, while interviewing and observations offered an in-depth look at individuals standpoints and interactions to answer how and why questions. The case study method allowed a level of flexibility in methods that align with the theoretical frameworks I outlined in the last chapter which will be further explored below. The case study approach allows one to understand a phenomenon not in isolation but as embedded within a particular context, the context of neoliberalization of the nonprofit, which is important for answering my specific research questions. Flyvbjerg (2006) notes that there exist no predictive theories in social science, and that case studies are especially well suited for providing context dependent knowledge. Further, as Peck and Tickell (2002) have argued, neoliberalism can only be understood as it manifests in localized peculiarities, which are context specific, making the case study approach appropriate for answering the research questions posed here.

This research seeks to better understand everyday contexts, what Yin (2014) refers to as a "common" rationale. The questions posed are largely exploratory, explanatory, and interpretive which lend to a holistic single case study approach utilizing an in-depth ethnographic methodology which provides a holistic view of the organization under study, and the focus remains situated within real-life contexts (Yin, 2003).

Figure 1: Case Design
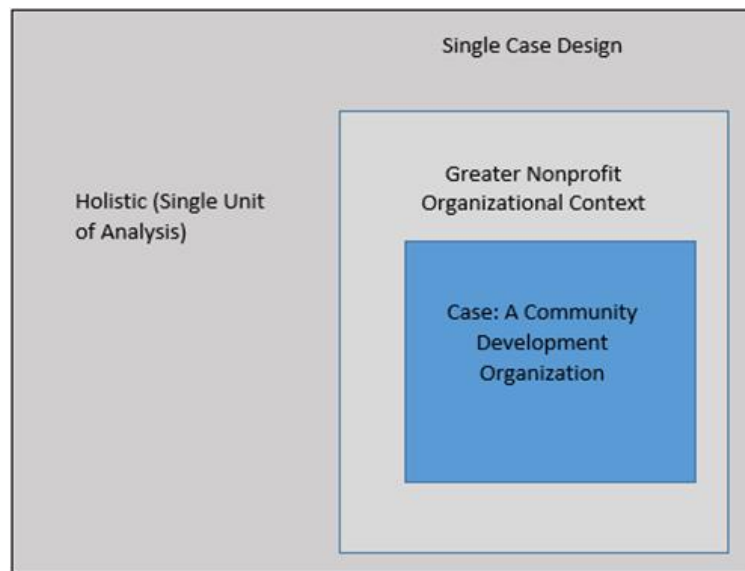
Adapted from Basic Types of Designs for Case Studies (Yin, 2003, p. 46).

Ethnographic Methods

The case study is the strategy of assembling data and drawing inferences from that data set, bound to a single case organization here. Ethnography is a methodological practice, or the data collection method employed *within* the case study. Ethnography provides scientific descriptions and interpretations of human social behavior and involves the systematic study of people. Ethnography records the life of a particular group and thus entails participation and observation in their social world. This method allows the

complexity of context (the neoliberalized nonprofit) to help explicate the behaviors of those operating within it. Ethnography's strengths include methods that aim to uncover hidden meanings, true behaviors, and attitudes, in-depth descriptive accounts through notes and interviews, participant observation which allows for intensive and extensive exposure to people's lived experiences, interpretation and explanation that can draw on existing theories, and deep insight into case study context. According to Geertz (2000), what defines ethnography is not just the practical dimensions such as developing rapport, keeping field notes, identifying informants, etc., but rather its thick description, which allows the researcher to uncover, not only the way people speak and act in the world, but how these actions are embedded within social norms and codes. One of its foremost aims is to gain access to the emic perspective. Emic perspective refers to "the conceptual frameworks or value systems whereby insiders both categorize and engage in their daily lived experience" (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 48). Etic analysis, however, involve theoretical frameworks, concepts, and language. Together, the two kinds of analysis, emic and etic, operate in dialectical tension with one another (Geertz, 1976, 1983). Ethnographic methods in this case allowed the study to compare insider perspectives and attitudes regarding marketization and civic identity on a personal and organizational level to larger theories of neoliberalism. Whitehead (2005) further outlines several key attributes of ethnography:

- It is a holistic study of cultural systems within socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems

- It is a process of discovery, making inferences, and continuing inquiries in an attempt to achieve emic validity. Emic being subject knowledge and insiders' perspective.

- It is an iterative process that is open ended, includes emergent learning processes, and is not a rigid controlled experiment, but rather a highly flexible and creative process

- It is interpretivist, reflexive, and constructionist

- Requires continuous recording of field notes (p. 4)

This list is not exhaustive but provides a framework for better understanding the foundational attributes of ethnographic work. Ethnographic methods further allow for an investigation of how neoliberal discourses have been adopted into organizational culture, and in turn, how these are perceived by those embedded within it.

Typically, ethnography utilizes secondary data analysis, fieldwork, observing activities of interest, recording field notes and observations, participating in activities during observations, and carrying out various forms of informal and semi-structured ethnographic interviewing (Whitehead, 2005). Parthasarthy (2008) notes that while a full ethnography typically demands long-term engagement in the field, an ethnographic case study can be conducted over shorter periods of time and explore narrower fields of interest especially as the critical feature is that the researcher wishes to contextualize the problem within wider contexts, an explicit aim of this dissertation. Ethnographic case study research methods are well suited to answer the research question of how marketization of the nonprofit sector under neoliberal governing rationalities affect the everyday practices that occur within a nonprofit service organization on a local level because they allow for observation at the local level of everyday practices, as well as access to underlying social norms. These methods allow observation of actions and behaviors of individuals as they are embedded within the organizational culture to better

understand what forms of knowledge, meanings, and identity are constituted under marketized cultural norms and if they have a relationship to the social construction of civic identity. Details of ethnographic data collection methods in this study will be explicated below.

The Research Strategy

This research occurred in two phases. Phase I entailed the gathering of both quantitative and qualitative data for case selection and recruitment purposes. Phase 2 outlines data collection strategies employed within the selected case study. Each phase is elaborated in the following section. Precluding the research phases is an explanation of the empirical setting, a community development nonprofit organization.

Empirical Setting

Community development organizations are a unique sample of nonprofits in that they are specifically "born out of a commitment to practicing ways of empowering people to take collective control of their own lives" (Kenny, 2010, p. 1). Kenny (2010) argues that community development should be based on maintaining and defending active citizenship (p. 1) because of its foundational commitments. Frank and Smith (1999) define community development as "the planned evolution of all aspects of community well-being (economic, social, environmental, and cultural)" and "the process whereby community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems" (p. 6). Typically, these organizations are involved in a variety of activities including but not limited to real estate development, affordable

housing, economic development, education and workforce training, leadership development for youth and adults, community planning, and community organizing.

The values of civil society are embodied in the very foundational purposes and roles of these types of organizations, making them a unique subset of nonprofits within which to examine the social constructions of citizenship. Community development organizations are generally place specific, serving in geographic locations such as low-income neighborhoods (Community Wealth, 2015) where the beneficiaries serviced by these types of organizations have typically been marginalized from the market through processes of historical disinvestment, which makes the study of increased marketization an important consideration in the operating frameworks utilized by these organizations. Kenny (2010) further asserts that there has been little engagement between related research pursuits in the study of third sector organizations and the study of community development which may be the result of the different framing of the discourses in community development, which situates this dissertation precisely within her noted gap in the literature. Particularly, she argues that while community development has a more left-leaning and human rights orientation, nonprofit studies have a wider political framing which can embrace third way and neo-liberal views focused on management themes rather than local empowerment (p. 2).

This research takes place in a community development organization selected from a predetermined sample of nonprofit community development organizations in a large metropolitan city in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States. As professionalism in the form of professional association membership has been linked with marketization of the nonprofit (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000; Sandberg, 2011; Sandberg, 2013), the

sample of core members of this professional networking association were drawn upon to

select the case. By the mid-1990s there were more than 27 community development

corporations (CDCs) in the urban setting where this research took place, the first being

born out of activist and citizen initiated movements. At the same time, the efforts of

CDCs within this region coalesced into an industry professional organization for

community development practitioners with 19 core voting members and 82 affiliate

members. For the purposes of protecting participant's anonymity, the organization under

study has been given the pseudonym Cascadia Community Development (CCD) and will

be referred to as such throughout the length of this work.

Phase I: Selecting a Case and Determining Eligibility

Operationalizing Marketization

Both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis were used in the first

phase of research as criterion were needed in order to make a case selection that

appropriately answered the research questions. First, a criterion for selection of a

"typical case" assumed to be representative of the field was developed. Yin (2014) posits

that sufficient data is needed for selecting a potential case, and that a single case should

be chosen that best illuminates the research questions. As stated, the sample draws on 19

core members of the aforementioned professional networking organization to select the

case[14]. In order to operationalize the selection criteria, the work draws on the

characterizations of marketization in the nonprofit.

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[14] An appendix of the sample was developed for the proposal phase of this dissertation but has been
removed from this document to protect anonymity.

Many scholars have equated marketization of the nonprofit sector with the adoption of more business-like operational practices, as they are increasingly asked to implement private sector strategies for social sector success (Kearns, 2000; Dart, 2004; Maier et al., 2014). The proliferation of business-like goals, organization schemes, and rhetoric has received significant treatment in the literature. However, the problem remains that there are a "multitude of similar, yet distinct, key concepts" (Maier et al., 2014, p. 1) which refer to organizations becoming businesslike. In a systematic literature review of over 599 relevant resources, Maier et al. (2014) clarify these key concepts and apply them to three research foci: causes of NPOs becoming business-like, organizational structures and processes of becoming business-like, and effects of becoming business-like (p. 1). Maier et al. state that the processes of becoming more businesslike follow certain *organizational rationalizations* and fall into several categories: managerialism, corporatization, marketization and market orientation, professionalization, the adoption of commercial activities known in the field as social entrepreneurialism, and more venture capitalistic methods of philanthropy (pp. 7-8). In order to refine my case selection methods, these characteristics were drawn upon. Specifically, three insights into the marketization of the nonprofit: *hybridization, managerialism, and professionalization* were utilized. Because corporatization models, entrepreneurialism, and models of philanthropy would require initial in-depth qualitative analysis and observation, these were not used as initial case selection mechanisms. However, these concepts as defined by the literature were incorporated into the initial data analysis process.

NPOs have been posited to become more businesslike as a result of hybridization, which refers to the blurring of the boundaries between public, private, and third sectors

(Ott & Dicke, 2015). According to Billis (2010), the increasing adoption of the norms and methods of the marketplace by the public and third sector via contracting and payment for services has been a familiar part of the welfare scene in the U.S. under the influence of New Public Management, which became influential in the 1980s and 1990s. Evers (2005) argues that service systems and service units are increasingly seen as hybrid combining varying balances of resources and mixed governance principles usually associated with the market, the state, and of civic society. Hybrid organizations are defined as organizations that are partly government agencies, partly for-profit agencies, and/or partly nonprofit agencies. They are organizations that mix elements, values, systems and action of logics from multiple sectors in society- public, private, and voluntary sectors. As Webster (2015) notes, since the 1980s, hybridity in the nonprofit sector has become entrenched and structures have become more formal in character (p. 68). She further argues that agencies become susceptible to neoliberal influence of government via devolution of services from government to nonprofit contracting and states that contracting has become an effective conduit for the adoption of market characteristics (p54).

David Billis' (2010) work on hybrid organizations involves two levels of hybridity, shallow and entrenched where entrenched "involves external pressures through grants, contracts sales, and other resources which result in changes at the governance and operational level of the organization. These changes include the domination of paid staff, the coexistence of hierarchical organization with associational principles, and the import of alien principles from private and public spheres" (Webster, 2014, pp. 54-55). Further, Billis (2010) outlines organic entrenchment as organizations that grow steadily through

resources from public contracts and commercial initiatives, have multi-level hierarchy of paid staff, are dependent on external resources, and in which senior staff play a significant role. Because of the market-based nature of funding arrangements described here, the case was selected from a population of community development organizations with high levels of hybridity and entrenchment marked by diversity in resource funding streams and operational strategies that overlap sectors. Further, because the literature documents the marketization of the nonprofit as occurring as a result of reforms beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, in order to answer the research question of how marketized discourses have come to manifest, the case represents an organization with origin dates at or before this timeframe.

Second, the transformation to business like processes is referred to as *organizational rationalization* (Hwang & Powell, 2009), and similarly *managerialism* (Hvenmark, 2013). Managerialism is the "belief that organizations can and should be built on corporate management knowledge and practices" and "the process[es] through which this belief is put into practice" (Hvenmark, 2013; Maier et al., 2014). Further, Roberts et al., (2005) describe managerialism as being marked by "accountability, transparency, participation, and efficiency, as well as practices like double-entry bookkeeping, strategic planning, Logical Framework Analysis, project evaluation, and organizational self-assessment" (Edwards & Fowler, 2002; Lewis, 2001; Roberts et al., 2005). The major elements of managerialism have been classified into four main elements; accountability, a defined organization, capacity building, and spatial strategies and discourses (Roberts et al., 2005).

The links between marketization and managerialism are made more explicit here. Managerialism is the "belief that organizations can and should be built on corporate management knowledge and practices" and "the process[es] through which this belief is put into practice" (Hvenmark, 2013; Maier et al., 2014). Managerialism is documented well in the literature as one such strategy nonprofits utilize to deal with the pressures of marketization (Hevenmark, 2016). As discussed in previous chapters the logic goes that as nonprofits increasing operate across business, government and civic spheres, they become more business-like in operations to manage the risks associated with a competitive contracting environment, increased calls for accountability, and decreases in public funding (Suykens, Rynck and Verschuere, 2018). As this occurs, the belief that nonprofits should function more like a corporate entity has emerged. Suykens et al. (2018) explain that "this conviction, denoted by the concept of managerialism, can take roots on an internal and external level (Meyer, Buber, & Aghamanoukjan, 2013)". Internally, managerialism is characterized by close control over operational processes facilitated via:

- The presence of performance measurement (Carnochan et al., 2014)

- Standardization of organizational processes (Baines, Cunningham, & Fraser, 2011)

- The use of corporate management tools (Hvenmark, 2013), or

- The introduction of managerial professionals (Hwang & Powell, 2009)

Externally, managerialism induces an economic outlook on the nonprofit environment that reframes discussions around clients, consumers, products, and investors which have a more marketized orientation. Further, managerialism is marked by "accountability,

transparency, participation, and efficiency, as well as practices like double-entry

bookkeeping, strategic planning, Logical Framework Analysis, project evaluation, and

organizational self-assessment" (Edwards & Fowler, 2002; Lewis, 2001; Roberts et al.,

2005).

Accountability is defined by Edwards and Hulme as ''the means by which

individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority (or authorities) and are held

responsible for their actions'' (1996, p. 967) and accountability mechanisms include:

disclosures/reports, performance assessments and evaluations, processes of internal self-

regulations and social auditing, rounds of assessments by funders and their partners

through site visits, assessments, and internal reviews (Roberts et al., 2005). Other forms

of accountability include financial statements, annual reports, and audits undertaken by

qualified accountants. These assessments require levels of high levels of expertise and

credentialism to adjust to the quantitative analytic abilities required for these complex

accountability mechanisms. A second marker of managerialism is having a *"defined*

organization" that defines its organization through its central focus and values, which has

been described as the development of visions and mission statements. According to

managerialism principles, missions are developed and refined through strategic planning,

assessments of key threats and opportunities, assessment exercises, and other planning

activities that often also involve member stakeholder groups and the use of consultants

(Roberts et al., 2005, p. 1852). Other markers of defining the organization, a subset of

highly managerial practices, include formulating corporate identities geared at promoting

itself to state agencies and corporate interests, public relations as key to organizational

image and raising visibility, marketing, branding, production of materials, publicity, and

an emphasis on sustainability (Roberts et al., 2005, pp. 1851-1853). *Capacity building*

activities are also associated with high levels of managerialism where NPOs recognize

the importance of developing staff. Thus, managerialism emphasizes human resource

development, skills oriented learning, in house trainings, and workshops attendance.

Models of leadership may mirror more corporate forms of organizational structure such

as organizational charts with stratified work with staff occupying "stable and

unambiguous positions in hierarchy" (Roberts et al., 2005, p. 1853). Finally,

managerialism implicates spatial strategies and spatial discourses and contributes to the

socio-spatial contexts in which they operate, linking actors in different locales. According

to Roberts et al., this rationality "implies a conceptualization of space that sees it in terms

of discrete units, oftentimes decontextualized, and marked by quantitative attributes" and

"is marked by the use of census units, to assess needs and target funding or use official

indices of marginalization based on municipal boundaries to define target areas" (p.

1855). They state that every NGO is a spatial actor with its own spatial strategies—

whether explicitly stated as such or not and these can vary in terms of: location and

extensiveness of operation; the ratio of in-house visits by clients to outreach visits to

clients; and the mix of people-based versus place-based objectives found in projects.

Thus, managerialism is implicated in the spatial discourses which carve "up the complex

and overlapping social spaces on the ground into the discrete and abstracted spaces of

projects, reports, and evaluations., and can include efforts aimed at scaling up or taking to

scale." These markers of managerialism outline some specific criteria for organizations

that are highly marketized, as managerialism is linked to higher levels of marketization.

The specific operationalizations of managerialism used for case selection are summarized below.

Finally, professionalization, or the selection of professional personnel (Hwang & Powell, 2009) in the nonprofit sector has also been linked to marketization. Professionalism is understood to incorporate characterizations such as: strategic planning, the use of consultants, independent financial audits, quantitative or highly systematic program evaluations, high percentages of paid employees versus volunteers, high levels of professional training and personal development, and credentialism (Hwang & Powell, 2009). According to Webster, in the contract environment, a result of the neoliberalization of the nonprofit, the emphasis on cost efficiency and effective management increase the number of paid staff in nonprofits (p. 55). Further, Webster states that "evidence shows that efficiency, professionalism, and managerialism coupled with a growing regulatory environment (a feature of neoliberalism) that contributes to the decline in reliance on volunteers. She adds that as greater professionalism is required within the sector to enact the expertise required under New Public Management, organizations are increasingly characterized by more paid staff" (Tennant, p. 31; Webster, 2015, p. 71). Further, to operate as formal and legalized organizations, some standardized accounting and compliance with audit laws, tax codes, etc. require access to credentialed professionals such as notaries, lawyers, and accountants.

The link between professionalization and managerialism requires explanation. Professionalization of paid staff and the centrality of expertise (McDermott 2007; Hwang and Powell 2009; King 2017) is yet another documented response to market pressures in

the nonprofit, and a managerialist approach to dealing with marketization. As the necessity of management becomes viewed as a necessary, legitimate, and technical skill, experts or professionals are increasingly incorporated into nonprofit organizational settings (See discussion in Hwang and Powell, 2009). Hwang and Powell (2009) state that "professionalism becomes infused with managerial aspiration and expectations, which also penetrate organizations through institutional pressures, competition, and employee training and development" (p. 270). Professionalism is understood to incorporate characterizations such as: strategic planning, the use of consultants, independent financial audits, quantitative or highly systematic program evaluations, high percentages of paid employees versus volunteers, high levels of professional training and personal development, and prudentialism (Hwang & Powell, 2009). Thus, access to external credentialed professionals and high levels of paid professional staff which have been associated with marketization were yet another criterion of case selection.

Operationalization of Case Selection

Case study selection for a typical marketized community development organization aimed towards meeting the following criteria. First, the case was selected from a sample of 19 organizations within a regional professional network devoted to community development. Comparative analysis was performed among all organizations for markers of marketization outlined in this literature including organization age, size, number of paid staff and volunteers[15], entrenched hybridization, high levels of managerialism, and high levels of professionalism. Size, number of paid staff versus

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[15] Age and size have been posited to influence the adoption of business like practices in the nonprofit (eg; Kramer, 1990; Perkins & Poole, 1996).

volunteers, and age of the organization were obtained from 2014 IRS 990 forms.

Entrenched hybridity was ranked by analyzing mixed- revenue sources and reliance on

external funders such as government, private donors, foundations, and corporate donors.

Markers of managerialism were coded from organizational websites specifically aimed at

how the organizations sought to express accountability, a defined organization, capacity

building, and spatial strategies and discourses (Roberts et al., 2005). Professionalism was

also coded, analyzing number of paid staff, professional backgrounds of staff (if available

on the website), and the use of external audits and professional experts. Cases were

selected as formed at or before the time of neoliberal reforms dating 1980s and 1990s

which aligns with the research question of how neoliberal discourses have come to

manifest under neoliberal reform. The organizations were ranked from highest levels of

hybridization, managerialism, and professionalism, looking as well at organization age,

size, budgets, assets, and numbers of employees versus volunteers. Then organizations

were marked from highest levels of perceivable qualities of marketization to lowest. The

initial top five organizations with the highest levels of notable markers of hybridization,

managerialism, and professionalism, were further studied before contact, including

analysis of hybridity and entrenchment marked by diversity in resource funding strategies

that overlap sectors when compared to the overall regional sample. Web and public

documents were initially scanned and coded for high levels of *managerialism*. [16] These

are characterized by *accountability* mechanisms such as financial statements, external

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[16] Organizational websites often provide information about the organization and its activities, including details regarding an organization's missions, visions, and goals, and procedures (Tuckman, Chatterjee, & Muha, 2004). Mission and vision statements were reviewed, as well as information on the organizational structure.

audits, and annual reports, activities associated with "*defining the organization*" such as the use of consultants, marketing, branding, and the dissemination of public branding materials, *capacity building strategies* such as skill development, staff trainings, organizational charts, and the *use of socio-spatial strategies* in data analysis such as the use of census data and geographically defined target areas.

Recruitment Process

The researcher approached the top five organizations with a letter of intent. The first, and largest, organization declined to meet in person and stated that they did not have time at this juncture. However, meetings were scheduled with executive directors of the two other organizations but access was denied due to organizational capacity constraints at the time. In particular, one organization was already working with a researcher on another project. There was no response from the other organizations initially contacted. I continued to reach out to other organizations on the list and after having reached out to several other organizations further down the ranked list, the executive director of Cascadia Community Development (CCD) agreed to meet, was interested in the posed research questions and granted access to the organization. Before meeting with CCD, the same analysis as outlined above was completed to ensure CCD met defining criteria including analysis of hybridity and entrenchment marked by diversity in resource funding strategies that overlap sectors when compared to the overall regional sample. Web and public documents were initially scanned and coded for high levels of *managerialism*. [17]

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[17] Organizational websites often provide information about the organization and its activities, including details regarding an organization's missions, visions, and goals, and procedures (Tuckman, Chatterjee, & Muha, 2004). Mission and vision statements were reviewed, as well as information on the organizational structure.

While this organization was not in the top five largest agencies, the initial document scan affirmed that CCD still met the defining selection criteria of entrenched hybridity, markers of managerialism, and professionalism, which made the researcher confident that this case would be an adequate sample case, ranking nine of nineteen in the list. The executive director acted as a "point person" and key informant to connect the researcher to other staff members, board members, volunteers, and external stakeholders. Once initial contact was made, deeper analysis of organizational documents was conducted and individual interviews were scheduled with each informant, and organizational observations began. With the exception of one board member, every single member of the staff and board, as well as several stakeholders and beneficiaries were interviewed between January 2018- December 2018. Organizational observations began in January 2018 continued through January 2019.

Case Study: Cascadia Community Development (CCD)

Cascadia Community Development (CCD) is a community development corporation and private nonprofit organization founded in 1991 to "improve the housing, physical environment, and social and economic conditions of neighborhoods located within [the outer southeast region of a large metropolitan city], and to develop other programs that benefit low- and moderate-income residents of the region." (Annual Report, 2018). This organization serves a section of the city that has seen decades of historical disinvestment by the city and has changed rapidly due to larger city-wide gentrification processes. CCD is largely funded by rental income and grants and holds $24,283,122 in total assets as of end of fiscal year 2018. At the time of data collection, they employed 10 full time employees including the executive director, a real estate developer, an assets manager,

three resident assets coordinators, a baby booster's program coordinator, a youth initiative coordinator, a community development manager, and an office manager. They have 10 board members comprised of architects, consultants, residents/beneficiaries of CCD's housing, representatives from the public school system as well as other community members interested in affordable housing, many of whom held master's degrees in urban planning.

The organization is rooted in the belief that affordable housing gives people the opportunity to build better lives, yet their programming stems far beyond housing alone as they are working to "improv[e] economic conditions in neighborhoods and giving people the tools and the support they need to improve their lives" (Cascadia Website, 2019). CCD offers affordable housing rental units including multi-family apartment complexes; duplexes; and single family homes with playgrounds, gardens and community rooms within many of the properties. CCD of course offers fee for service in the form of rental income, however they also offer community centered programming including a residents assets program, a baby boosters program, and a youth initiative. First, through the resident's assets program, residents can engage in a variety of community driven activities that "support positive relationships, personal growth, and community resiliency" and includes programs such as "afterschool programming at 5 sites, summer camps, soccer club, youth photography programs, field trips, adult enrichment workshops, community gardening, emergency loans, and free mobile markets" (Cascadia Website, 2019). The residents program explicitly states their aim to revitalize this region of the city and build social capital, increase engagement and support resident leadership power. Second, the baby boosters initiative is a collective partnership

supporting pregnant women and families with young children, as there is evidence that infants born in this neighborhood have some of the highest risks in the city for many health problems, including being born at a low birth weight (CityEast Committee[18], 2019). Finally, the youth initiative offers hand on leadership, education, and career development opportunities to under-served youth. Youth are connected to local organizations to complete projects that address issues such as ecological and human health, environmental justice, and equity increasing social and environmental capital in the neighborhood and via the youth initiative partnerships (Cascadia Website, 2019). They state their goal is to "focus, amplify and catalyze existing community improvement work while cultivating a new generation of environmental justice leaders in [the region]" (Cascadia Website, 2019.

Data Collection

Content Analysis

Once the case was selected, access was granted, and initial conversations had taken place with members in executive leadership roles, additional written texts, websites, and other public materials such as annual reports, strategic plans, board meeting notes, contracts, program evaluation reports, and publicity materials were collected and analyzed to gain a sense of the history and context of the organization. This initial analysis of public organizational documents was used in guiding interview structures as well. Much of the data from content analysis is not explicitly referenced in the results section to ensure anonymity of my research organization but rather paraphrased or summarized. However, once interviews were complete, all organizational documents and web content were also

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[18] A pseudonym has been given to protect anonymity

put into Atlas.ti qualitative coding software and analyzed using the developed coding dictionary which will be detailed below. In addition, online observation was also conducted observing online activities through social media, and these were treated as texts. I viewed social media account information and a sample of social media posts on Facebook[19] for two months, December 2017 and January 2018, and all Instagram[20] posts for the year of 2018 as they were posted. This allowed me to stay more up to date in real time about organizational affairs, organizational activities, community engagement efforts, fundraising, and further obtain information about multiple types of messaging the organization engaged in externally. Largely, these posts demonstrated fundraising efforts and end of year giving campaigns, and highlights of resident families. This was a useful tool in guiding semi-structured interviews as it allowed the researcher to engage in probing questions regarding current organizational events.

Table 1: Organizational Artifacts for Content Analysis

Organizational Artifacts for Content Analysis
Organizational Website Content (2018)[21]
Social Media Content[22] (2018)
3 Organizational Promotional Videos (2018)
1 Programmatic Presentation (2018)
One year of Monthly Organizational Newsletters= 12 (2018)
Four Years of Community Feedback Surveys= 2 (2012-2016)

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[19] 37 Facebook posts for December 2017-January 2018
[20] 13 Instagram posts in 2018
[21] These dates denote the date of the publications of these documents
[22] Facebook (37 posts) and Instagram (13 posts)

Organizational Documents including Strategic Plans, Audited Financial Statements, Board Meeting Notes, Annual Reports, and Organizational Brochures (2010-2016)
Request for Proposals (RFPs) (3) (2018)
Internal Onboarding Materials for Board Members (nd)
External Board Training Materials[23] (nd)

Field Observations

Throughout the course of this research, several board meetings, stakeholder meetings, and other committee meetings were attended as noted in the table totaling approximately 15 hours which are documented in the table below. One limitation of this study is the limited field observation time. Because this organization contracts with an external private company to determine eligibility for services, observations could not be made for client intake processes which limited my ability to do field observations. Further, staff meetings were made private during the time of my study due to an internal issue occurring in the organization which will not be detailed here. However, in the 15 hours of observation performed, actions and explanations for actions were documented, and reflected upon using thick descriptive, qualitative methods and analysis. In addition, the researcher audio recorded notes after each interaction, noting major themes, takeaways, and general impressions, which were later reviewed in data analysis. Further, when observations and interviews took place in community settings, such as community rooms onsite in housing complexes, the researcher took specific note of the way areas were set up, and the interaction's between staff and residents as they came in and out

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[23] Board governance materials procured from an external statewide professional association that provides board governance workshops, board members attended these workshops

during observations. Additionally the researcher took audio notes about the housing complexes themselves, in regards to space design and access. This design has a unique strength in that it allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events such as organizational processes as well as the ability to deal with a full variety of evidence, such as documents, material artifacts, interviews, and observations that extend beyond organizational processes. Organizational texts were connected to the way actions are coordinated within the organization, putting the texts in dialectical tension with lived experience, actions, and subjectivities within organizational practices which will be further explored in the results section. This required me, the ethnographer, to recognize texts as contextualized by time and place and to treat texts as an integral part of the courses of actions that are embodied in the texts, as well as to note that the "text-reader conversation" involving an actual person in a relationship with the text (Smith, p. 168). Descriptive notetaking and thick journalizing was conducted during all observations, describing the people who attended, a description of the meeting, events, agenda notes, and interactions among participants. In addition, reflective notes such as my own thoughts and feelings were taken throughout the process (Creswell, 2014). Careful attention was paid who spoke and on what topics, as well as noted who did not speak up and thoughts about why that might be in the context of these observations. For example, attention was closely paid to resident board members and their willingness (or not) to engage varying topics in the meetings. Field observations allowed the researcher to examine interactions and relationships in comparison with other data sets such as interviews, examining a match or mismatches between interviewee's statements and practices in reality regarding the organization's embodiment of neoliberal marketization

and technologies of citizenship. Finally, all observations were audio recorded,

transcribed, and coded in qualitative software as part of the data set.

Table 2: Field Observations

Field Observations[24]	Dates
Board Meetings (*approx. 2.5 hours each)	September, October, November, 2018
1 Stakeholder Meeting (*approx. 2 hour)	September 2018
Resident Council Meeting (*approx. 2 hours)	October 2018
Fundraising Committee Meeting (*approx. 2 hours)	January 2019
Total field observation hours= roughly 15 hours	

In-Depth Interviews

The primary method of data collection for this study was intensive, 1 - 1.5-hour, semi-

structured interviews with executive and frontline staff, beneficiaries, board members,

and external stakeholders. External stakeholders included organizations with which

Cascadia had partnerships with as well as similar community organizing goals in this part

of the city. This included for example, the executive director of a community trust

program, the president of the CityEast Committee,[25] and the executive director of an

organization focused on advocacy for Asian Americans. Many beneficiaries of the latter

are also residents in Cascadia's housing programs. Intensive interviews are commonly

employed data collection methods in the case study approach, as well as an ethnographic

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[24] This organization does not do intake of clients, therefore observations in work settings were minimal as employees that work with clients in residential settings are confidential and access was not granted. Most observations were those open to the public. Primary sources of data are interviews and organizational materials.

[25] Pseudonym

approach, and allow for interpretive inquiry into a subject or an experience with an individual to explore actions and processes (Yin, 2014). Semi-structured interview questions were asked in order to answer the research question of how and if neoliberal citizenships are adopted, coordinated, enacted, and potentially resisted. Questions centered on processes of marketization in the organization, ruling relations external to the organization, conceptions of subject citizenship, and how and if subjects internalize or resist neoliberal conceptions of citizenship.

According to Westby (1990), ethnographic interviewing provides a means for the researchers to discover people's culture; perceptions of the world, behaviors, values and beliefs, strengths and needs (p.102). Understanding the roles of participants, their perception of self and others, and the situation are essential to establish effective communicative interaction's reducing potential bias (p. 102). In ethnographic interviewing questions and answer are discovered from the people being interviewed, this the semi-structured format that allows the communication to flow towards a range of perspectives. This is accomplished first through developing rapport with participants (Westby, 1990). In this case, I aimed to develop rapport by discussing my own standpoint relation to these research questions before interviewing began. Second, common in ethnographic interviewing, I asked descriptive questions to describe social situations and encourage participants to discuss social situations in their everyday lives. Finally, attention was paid to the wording of questions which also facilitated the development of rapport and an effective interview. This included asking open ended rather than close ended questions, and using prefatory statements which alerted the interviewee to the

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nature of the question coming (Westby, 1990, pp.105-110). These techniques were all used in the interview process.

As neoliberalism creates conditions of freedom that are managed through certain establishments of control, limitations, forms of coercion, and obligations, inquiry also explored how people perceive and engage with these forms of control, limitations, and obligations. Questions that addressed these concerns were aimed at understanding technologies of performance at work, data management systems, reporting requirements, etc. Neoliberal marketization was taken as an already established dominant discourse and questions aimed to inquire how and if these discourses were in use, and how interviewees related to these discourses, and where and if they had power in both knowledge and practice. These questions were aimed at answering research questions; How has neoliberal marketization of the nonprofit sector affected the everyday practices of a nonprofit service organization? How have these discourses come to manifest? Is neoliberal citizenship the dominant discourse, and is it practiced and/or resisted by nonprofit workers? If found, what forms of knowledge, meaning, and civic identity are constituted under neoliberal discourse in the nonprofit? Further, questions were designed to explore the following:

- Participants understanding of the role of nonprofits in society

- What participants thought it meant for a nonprofit to be or become business-like

- Processes of neoliberalization were captured by two themes under managerialism (accountability mechanism, defining the organizations, capacity building, spatial and strategies) and marketization (entrepreneurialism, prudentialism, technologies of performance, and commercialization)

- Funding sources, reporting requirements, data management and engagement with various technologies of performance and how they used these in everyday practice and in interactions with beneficiaries

Further, questions inquired about funding relationships and changes they had seen in the course of working in the organization. A sample of these questions is listed here.

- Many nonprofits have scaled up operations over the past few decades and are increasingly focused on operational efficiency and generating the revenues and financing to sustain the operations, do you see this trend in your organization? If so, how and in what ways?

- What role does data collection play in your work? What kind of data is collected?

- Do you have any knowledge or experience with program evaluations or other forms of performance management? How is program evaluation incorporated into your work? Does it play a role in organizational decision making

- Regarding the diversification of your resource funding streams and revenue:
  a. Can you describe your organization's government contracts?
  b. Can you describe your organization's philanthropic dollars and grants?
  c. Can you describe your organization's solicited private donations?
  d. Can you describe your organization's fee for service activities?

- How are skills-oriented learning, in-house trainings, or other professional development opportunities for your staff incorporated? How often does this occur? What have you learned as a result?

These kinds of questions allowed for a deeper understanding of the processes of neoliberal marketization in the environment as well as a deeper understanding of how power operated within and outside of the organization through the coordination of text and talk. Attention was given to how power was exercised, who had and who did not, which discourses seemed to have power, as well as the technologies of performance that guided participant's actions and feelings. Interview questions inquired about previous jobs, civic engagement, personal life history, and formal training both before joining the

organization and currently to get a better sense of where the regimes of knowledge originated. When there appeared to be neoliberal discourse under consideration by interviewees, they interviewees were probed further in the semi-structured interview format to trace where these discourses were being imported from.

A second set of interview questions were designed to capture the social constructions of civic identity. Participants were asked how they might describe a "good" nonprofit sector, worker, and citizen, and beneficiary. Questions were aimed at understanding political actions and civic lives both inside the organization and beyond the organization, in private lives. As noted in an earlier section, Knefelkamp (2008) claims that civic identity has some essential characteristics including that it does not develop in isolation but over time and through engagement with others within the context of real social, political, and economic structures. Knefelkamp also notes that civic identity is connected to complex intellectual and ethical development, expanding capacity to think and act as citizens, therefore some questions also inquired into notions how notions of citizenship were learned and enacted. First participants were asked about how they understood citizenship and how they behaved in both their public and private civic lives as well as questions aimed at understanding how civic identity was engendered. A sample of these questions is listed here:

- In general, how would you describe a "good" citizen?

- How would you describe your own political or civic values?

- In your personal life, how and how often do you address issues directly involving local, state, or national levels aimed at influencing government action? If so, how?

- How would you describe an ideal nonprofit/community development worker?

Another set of questions, addressed the social construction of beneficiary civic identity

and empowerment programming in the organization to examine how technologies of

citizenship were embedded in larger organizational practices, especially in relation to

residents. Questions also aimed at understanding current empowerment programming in

the organization to capture how citizen subjects are "made" via empowerment discourses.

Examples included:

- How would you describe those you serve? Why do they typically seek your services?

- How does your organization approach community engagement efforts? Can you tell me about any particular projects or approaches?

- Do you think your organization plays any role in empowering citizens to become active participants in any political processes? Can you explain?

- Does your organization conduct any kind of community education? In what ways? Who influences/decides what types of educational services are offered?

- Does your community have any input on what kinds of programs and services are offered in your organization and what those programs look like?

- Can you walk me through a typical interaction with beneficiaries of your services from beginning to end? What are they required to do from beginning to end to receive services? What is the intake process like?

- What kind of changes if any do you see in beneficiaries, or in their lives as a result of receiving your services?

Finally, as discussed in chapter 2, though I draw on Smith's IE, though this work does

not explicitly represent an institutional ethnography, but rather draws from some of IE's

sociological and ontological insights which were insightful for constructing the interview

guides. This approach is not an unusual one as in a recent scoping review of articles using

IE, Malachowski, Skorobohacz, & Stasiulis (2017) found that indirect use of IE occurred in approximately 24% of the articles reviewed and phrases such as "based on" and "informed by" suggested authors were suing the principals of IE as inspiration and to guide only some aspects of their research and writing. In addition, "44% appeared to utilize IE in combination with at least one other theoretical, conceptual, methodological, or analytic approach" (p. 97). However, two approaches to understanding power and subjectivity in IE are particularly drawn upon in this work, standpoint and ruling relations.

Institutional ethnography involves taking a "standpoint" approach which refers to privileging the social positioning of a subject of knowledge. It begins from the notion that one begins inquiry from the position from which a subject views the world which was important to this study. Standpoint not only takes social reality as extending from the standpoint of those studied but allows the researcher to acknowledge their own standpoint in knowledge production. A discussion of standpoint theory is needed here as it applies to my data collection and analysis methods. This discussion is added again here because standpoint theory is being used as an *analytical tool* in analyzing my data seeking to rectify problematic historical trends associated with ethnographic research. As traditional ethnography has been historically problematic, rendering women marginal in traditional ethnographic studies by presuming separation between public and private (Naples, 2003, p. 7). Standpoint theory aims to rectify this issue by allowing an investigation of how people perceive their own civic identity, and perceptions of others, in relation to larger discourses. As Bickett (2008) articulates;

Feminist research allows women to "talk back" (hooks, 1989) giving voice to the

historically silenced, and empowering them to "find the words and concepts in

which ideas can be expressed and lives described, and by doing so emphasizes the

importance of issues in which women are deeply engaged" (Rubin & Rubin,

2005, p. 26).

Naples (2003) develops a multi-dimensional standpoint theory to rectify this problem that

will be explored here for its utility in this study. Standpoint is the social positioning of the

subject of knowledge, the knower and creator of knowledge and is used in doing

discursive work (Smith, 2005). *Standpoint theory* brings in the position of the knower's

experience, both public and private, and emphasizes that "standpoints are achieved

through community, through collective conversations, and dialogue" among those in

marginal positions. According to Collins, "standpoints are achieved by groups who

struggle collectively and self-reflectively against the matrix of domination that

circumscribe their lives" (p. 234). Thus, another level of complexity is revealed for this

work. The political consciousness of the relations of domination that shape individual

subjects shift within political and economic contexts and people view the wider political

landscape from their own positionality. Thus, nonprofit workers and beneficiaries of

services are not fixed, but rather, they are people with varying experiences that will shape

civic identity differently. For example, if Interviewee X has a history of activism in

another city or Interviewee Y was a volunteer on the neighborhood development

committee and is now paid staff in the selected organization, their social location, both

present and past, may inform their varying conceptions of civic identity within the

marketized nonprofit, each conception stemming from their lived experiences in both

private and public spheres. The lived experiences of subjects became an important

dimension of data analysis and theoretical construction and required careful attention

when developing semi-structured interview questions that allowed for standpoints to

emerge as another level of analysis. Utilizing a multi-dimensional standpoint for this

ethnographic research aims to confront the dilemmas of ethnography at three different

junctures; at the level of the individual knower, in constructions of community, and

within my methodological strategies (Naples, 2003, p. 84). My particular standpoint and

positionality will be explicated further in this chapter below. Questions were designed to

particularly address standpoint that inquired about demographics such as age, race, and

gender, but also to understand the personal histories of those within the organization as

they related to civic identity and nonprofit work, beginning with peoples lived

experiences as a starting point for data collection. These included questions such as

personal relationship to the neighborhood, experiences with marginalization or privilege,

prior nonprofit or advocacy work, reasons why they entered this kind of work, and

personal stories as they related to civic identity. Examples of these questions included;

- Demographics: Age and gender identity

- Are you from this neighborhood/community/city? What is your relationship to this area?

- Do you have any specialized degrees?

- Describe your role at [CCD], in terms of your responsibilities, daily routines, leadership position(s), and so on. How long have you been in this position?

- How did you end up in this type of work? What previous experience/s encouraged it?

The open ended and semi-structured format allowed me to trace further people's standpoints in relation to the political consciousness of discursive power that shapes individual subjects within political and economic contexts, with consideration of how people view these discourses from their own positionality. Further, in IE, individuals' everyday experiences are embedded within a particular institutional order, which coordinates their experiences which is the set of "ruling relations" which are "forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places" (2005, p. 13). As stated in the last chapter, ruling relations are the discursive regimes that rule and coordinate behavior and are exemplified by written texts and talk that both define and constrain certain ways of speaking, knowing, being and acting. This methodological approach focuses on both what people say and what they actually do, as well as the institutional context in which their behaviors are coordinated and organized. Attention was given to ruling relations in the construction of interview questions as well as the data analysis process. Here, I also engaged in probing prompts such as "tell me more," with a conscious effort to understand how participants related to various discourses that became evident in the interview. As a nonprofit scholar and former nonprofit employee, I engaged my own knowledge set in terms of the institutional environment and my own understandings of nonprofit work. I recognized that my experiences and personal standpoint may have influenced individual's responses as well as my own assumptions in the study. I also provided all participants the option of skipping any questions they did not want to answer. I used a research journal in interviews to also document my thinking and observations during interviews and for later consideration in data analysis. Full interview guides (Appendix A, B, and C) are included

in the appendices. Interviews took place between January-December 2018. Interviews included ten full time staff[26], nine board members, four external stakeholders, two volunteers[27], two resident board members[28], and one resident for a total of 28 interviews. Important to note is that one staff and one volunteer were also residents, for a total of five resident interviews, though these two interviews were largely aimed towards understanding their roles as staff and volunteers, rather than as residents alone. A table of interviewees is summarized below.

Table 3: Interview Sources and Demographics

	Age	Gender	Race	Staff	Board	Resident	External Stakeholder	Volunteer
1	25	F	Asian Pacific Islander	✓				
2	32	M	White	✓				
3	56	M	White	✓				
4	24	F	Latina	✓				
5	40	M	White	✓				
6	29	F	White	✓				
7	27	M	Japanese	✓				
8	54	M	White	✓				
9	33	F	White	✓				
10	40	F	Iranian	✓		✓		
11	19	M	Latino		✓			
12	68	M	White		✓			
13	58	M	White		✓			
14	N/A	M	White		✓			
15	27	F	N/A		✓	✓		
16	54	M	White		✓			
17	63	F	White		✓	✓		
18	38	F	Asian American		✓			
19	30	F	Asian American		✓			

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[26] One staff was both a resident and full time staff
[27] One volunteer was both a volunteer and resident
[28] These are residents that also serve on the board

20	N/A	F	White		✓			
21	36	M	Latino		✓			
22	59	M	White				✓	
23	64	F	White				✓	
24	N/A	M	Asian American				✓	
25	69	F	White				✓	
26	22	F	White					✓
27	19	F	White			✓		✓
28	N/A	F	Black			✓		

Protection of Participants

All participants in this study were informed that involvement in the study was voluntary, and that names would be removed from interview transcripts, and identifying numbers would be given to protect anonymity. Decisions to participate were arranged directly with the researcher, and not made public to other staff in the organization to ensure that participants did not feel coerced or experience undesirable consequences as a result of participating or choosing not to (Yin, 2014). An informed consent form was reviewed in advance and each recording of the interview transcripts verify verbally that the participant had a chance to review and agree to the form before questioning began (See Appendix D). Participants were informed that harm was minimal, and that questions could possibly invoke psychological discomfort. The consent form also provides information for the researcher, the person advising this research as well as contact for the supervising university's internal Institutional Review Board. This study was reviewed and approved through our university's IRB process and the most updated approval letter is included (Appendix E).

Data Analysis

The data analysis process consisted of content analysis based on semi-structured interviews, field notes, observations, and organizational artifacts. The coding of data was developed based on the research questions and analysis served as the process by which research questions were answered. Data analysis is "the process of making sense of the data that involves consolidating, reducing and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read – it is the process of making meaning" (Merriam, 2009, p. 178). Data analysis was conducted in accordance with the theoretical frameworks presented here. In the following sections, I outline the phases of data analysis with attention to coding and memo writing, the development of a coding dictionary, deductive thematic analysis, the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA), and a positionality statement as it relates to how my own standpoint is incorporated into data analysis. Interviews, all organizational documents, and audio recordings of observations were de-identified and transcribed using an online service. Transcriptions were then reviewed and edited for accuracy before coding. All texts listed above were imported into Atlast.ti 8.0, a computer aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). This application is useful for creating families of primary documents as well as facilitating the management and retrieval of the numerous sources of data, including organizational documents, transcribed interviews, and field notes. Data analysis was conducted in three stages: data display to identify the themes and patterns from research participants' responses; data verification to map out the relationship between themes; and final data analysis (Lune and Berg, 2017).

The Development of a Coding Dictionary: A Deductive Approach

A deductive approach refers to "data analyses that set out to test whether data are consistent with prior assumptions, theories, or hypotheses" (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). A deductive approach is used when the structure of the study and research questions are based on previous knowledge and literature. To facilitate deductive analysis, a codebook was developed based on the literature on the marketization of nonprofits (e.g., Eikenberry, 2009; Maier & Meyer, 2011; Maier, Meyer, & Steinbereithner, 2016; Roberts, Jones, & Fröhling, 2005) and emerging themes developed from initial readings of transcripts and organizational documents and online artifacts. A sample of the coding dictionary is presented here, and each code represents a dimension of the literature on marketization of the nonprofit.

Table 4: Codes Associated with Neoliberal Marketization

The Process of Neoliberalization			
NEO: Managerialism: Accountability	NEO: MA: ACC	Indication that org is/can/should be built on corporate management knowledge and practices, specific characteristics related to **accountability**	Internal or external accountability, need for implementation of evaluation, assessment tools, and transparency
NEO: Managerialism: Defining the Organization	NEO: MA: DEF	Indication that org is/can/should be built on corporate management knowledge and practices, specific characteristics related to **defining the org**	Access to professional, vision, strategic planning, image creation, long term sustainability of the organization, marketing pursuits
NEO: Managerialism: Capacity Building	NEO: MA: CAP	Indication that org is/can/should be built on corporate management knowledge and practices, specific characteristics related to **capacity building**	skills oriented learning for staff, leadership is adaptable, innovative, flexible, good governance, efficiency and effectiveness

NEO: Managerialism: Spatial Strategies	NEO: MA: SP	Indication that the organization is/can be/should be built on corporate management knowledge and practices; specific characteristics related to **spatial strategies** and discourses	Ex: Reference to service area, expansion of service territory, how community is defined
NEO: Neoliberal Marketization: Entrepreneurialism	NEO: NM: ENT	Indication that the organization exhibits or speaks to the values and aims of the neoliberal market; specific characteristics related to the promotion of **entrepreneurialism**	Discussions of entrepreneurialism, competition, information-gathering on the internal and external environments for decision-making, achievement of organizational goals, being strategic, seeking opportunities for growth and action
NEO: Neoliberal Marketization: Prudentialism	NEO: NM: PRU	Indication that the organization exhibits or speaks to the values and aims of the neoliberal market; specific characteristics related to **risk management**	Discussions of managing/minimizing risks, indemnifying the organization against perceived/real dangers
NEO: Neoliberal Marketization: Technologies of Performance	NEO: NM: TP	Indication that the organization exhibits or speaks to the values and aims of the neoliberal market; specific characteristics related to **performance management**	Discussions of measures of evaluation, benchmarking, performance indicators, the quantification of goals, functions, and processes, use of data and data management
NEO: Commercialization	NEO: NM: COM	Discussion of pursuing revenue from sales of goods and services	Ex: Mixed income rents/buildings to increase revenue

Multiple readings of the raw data were done in order to ensure alignment with the code

book, and new codes emerged via this iterative process. Initial coding also grouped data

into larger categories as they applied to demographics and organizational role,

understandings of the nonprofit sector, civic identity and agency, classifiers of

marketized logic, potential resistance discourses, and potential emergent themes.

Although not included above, other codes were developed form the literature on

technologies of citizenship including codes related to active empowerment of residents, community engagement and education, and community input. This approach also aligns with a directed approach which involves "the use of more analytic codes and categories derived from existing theories and explanations relevant to the research focus" (Lune & Berg, 2017, p. 183). The researcher was also seeking emerging themes, and surprising or puzzling information that was not expected. Concepts that were not captured in the codebook were recorded, and memos were taken and used in the second phase of coding.

Inductive Analysis

In addition to the deductive approach, an inductive approach was also employed in data analysis. An inductive approach is useful when there are few studies dealing with a phenomenon, and the findings emerge from the themes in raw data, without "the restraints imposed by structured methodologies" (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). This research is also interested in uncovering any emergent counter discourses to neoliberalism which can be identified as useful resistance tools, and/or tools to serve the sector in preserving and reclaiming its democratic and civic functions, thus the inductive approach was used to allow themes to emerge from the raw data in an attempt to identify resistance or counter discourses that might emerge outside of the field of current literature. Thomas (2006) explains that inductive analysis "refers to approaches that primarily use detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher" in alignment with Strauss and Corbin (1998) that argue that "the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data" (p. 12). Here, the primary method of data analysis involved categorizing and applying meaning with the goal of developing concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In

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the inductive analysis of this research, codes were not preconceived, but rather formed through developing a relationship with the data, studying it closely until themes emerged in an iterative process. This coding process entailed coding first with the coding dictionary developed with attention to new concepts emerging in the data set. Second, an open coding process was conducted to make sense of potential new codes and themes. In an attempt to identify emergent themes and potential resistant discourses, inductive coding was also guided by Charmaz's (2014) constructivist grounded theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Van Dijk, 1995) which both include data coding and memo writing. This initial, or "open" coding process is "provisional, comparative, and grounded in the data" until thematic codes for focused are developed (Charmaz, 2014). This two-fold process of coding was completed on all texts: organizational documents, field notes, interviews, and the organizational website. In the inductive coding, a new set of codes emerged in regards to how people perceived of and made sense of community and civic identity and is exemplified in the following table. Note that the code tables in this chapter are just a small sample of the final coding dictionary that was used. A small sample of emergent codes are exemplified in the table below.

Table 5: Emergent Codes: Understandings of Citizenship

Emergent Codes: Understandings of Citizenship			
UOC: Knowledge/Having information	UOC:KNO	Citizenship is described as having knowledge of political or social phenomenon in community, local, state, national	Ex: Being informed about issues

UOC: Engagement/Action	UOC:ACT	Citizenship is described as taking political action	Ex: Civic Engagement
UOC: Care	UOC:CARE	Citizenship is described as caring behavior	Ex: Helping others in your community

The first two rounds of coding were conducted systematically which allowed the

researcher to further generate initial themes, and define and name the themes. A third

round of data analysis was completed which focused more heavily on broader level

themes rather than codes. The process of coding was done in several coding sweeps, was

an iterative and recursive process, and moved between data items and searching the data

set for repeated patterns of meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In final phases of data

analysis, I collated all relevant codes into data and viewed the data from differing

perspectives to map power and meaning. For example, looking more broadly at stratified

roles in the organization, as they applied to emergent themes such as professionalization

and entrepreneurial discourses. In this phase, it became evident that differing discourses

were largely stratified in the organization which is detailed in my results section.

Theoretical Considerations in Data Analysis

Because an institutional ethnography's role is transformative, it seeks to make visible the

social relations of knowledge so that they may be reorganized; therefore, identifying

potential resistance discourses is an important aim of this project. Ethnographic and

comparative research does not just include an analysis of data at the end of data

collection procedures, but rather, incorporates the allowance of the emergence of new

meanings, questions, and ways of asking and knowing during the data collection process.

It is reflexive and interpretive. This work is also concerned with how these settings and

ways of knowing have emerged historically, therefore careful attention will be paid to historical contexts. Because an institutional ethnography's role is transformative, it seeks to make visible the social relations of knowledge so that they may be reorganized; therefore, identifying potential resistance discourses is an important aim of this project.

In particular, in relation to the above data analysis process, I treated informants as an entry point to the institutions and provide accounts of organizational processes (Walby, 2013) as the institution is a product of not only those working within it but also shaped by complex networks of ruling relations (Smith, 1995). IE examines how the everyday world is organized and how activities are coordinated. In data analysis, texts were examined to not only understand daily activities but how people were organized to further the organizations goals. This meant following lines of inquiry in interviews such as further probing relationships (both inert and extra local relationships to text, talk, and performance). In addition, in data analysis, relationships were tracked and analyzed paying attention to how texts were mediated in social relations. Attention was explicitly given to interviewee's subjective position and individual personal and professional experiences and tracing them the social relations in which subject positions were embedded. Here, subjective experience was used *as* data as well as explored in relation to data.

Ruling relations was given its own code as the researcher mapped these relationships of power in the organization. Ruling relations were mapped by analyzing where varying discourses seemed to originate as well as how users engaged the texts (documents, talk, language, reports, etc.) in relation to one another, in relation to beneficiaries, and in relation to extra local environments. When a relationship between a

text and a source of that text was identified, this was marked as an aspect of ruling relations to be further explored. Maps were detailed in the memoing processes, however, an actual ruling relations map (visual representation) is not included here as maps act to shape power themselves (Appe, 2019), are victim to "typification in knowledge production (Nickel and Eiknberrry, 2016), and can "make organizations more legible, more visible, and more governable" (p. 397). This was a conscious decision on behalf of the researcher. In further trying to understand how ruling relations functioned in the organization, organizational documents and talk were analyzed with attention to how people related to technologies of performance. The researcher kept in mind questions such as: Where did this technology originate? How do people relate to this data management tool? Who has control over these tools? How do they feel about it? Do they describe this as an important part of their work? Attention to ruling relations gave the researcher a lens to view both internal and extra- locally organized discourses, which ones seemed to have power and which did not, and where these sources of power originated. After careful review of the data, a mental model of power flows was established as the text revealed both bottom-up forms of power and discourse as well as top-down forms of power and discourse operating towards certain ends in the organization.

The analysis of the data was also guided by Foucault in regards to power and knowledge. In the data analysis process, attention was given to power as it operated within and outside the organization through the coordination of text of talk. Second, attention was given to how power was exercised- who had it and who did not, as well as how technologies of performance guided actions and feelings. Third, power was

considered in terms of how it linked people, circulated, and created individuals "who are experiencing and exercising power, rather than acting as inanimate objects or victim" (English, 2006). I considered the micro practices of everyday power, similar to beginning with the standpoint of individuals found in Smith's IE. For instance, how people behaved and what guided their actions on the local level. I also aimed to seek out ways in which power was linked to knowledge with attention to how self- knowledge is produced within the organization as well as outside the organization. In data analysis, relationships of power were given explicit attention, especially as they related to neoliberal discourses and the impact of everyday practices in the organization. Again, attention was given to what discourses seemed to be gaining power in the organization, from what sources they flowed, and how people understood and felt about these discourses. Further, in data analysis, scripts and narratives were looked at as a whole, then delineated by role in the agency, to better understand where particular discourses flowed from and how they operated via power in the organization to create certain practices. A critical perspective allowed for the researcher to analyze the discourses in relation to one another, looking also at how and if one discourse had power over another. Further, an analytics of government was used in data analysis. First, the key starting point for an analytics of government is identifying a specific situation where the activity of governing is called into question (Dean, 2010, p. 38). The action of calling into question some aspect of the conduct of conduct is referred to as the problemitization (p. 38). In this case the problemitization has been named the neoliberalization of the nonprofit and its impacts on civic identities. As a methodological approach of inquiry and analysis, priority is given to how questions; how do we govern, how are we governed, and what does it mean to say

this? All these answers are formed in "relation to specific forms of knowledge and expertise of a variety of authorities" (p. 39). Again, important to note again is that the initial coding dictionary takes neoliberal governmentality to be an already established dominant discursive regime. Thus some codes were pre-established to inquire about markers of neoliberal governmentality established in the initial theoretical framework; managerialism, entrepreneurialism, prudentialism, technologies of performance, commercialization, technologies of citizenship and understandings of citizenship.

In data analysis, attention was given to the analytics of government including how people perceived things, ways they questioned or thought about phenomenon, ways of acting (techniques or technologies), and ways of forming themselves in relation to governmentality. These four dimensions gave me a lens with which to view how individuals in organizations viewed themselves and others, how they thought and understood, how they responded or acted in relation to governing discourses, and how they acted to form certain kinds of subjects. Attention was also given to contradictions, such as when people discussed ways of acting (technologies of performance) versus how they felt about such things, or how they actually functioned in the organization.

Finally, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was employed in data analysis process and allowed a deeper analysis of the social processes and social scripts in use that create meaning within the context of organizations, particularly as they pertain to inequality produced within, and operating through organizations and institutions. CDA was a useful analytical framework providing guidance in the data analysis process. According to Van Dijk (1995) CDA has several characteristics. It is problem oriented, it is an approach to study text and talk, it is inter- disciplinary focusing on relations between discourse and

society, and it is critical and pays attention to all levels and dimensions of discourse. CDA is also concerned with power, dominance, and inequality and the ways these are reproduced or resisted. Van Dijk (1993) asserts that critical discourse analysis "primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" where social power is defined in terms of control. Here, some groups have power if they are able to control the acts and minds of other groups (Van Dijk, 2001, pp. 354–355). CDA tends to focus on non-coercive forms of power such as knowledge, information, and authority which is known as framing power. Framing power is exercised through persuasion and manipulation influencing people's minds in ways that are not always conscious, in ways that are taken for granted and seemingly mundane activities of everyday life (Van Dijk, 2001, Also see discussion in Duval, Gendron, and Roux Dufort, 2013). Specifically it deals with discursive structures and strategies of dominance and resistance in social relationships of class, gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other intersectional identities. These demographics were captured in my interviews. Not only was demographic information captured, but personal storytelling about civic identity was engendered in relation to demographics, and their role as a nonprofit worker was explored in interviews.

CDA seeks to uncover or disclose hidden aspects of discursive dominance. Further, CDA aims to sustain a perspective of solidarity with dominated groups. In this case, this is done by revealing counter discourses to resist dominant ones. Attention was explicitly given to inter-organizational race and power dynamics in this work and guided my analysis at every step with attention to speaker standpoint in relation to the structures

of both neoliberalism and the hegemony of professionalized and marketized discourses. Attention to the primacy of white professionalism and white supremacy is treated in the discussion section.

While Van Dijk specifically talks about CDA in relation to racially prejudiced talk, this work is concerns also with gender, race, place, class, and the social construction of beneficiaries focusing on semantic examples and explanations. Sometimes this can emerge as "discourses of difference," specifically as it relates to "offer[ing] narratives or specific instances in order to illustrate the validity of the speaker's stance, generalizations are when someone applies an experience/story/example to an entire group,… or a speaker uses mitigation to reduce the negativity of what they just said, or were trying to say." (Turgen and Taylor, 2015). In this study, knowledge of the power differentials between multiple levels of staff as well as between staff and clients informed my decision to use CDA. In data analysis I was looking explicitly for explanation and generalizations as far as how participants explained or highlighted difference. In addition, leader qualities and a hierarchy of power was explored in the data. In seeking answers to how staff constructed the identities of beneficiaries, attention was given to generalizations or characteristics of these groups. Generalizations are when someone applies an experience or story to an entire group. In the analysis, explicit attention was paid to both generalizations and discourses of difference. These discourses of difference were evident particularly in relation to the professionalization of equity work and are detailed more in the results section.

Memo Writing

Memo writing played a key role in data analysis. Memo writing is an intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of results and gives the researcher the opportunity to stop and analyze ideas during the moment (Charmaz, 2008, p. 162). Informal memo writing aided in analysis of data and codes early on, and throughout the research process, and helped me to better engage in "identifying/developing the properties and dimensions of concepts/categories, making comparisons and asking questions, elaborating the paradigm, and developing a storyline" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 118). Memo journaling was conducted through the coding process where dilemmas, directions, and decisions were considered both in written text format and in the form of audio memos while in the field organizations. Useful memos throughout the process included defining codes for analytical properties, comparing across data and data, categories and categories, identifying gaps and hints in the analysis (p. 171), other considerable phenomenon observed in the field setting. Memos were recorded throughout data analysis as the researcher examined questions, feelings, and conundrums that presented themselves. Memos paid particular attention to voice, agency, and relationships in the inert-organizational dynamics and how people made sense of civic identities. For example, memos pointed to new understandings of the data as relationships between what people said and did became evident. Examples of memoing included notes on who seemed to hold power in the organization and which technologies of performance were widely in use. More importantly, memos were used as a way to maintain a map of which discourses seemed to have power, why, and where the power of certain discourses seemed to flow from. Memoing also facilitated the tracking of themes and connections between data throughout the process.

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Validity, Dependability, and Reliability

There are multiple frameworks that address validity and reliability is qualitative research

and there have been many typologies developed for assessing for validity in qualitative

research (e.g., Maxwell's five types, 1992; Lather's four frames, 1993; and Schwandt's

four positions, 1997, see discussion in Creswell & Miller, 2000). The concept of validity

refers to "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation,

interpretation, or other sort of account" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 106). Quantitative research

"deals primarily with numerical data and their statistical interpretations under a

reductionist, logical and strictly objective paradigm" while "qualitative research handles

nonnumeric information and their phenomenological interpretation, which inextricably

tie in with human senses and subjectivity" (Leung, 2015, p. 324) hence multiple

frameworks exists to examine the validity of qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba

(1985) redefine the concept of validity for qualitative research as the "trustworthiness" of

a study. To ensure trustworthiness, a researcher must take explicit steps to clarify

personal bias, document all procedures undertaken to ensure reliability and

dependability.[29] However, reliability is "not so much of a consideration in qualitative

research" because "if a measurement is composed of a single, nonrepeated operation,

there can be no measure of reliability" (Anderson, 1987, p. 126; see discussion in

Lindloff & Taylor, 2002). For example, interviews are usually nonrepeatable because

informants are asked a set of questions only once, and there is the assumption in

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[29] Dependability refers for the extent to which the study can be replicated

interpretivists research that the social world is continually changing (Lindloff & Taylor, 2002, p. 239).

Creswell and Miller (2000) further develop a framework that can help qualitative researchers identify validity procedures in their studies and define validity as "how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them" (as defined by Schwandt, 1997), some of which were utilized in this study to ensure validity. First, the researcher lens and the participant lens are considered. Since the qualitative paradigm assumes reality is a social construction, this lens suggests that "importance of checking how accurately participants' realities have been represented in the final account" as a measure of validity (p. 125). Instances where there was a concern or questions about findings, the researcher consulted with a few key informants in the organization for clarification. Second, researcher paradigms and worldviews must be acknowledged, as they shape the selection of research procedures. Participants were given detailed information about who I was, a researcher of nonprofits and civic educator, and what my research interests were. In interview and observational settings, building rapport was used to further elucidate my positionality before engaging in data collection. In addition, I explicate my own standpoint in a positionality statement as it relates to data collection and analysis below. A critical perspective, "a challenge and critique of the modern state" holds that "researchers should uncover the hidden assumptions about how narrative accounts are constructed, read, and interpreted" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). Further, "what governs our perspective about narratives is our historical situatedness of inquiry" (p. 125). As Gergen et al. (2015) state, "values enter into the scientific process at every turn, including the selection of topic,

theoretical terminology, methods of research, and the social implications of the interpretations" (p. 4). Under this paradigm, validity is called into question so researchers must be reflexive and fully disclose what they bring to a narrative (p. 125).

In order to further mitigate bias, the researcher engaged "self-disclosure and collaboration" with the study participants which was aimed at helping to minimize feelings of inequality between researcher and participants. This involved self-disclosure of who the researcher is and the researcher's background, both as a student and former nonprofit professional disclosing my personal interests in the topic, letting them ask questions and guide the conversation to some extent. I tried to maintain a sense of my own internal dialogue in relation to narratives and maintain sense of self-awareness of how my own interpretations guide the research and the conversation. This was done in part through memoing, as mentioned. By audio recording my interviews, I was also able to review and consider my memo and journal notes with the specific language used by participants. I also kept a consistent trail of analytical memos and thematic maps to document the development of my approach to analysis, questions, reflections, and conundrums encountered in data analysis. Further, triangulation was also used to search for convergence among different sources of information across data sources (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126) and any findings that did not align with dominant patterns or themes were further investigated. Finally, reflexivity was key in limiting bias and increasing validity which includes questioning my own assumptions, beliefs and biases that could shape inquiry throughout the entire research process.

Researcher Standpoint and Positionality

Standpoint theory as an epistemology asserts that not only do participants have a standpoint but so too does the researcher which is meant to be explicitly acknowledged in the research process. Here, the researcher standpoint is considered to be something more than a limitation or bias. In order to reduce the perception of bias, the researcher has included a positionality statement here that details the researchers own narrative as it relates to my historical situatedness of inquiry. The aim here is to more fully disclose what I bring to the narrative and allow the reader to more clearly understand my orientation to the study.

Presenting my own philosophical, personal, and professional background is an important aspect of the study to better understand how my perceptions and local lived experience may influence the study approach and analysis of data. As a social constructionist and critical scholar, I believe that reality is constructed through inert-subjectivity and that meaning is made by interacting in relation to others. Acknowledging my own standpoint is an important part of the social context under study. I believe that numerous oppressive systems subjugate people, and that uncovering hidden power systems is necessary for emancipation from hegemonic discourses. My personal background heavily influences how I experienced and approached this research study. I identify as a white, cis-woman, feminist academic with a critical approach to the study of power in nonprofits and civil society.

I also have a background as a nonprofit practitioner, particularly in a Community Action Program as a client intake specialist. Cruikshank in *The Will to Empower* acknowledges the power of these agencies to shape certain citizen subjectivities and this

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is something I directly experienced. As a nonprofit worker, I made decisions that deeply impacted people's lives, and consistently questioned the unfairness of the power I had to make these decisions. In particular, I became keenly aware of how certain technologies of performance acted as tools of bio-power where I was made to manage bodies through rationalities aimed at governing, monitoring, and controlling my clients. My professional and educational background have provided me with intimate knowledge of neoliberal marketization and the impacts it has on beneficiaries lives. These experiences shaped my decision to pursue public administration from a critical perspective in graduate school. My bachelor's degree in anthropology and women's studies also informed my methodological approach in this study attending to relationships of power and the study of society.

My positionality allows me to attend to the complexities of nonprofit work in relation to the oppressive structures that shape institutional structures, decision making, and organizational culture. Thus, I bring to this research a critique of the status quo and investigate how certain discourses act to oppress individuals and groups and interrogate the taken for granted norms and assumptions that guide nonprofit work, hoping to shed light on the both dominating discourses, and those that can be used as emancipatory and resistance discourses to replace hegemonic norms. I believe this work has potential to expand and challenge discourses to foster social change. I recognize that my standpoint may influence my assumptions in this study, but I aimed to be transparent about my position, engaged in a reflexive and iterative process with the use of a research journal and memoing, and kept track of my observations and speculations as they related to my own subjective experience. As English (2006) notes in her own study of feminist

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organizations, my positionality as a critical nonprofit scholar particularly affected the data analysis process in that I was open to difference, fluidity, ambiguity, and alert to contradictory discourses. My own positionality was given attention throughout the entire data analysis process, especially as they concerned my own implicit views and values. I tried to maintain a sense of my own internal dialogue in relation to narratives and maintain sense of self-awareness of how my own interpretations guided the data analysis.

Limitations

There are some limitations to this study. One primary limitation in this study is the researcher's bias as a critical nonprofit scholar and practitioner for many years. The researcher has developed a specific orientation towards examining the nonprofit from a critical perspective which could potentially bias data collection and analysis processes, which leaves a wide scope for observer bias. However, this is why I have included the positionality statement here. Second, this study may be susceptible to social desirability bias which is the tendency for individuals to present themselves in the most favorable manner relative to social norms. Social desirability bias can represent a source of influence that obscures measurement of the primary relationships under investigation and validity may be compromised (Malhotra, 1988) and considered to be a common and pervasive sources of bias affecting validity in the social science (Nederhof, 1985; Paulhus, 1991; Peltier & Walsh, 1990). As stated, triangulation of data sources, as well making interview transcriptions anonymous in data analysis were used to reduce social desirability bias. Third, limitations include that this work represents only a snapshot in time in the year 2018, it is localized and specific to the context within this organization during this timeframe and thus there is a temporal aspect to the phenomena described.

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However, again, the attempt is to address these limitations via an iterative, reflexive, well documented, reflective research process with consistent memo writing and triangulation of data sources. Finally, my interactions with beneficiaries were limited, even after multiple phone calls, emails, and outreach throughout the year of data collection. Future research can build on these limitations by adopting more longitudinal research designs expanding the study to larger contexts, and well as extensive participatory observations.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS

The following chapter presents the results of this case study while further

discussion and analysis of these findings is presented in Chapter 5. To reiterate, the

research questions posed are as follows:

> How has the neoliberal marketization of the nonprofit sector affected the
> everyday practices of a nonprofit service organization? How have these
> discourses come to manifest?
>
> How do neoliberal discourses and neoliberal practices shape nonprofit worker
> citizenship identity? What is the relationship between nonprofit worker civic
> identities and the social construction of beneficiary civic identity?
>
> Is neoliberal citizenship the dominant discourse, and is it practiced and/or resisted
> by nonprofit workers? If found, what forms of knowledge, meaning, and civic
> identity are constituted under neoliberal discourse in the nonprofit?
>
> What emerging counter discourses to neoliberalism can be identified as useful
> resistance tools, and/or tools to serve the sector in preserving and reclaiming its
> democratic and civic functions?

This chapter provides a recap of the case study, detailing organizational objectives,

mission, vision, and programs and information regarding the snapshot in time during

which this research took place. The first section of this chapter analyzes the data along

the first three meta-logics of neoliberal marketization: entrepreneurialism, prudentialism

and technologies of performance[30], while the second part of this chapter is dedicated to

findings on the technologies of citizenship. How nonprofit workers conceptualize their

own civic identities, civic actions, and agency to act, how they conceptualize a good

citizen, and how this intersects with the way they think about the clients they serve in

terms of citizenship discourses is described. The term participant is used in this chapter to

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[30] The four meta-logics of marketization are treated thoroughly in Chapter 3 pp. 32-41

delineate the people who participated in this research including staff, board members, external stakeholders and clients. However, the term resident is used[31] to denote the beneficiaries of services the organization provides, as the client base is largely those who reside in CCD's housing developments.

Several themes emerged as to the levels of marketization in the organization and how and why marketized discourses were (or were not) taken on. Marketized discourses seemed to be taken on in response to several key factors including internal human resources conflict, fear around the processes of executive succession, the doubling of the portfolio in a short amount of time, and board reorganization. These discourses seemed to be adopted and imported by both board members from professional environments, guiding professional associations' best practices, as well as strategies to align with the major players in the affordable housing market, which requires proving measurable outcomes for continued funding. Some of which were already woven into the organization at upper management levels. However, discourses around the need for increased technologies of performance, especially tools for data collection, seemed to be of concern for the entire organization in light of fear of institutional knowledge loss at the potential succession of leadership. While these tools were claimed as needed in perception, there seemed to be no plan on how they would be implemented in practice. As will be detailed, these marketized discourses were largely stratified throughout the agency. Additionally, tensions arose between having a specific spatial strategy and

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[31] This is the term that staff and board used to describe beneficiaries of service and did not become evident until coding the data

clearly defined organizational service region, as it conflicted with an imperative towards growth, especially among board members.

Finally, civic identity is explored as it is related to agency to act internally and externally to the organization. Civic engagement among upper-level nonprofit workers[32] tended to be very workplace specific while employees of color serving as mid- level program managers as well as all front line staff regardless of race had far more active civic lives outside of work largely based in identity politics and the formation of moral identities within the family unit. Employee-resident relationships were framed through discourses such as self-determination, asset-based community development, place making, and discourses of empowering engagement and leadership. This was evident across the organization, even among those in higher level positions and board members, who espoused marketized discourses when discussing organizational sustainability, but maintained more democratic discourses alongside marketized discourses when discussing residents[33]. Overall, there was a sense of *fused discourses* within the organization that embrace both a marketized lens while still preserving their foundational civic and community values. While entrepreneurial discourses were evident, which emphasizes output and efficiency with an ethos requiring "clearly focused, instrumentally based interactions rather than social relations based on political solidarity, civic virtue, or dependency" (Kenny, 2002, p. 293), the organization was able to maintain an activist

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[32] All upper level staff (executive director, assistant to executive director, and real estate team) identified as white (3 male and 1 female) which will be discussed further in this chapter and may be of importance in making connections between whiteness and marketization. There were no People of Color in the upper administrative roles in the organization. Two mid-level managers identified as People of Color as well as one front line staff, all of whom identified as female.

[33] While these are not explicitly used as resistance discourses, they are emerging counter discourses to neoliberalism that were identified as potentially useful resistance tools.

orientation where the organization was organized around the "discourses of mutuality, empathy, trust, solidarity, and [an organizational] orientation towards social change" where they gave expression towards advocacy and self-determination (Kenny, 2002, p. 290). This evidence points to what Kenny denotes as *fused discourses* within the organization that operate towards different aims. While marketized discourses were being taken on for managing strategic operations, an activist orientation towards self-determination and capacity building aimed at controlling a community's destiny was maintained as several other discourses emerged that preserved the organization's foundational civic roots. The democratic, or community centered discourses were not used to actively resist the market, but rather seemed to co-exist alongside market discourses, each operating towards their own ends. The concept of fused discourses is an analytical tool to better understand how these discourses operated within this organization, has been found across community development studies, and will be further explored in terms of how sense can be made of these co-existing discourses in the discussion chapter 5.

A Snapshot in Time: Organizational Growing Pains

A full description of Cascadia Community Development (CCD), a community development corporation and private nonprofit organization has been detailed in Chapter 3. However, providing a temporal analysis of the organization at the time of the data is important here for contextualization of the data. The organization's executive director is one of the founders of the organization and has been doing this work for 25 years where it has grown from a one-person shop to 10 employees. However, at the time of data

collection, there were conversations occurring around leadership, and the implementation

of a more structured process for human resources as there had been recent issues between

members of executive leadership resulting in the resignation of the Assistant Director of

the organization, a newly created position in 2016. This sparked conversations around the

need for a more structured process for human resources to manage relationships, handle

complaints, manage performance, and sparked internal dialogue and new processes to

manage employee relations. During this time, the organization had also recently voted in

a new board president, a young professional woman of color, as well as several young

professionals with specializations in urban planning newly comprising the executive

board committee. This is important to note because this research highlights how these

young professionals carried in new discourses of growth, entrepreneurialism, and goals

aimed at long-term strategic planning and organizational sustainability which will be

further explored. Second, at the time of data collection the organization, the organization

had just doubled its portfolio with a new housing project which is also important to note,

as the organization seemed to experience some growing pains alongside this rapid growth

which may point to a relationship between organizational life cycle and the assumption of

neoliberal discourses. For example, in depth interviews revealed that capacity building

and better defining the organization in the market was of importance during this time,

with conversations centering on long term sustainability, direction, and organizational

identity. Conversations around growth, new forms of branding, and defining

organizational values emerged in interviews. Board meetings also centered on discussing

and reviewing financial documents, gains, losses, and overall financial fitness and

sustainability of each property in CCD's portfolio. Data points to these questions being at

the center of organizational operations at the time of this study, as the organization was at a tipping point in defining who they have been, are currently, and want to be in the future. The organization was also struggling to assess its goals related to equity in both the way they spoke about equity and integrated it into actionable items and strategic planning. As the organization was experiencing growing pains, marketized discourses emerged as ways the organization aimed to address these growing pains which is detailed throughout the following findings section.

The findings here are arranged via the four meta-logics of neoliberal marketization. This understanding of the neoliberal marketplace and the characteristics that define a marketized state of being provide the framework by which data was examined to observe the variation in the marketization of this case organization.

Entrepreneurialism

As stated in a previous chapter, as nonprofits attempt to become more strategic, professionalized workers become ideal types that can set goals, gather information and manage risk within scarce resource environments, qualities of the entrepreneur. Markers of entrepreneurial discourses include discussions of competition, information-gathering on the internal and external environments for decision-making, achievement of organizational goals, being strategic, and seeking opportunities for growth and action. The entrepreneurial info-manager facilitates the strategic governance of the nonprofit organization in order to maintain and sustain it, which often is framed by keeping up a competitive edge.

Organizational documents outlined the specific role of the board in a set of agreements which included; knowing and articulating the mission, purpose, and goals of the organization, attending board meetings, fundraisers, and events, serve on a committee, commit time, effort and thought to the organization. Board members are to ensure organizational policies are carried out, accept responsibility for financial accountability, attend public events, and keep associates informed of organizational work. They have an obligation to participate in hiring and evaluation of and support and advise the Executive Director, and participate in setting strategies for goals and objectives (CCD Board Agreements, 2016). In other words, to participate in strategic planning. While many of these duties represent civic aspects of board service, interviewees on the board largely focused on their responsibility for financial accountability in discussions, representing the power that entrepreneurial discourses held on the board level. However, a job description document for board members more heavily referenced the legal, fiscal, and policy-making role of the board (CCD Board Job Description, 2016).

Business-like management and governance strategies and discussions of growth, efficiency, and competition emerged as values necessary for organizational decision making, governance, and sustainability. However, fused discourses were also present in these conversations that seemed to oppose a pure entrepreneurial mindset, and discussions of collaboration and cooperation stood alongside entrepreneurial discourses. Terms such as competition, in/efficiencies, being business-like, sustainable decision making and forecasting emerged in board interviews. Board members' statements

exemplified entrepreneurial discourses centered on competition and business-like values

(and processes) as inherently good in the nonprofit sector:

> For a number of years I've been a strong proponent that nonprofits have to get more *business-like* [34]because of the fact that early on [and] through the years, the nonprofits that I was involved with [were] a group of people that were very passionate but didn't have the *financial background*, the *management backgrounds* in the decision making that would enable them to [become] sustainable, to make their decisions [like] where [are we going and] what do we need? Let's go get it [but] without thinking about how are we going to fund it, how are we going to manage it?...A lot of people have big hearts but didn't have any *business experience* and therefore made very bad decisions because they will[ed] what they wanted and what may be needed but weren't able to continually maintain [it]. And so I think that that was the *inefficiency*. Managing the budgets, making a strategic plan on that plan, and managing it. It has to be *based on sound business reasons*…My whole issue is we're not doing our residents any good if we're not here next year, so *we have to be very competitive*. We have to be there to make sure that our funding continues, our services are maintained at the highest level possible, but not at a level that we can't sustain. So I think it's critical…we need to know what's coming in, what's going out and what's going to be what's out there tomorrow and without that we're flying blind and we're going to fail (CCD Board Member, May 16, 2018).

> You're now starting to *compete* with people that are already at that next level. And so I personally believe that organizations, it's really important to understand your mission and to make sure that you're tracking goes back to indicators tracking whether or not you're meeting [them]. (CCD Board Member, November 15, 2018).

> *Competition* is key that's going to drive us to be more *efficient*, to be smarter and to do the right things, but when we're looking at our funding sources, it's more than just competition. They have to see us as being an open and contributing organization with its community. If we're not *working closely together with our competitors*, we will be perceived in a way as not being as open to the community and community focused as we need to be. Therefore we have to decide and know when we're in competition and when we're working together and *competition is good*. We need to then sharpen our pencils, do the right thing and compete, and then tomorrow we need to go hand in hand and work to go do good things (CCD Board Member, May 16, 2018).

> We've got to be very *strategic and market diverse*, we better know who constituencies are, what the needs are, [and] what their resources might be and how to play that course. (CCD Board Member, December 21, 2017).

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[34] Italic emphasis added by the researcher

Here, the notion of competition, forecasting (tracking indicators), efficiency, strategy and

business-like strategies are key terms that point towards the entrepreneurial orientation

(EO). To clarify, Morris et al. (2011) write that innovativeness, risk-taking, reactiveness,

competitive scanning, adaptability, competitive aggressiveness, and implementing

innovations before competitors (pro-activeness) are all explained as markers of the

entrepreneurial orientation. The logic goes that entrepreneurship results more *efficient*

and effective operations providing the firm with a stronger *competitive* position (Eckhardt

& Shane, 2003; see also Morris, et al, 2011, p. 949). Board members described other

nonprofits as *competitors* very openly stating that *competition is good*. In terms of

entrepreneurialism, the entrepreneurial info-manager facilitates the strategic governance

of the nonprofit organization in order to maintain and sustain it, which often is framed by

keeping up a *competitive edge* (see discussion in Sandberg, 2016, p. 56).[35] The rhetoric of

competition is entrepreneurial in nature (Morris, 2007). There is evidence here that this

logic prevails among organizational board members.

Balance is the Bottom Line

However, the discourses of entrepreneurialism were also existing alongside a

discourse of collaboration. Many board members also suggested that while there is

competition, there also needed to be space for *collaboration*. While board members

strongly expressed the nature of being competitive, efficient, and able to forecast trends

in the competitive environment, they also pointed out that collaboration must coexist

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[35] The implications of these findings will be further discussed in Chapter 5

alongside competition, each as a means to their own end. This is an example of how fused discourses operated within the organization. They stated:

> I really worry about that because that's historically nonprofits have not worried about what I think is absolutely essential. You're going to the same block parties *competing* for the same project. Yeah. You need to go in and *be as competitive as you possibly can* be as smart as you can be, and then when that's over, it's *back to working together to be successful because we only going to be successful with my cooperating with our competitors* when it's appropriate... So the bottom line, *bottom line is not competition or cooperation, but balance*…First and foremost focus and we have to work together with our like-minded organizations for the betterment of our community. Then *we also need to be smarter and better* when we need to be and so that we can be sustainable, but *we need to support one another.* The rest of them were not always in a competition and we shouldn't be thinking of it that way. They're not our competitor except for next Thursday or whatever it might be. [The Board] to see the budget, we want to see *the performance,* we want all of those coming towards us and we want to *manage it* on a date, on a monthly basis, not a day to day basis, but we want to *know what the trends are*, what's going on. We want to make sure that the projects are being *done efficiently*… that we're continuing to bring in the funds to keep those programs up and running. So we're really managing both the expenditures and the fundraising very closely. (CCD Board Member, May 16, 2018)

One board member even expressed a certain weariness around operating a nonprofit like a business but noted that competition and collaboration are not mutually exclusive:

> I'm thinking that it might be, there might be some detrimental effects of a nonprofit trying to operate too much like a business but that's the environment we're in. [The City] is kind of a small town in many ways, like people seem to be three degrees of separation in a lot of cases…For instance, one of the board members [attends other competing organization's groundbreakings]. So there's definitely a spirit of cooperation, I'm assuming they share information between their staffs even though they are competing for the same grants and funds, so they don't have to be mutually exclusive. I mean, I can have friends who are architects and we might be hoping to get this land, the same client, but it doesn't mean that we can't share ideas and things like that. So they're not necessarily mutually exclusive…In a town like [City] in this work, you're more likely to be able to have that *cooperation in conjunction with competition* (CCD Board Member, January 17, 2018).

Board members moved in between the mindsets of competition and collaboration seeing them both as "good." They further explained that one needs to go in and be competitive as you can possibly be, but then knowing that overall success only comes with further collaboration with competitors when appropriate. One board member, quoted above, discussed that one needs to know both when to be smarter and better, and when support is needed from other stakeholders in the nonprofit environment. The idea of competition seemed a given but when faced with questions about what collaboration meant in light of competitive environments, they did not see these two concepts as being wholly opposed, but rather saw them as existing simultaneously, and with an understanding that in the nonprofit environment one must transition from one state of being (competitive) to another (collaborative) given the context.

Also important to note is that the growth imperative was also being questioned. The organization indicated they should consider how well maintained their current properties were prior to engaging in discussions about expansion of programs. This shows some consciousness (and potential resistance) to the all-encompassing growth imperative common to the neoliberal marketplace.

> I think from what I understand… the strategic plan is of worrisome nature, [from the board] like what's with our portfolio? Are we trying to grow? What are we doing? And so I think it was the recommendation of that board at the time that we do *push forward with growth* of housing within the various specific population. So I've only seen growth [but with our recent new building], I think we'll start to taper off a bit. My worry [is that] we have properties right now that need to be managed and there are some issues that are happening, especially specifically within [one of our other buildings] and all these other properties that need to be addressed. And it's great that we're growing, but I think we should be only growing once we've met a certain capacity, be able to maintain what we already have (CCD Board Member, November 15, 2018).

This quote speaks to some weariness about an unquestioned growth imperative, as the organization began to consider new and expansive spatial strategies. In observed board meetings, generally the bulk of these meetings included translating and interpreting financial updates and documents for the entire board with discussion centered on gains, losses, and risks, but competition was never discussed openly in group settings. When reviewing organizational documents, former strategic plans discussed "balancing mission and stability" but did not seem to explicitly point to blatant entrepreneurial discourses. However, the newest strategic plan explicitly stated strategic priorities as continuing to develop more housing (grow), financially restructure to decrease operating costs, set up new internal systems such as technology for advancing mission (technologies of performance) (CCD Strategic Plan, 2018). Additionally, strategic values such as equity, vision, sustainability, connection and trust, reliability, and commitment are notated (CCD Strategic Plan, 2018) denoting again a hybrid discourse of both entrepreneurial and civic values. This newly incorporated entrepreneurial language signifies a shift in outwardly facing organizational values and the beginning of the open adoption of neoliberal discourses as the organization grows and begins to think about extending its current reach.

Upper Level Management: A Confused Discourse on Competitive Advantage

Both board members and upper level management saw themselves as part of a larger competitive field of community development organizations and aligned themselves within the field by explaining their competitive advantage in terms of their unique

community and relational role within the geographical service area. However, even while they explained their competitive advantage as being relational and knowing one's community, there were also discussions around achieving further competitive advantage via new acquisitions and fee for service activities. So while they spoke about competitive advantage as knowing one's community, more entrepreneurial behaviors were in play in actual practices of the organization which is explored below. Below, the role of upper level administrators in creating and supporting the community service role is discussed, as well as the role of front line staff in maintaining these community connections. Additionally, market like behaviors are addressed as CCD seeks to gain more competitive advantage in a competitive field, denoting again, hybrid and fused discourses.

The Executive Director (ED), the Assistant Director (before resignation), and the real estate team acted as the main entrepreneurial players within the competitive market of affordable housing. Entrepreneurial discourses were evident in the way these individuals discussed organizational operations, acquisitions and risk management. The executive director and real estate team were trusted in the organization to make financial decisions while the front line staff who worked directly with residents had a larger role in preserving and utilizing civic discourses of community driven engagement. While competition and the threats associated with competition were understood, there was an emphasis on the mission acting as the bottom line in the organization and that this is what made them unique, or what defined their *competitive advantage*. The ED explained that one had to have money to play the game but that he would not allow the competition to push the organization to act out of accordance with its mission. He expressed the struggle for smaller organizations to stay competitive in the market, and the need to grow in order

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to be attractive to funders. He relayed a story that taught him this basic lesson, where the

organization had identified and had an offer to purchase a property, and even though they

applied, the bid was given to a much larger organization because they were going to build

100 units, while CCD could only build 77. He argued that the difference here is that they

wanted to better serve families in the neighborhood by building 2-3 bedroom units, while

the other organization proposed all studios. He stated, "And so it will sound better if we

can say we're doing this hundred but I think there's just compromises that go with, not

necessarily bigger but they're a business mindset of, we need to grow, we need to be

attractive to bigger public funders that are big money downers" (CCD Executive

Director, December 19, 2017). With regard to the growth imperative and the competitive

nature of the nonprofit environment he stated:

> One of the things within our sector is just basically the big get bigger and you
> need to grow to survive. 25 years ago we bought a house for $25,000 and [now]
> we're working on two new developments that are the biggest ones we've ever
> built. You basically need to raise a million dollars to even play the game. And
> that's part of what's kind of weighing out the field, is that it's typically the smaller
> organizations or the organizations of color that don't have access to the big box
> that get left behind. And I think from the policy maker's standpoint, they think,
> oh, you know, we just have this crisis, we need to show that we're cranking out
> housing (CCD Executive Director, December 19, 2017).

Here the ED sees CCD's competitive advantage in terms of their foundational community

role, knowing the neighborhood better than any other competitors, and because of that

advantage, they were better situated to conduct innovative work in the community. This

quotation highlights well the imperative to grow (for survival) in the nonprofit ecosystem

which acts to marginalize smaller organizations as well as the struggle to be steadfast in

maintaining ones mission in such an environment. Here, both the Executive Director and

upper level administration defined their role within the competitive environment, as well

as what their competitive advantage was within the field. This discussion also points to

organizational growth/timeline as CCD grew from a small grassroots organization to

what it has become today. As their portfolio doubled, new discourses seemed to emerge

as the stakes became higher. This points to a unique time in the history of the

organization where they struggled to maintain solidarity with the community but also

sustain themselves in the larger affordable housing ecosystem. They want to continue to

"play the game," but along with that came questions about the nature of their

organization, an issue that will be further explored. These tensions in identity emerged in

several conversations as the organization was experiencing a significant tipping point in

growth at the time of this research as demonstrated in several places throughout this

chapter.

Competitive advantage was explained both in terms of knowing one's community

and also in the strength of their team in terms of having, again, a nimble and small staff

that understood the neighborhood and its residents, and thus supporting that competitive

advantage. The ED stated:

> I think we try to think about, okay, what's our competitive advantage? And you
> know, just that we've been working in this neighborhood for 25 years. I've been
> working in this neighborhood more than 30 years. I've got a ton of relationships
> and we've had the opportunity to grow out of these relationships. I think we're just
> trying to reflect the needs that people see in the neighborhood…I think we've
> gotten support. With public agencies, the elected officials, they understand that
> we're doing unique innovative stuff here. I think some of it is we're not turning a
> battleship, so we're much more nimble…I think we've had a consistent voice
> here….I think we definitely think about, okay, what are our strengths and how do
> we play to our strengths? I'm trying to understand what the funders are looking

for and making ourselves more attractive by the things they're looking for (CCD
Executive Director, December 19, 2017).

Competitive advantage was defined by the relationships they had cultivated within their

geo-spatial boundary.

Upper level management questioned how they would support and maintain CCD's

competitive advantage and struggled with these issues as demonstrated below. While they

clearly stated that their competitive advantage as being about relationships and knowing

one's community, there were still conversations around seeking out opportunities that

made them more competitive in the market, more entrepreneurial in nature. Further,

organizational documents defined competitive advantage in numerous ways, showing

some misalignment with interviewee responses. For example, a 2015 Strategic Plan

stated "our competitive advantages are flexibility and innovation" while another report

cited diversity as a competitive advantage, thus highlighting the confusing myriad of

definitions they gave in terms of competitive advantage. When asked about the

acquisition of projects and the development of new programming, there were some

considerations of possibilities for market rate fee for service activities in order to sustain

the organization's affordable housing projects. One staff stated:

> Should we try and run market rate properties and then use the profits to fund future
> development? I think that's a conversation that's still ongoing. At one point we had
> a grant to create a business plan for developing like duplexes or something like
> that, which we went through and then I think that's when we got the two tax credit
> properties working on now and that just sucked up all the bandwidth for that. So I
> think that's all on the back burner...So there's a lot going on...[The ED's] been
> mentioning this a lot about needing money to play and just the barrier to entry has
> been getting higher and higher. Potentially this could be an opportunity and maybe
> if some organizations start doing it well, this is could be part of a greater trend and
> maybe that's more sustainable than crossing your fingers and hoping Congress

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passes thing funds. [The question is] could we have nonprofit ownership of various things. So whether it's market rate, housing, commercial real estate potentially, which is technically what we're doing (CCD Administrative Staff, January 26, 2018).

Further, one partnership underway was to develop commercial real estate on the ground floors of affordable housing as this was seen as a potential way to sustain the organization's enterprise.

So it'll be ground floor, commercial real estate So in the long run, maybe that's, that's better if it's more sustainable and, and it might be part of that larger role I was mentioning of like filling in the gaps, like maybe it doesn't, maybe not all housing needs to be owned by, you know, for profit owners (CCD Administrative Staff, January 26, 2018).

The need for more fee for service programming was on the table at the time, as a potential way to subsidize the affordable housing work the organization is tasked with. One staff explained that the way that affordable housing functions in the nonprofit arena makes this case unique in regards to marketization because it is largely driven by the housing market, and having to ensure one is managing risks in the housing market along the way. Subsidies are given to the organization in order to keep rents low, and so generally the properties make very little money, sometimes no money, and sometimes operate at a deficit where CCD loses money to keep the project operable. The organization gets a fee for the development of projects which have to pay for staff as well as "hopefully some of that money pays for doing a new project, the next project" (CCD Upper Level Staff, December 13, 2017). Ensuring this process functions in a sustainable manner is explained by one upper level staff:

My job primarily as I view it, is to ensure that we are getting new projects developed. The other side of it too is if a portfolio meeting, like the number of

properties that we have gets big enough, there's a greater tendency for them to be self-sustainable or actually contribute more… (CCD Upper Level Staff, December 13, 2017).

Upper level management was consistently seen among organizational staff and board as the strategic decision makers in a competitive environment, the entrepreneurs in the organization faced with strategic governance and organizational financial sustainability. The growth imperative was a given, rather than a question, even as they struggled to understand how they might sustain themselves within the geo-spatial boundaries within which they have such deep community relationships. Upper level management explained their own role as consistent with others' perceptions in the agency, as they saw themselves as the major players in the financial sustainability of the organization.

The organization clearly felt pressure to seek out other options to increase competitive advantage. Here, this further suggests some dissonance around what they say their competitive advantage is- relationships/knowing the neighborhood, and the pressure to explore new competitive advantages. It is unclear here how new acquisitions and fee for service activities will support what they define themselves as their competitive advantage- knowing their neighborhood. So while they say knowing community is their biggest strength in a competitive market, the pressure to be more competitive is ever present.

Entrepreneurial Stratification

When discussing concepts like competition and acquisitions in interviews, many board members discussed the ED and few upper level management as being *the* trusted entrepreneurial players within the organization, with a nimble and savvy skillset

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necessary to make decisions within the competitive environment. Trust and faith were

put into organizational leaders to manage risk and compete to sustain the organization. In

coding data for characteristics of the entrepreneur among board members, they described

these few individuals (upper level management) in the organization as committed,

knowing themselves (who they are as individuals), consistently able to find opportunity,

being nimble, an ability to "schmooze," producing outcomes, knowing the mission

clearly, being able to chart out strategic plans over the next 3-4 years, and able to putting

money into arenas where it will grow, all of which align with notions of "the

entrepreneur" in nonprofit scholarship[36]. It was also evident that the board and staff saw

the ED and upper level staff as the major entrepreneurial players in the organization.

While the board had an entrepreneurial attitude towards acquisitions, competitive edge,

and the financial sustainability in the organization, it was clear that the ED and upper

level staff were well trusted to carry out such operations in practice. Siloed expertise

within the organization allowed for entrepreneurial discourses to be largely concentrated

in higher levels of board and upper management as these discourses remained bifurcated

between upper level management and front line staff. This may be due to such a small

size staff of ten where expert roles around acquisitions and enterprise were the

responsibility of those concentrated at the top of the organization. While upper level staff

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[36] These descriptors point to the entrepreneurial orientation with the exception of "knowing oneself." This points to the conflicting value of knowing oneself which according to leadership theory might lead to more authentic leadership (Komives, 2009). But this is casted alongside being "schmoozey" which is somewhat an antithesis to authenticity This represents a fused discourse as well where one is expected to be both authentic and inauthentic.

claimed competitive advantage as the relationships with the service region, it was front line staff that was tasked with maintaining those relationships.

Front line workers at CCD struggled to balance entrepreneurial discourses such as innovation, acquisition of resources, growth, and risk management with mission driven work aimed at community development driven by and for community residents. Front line staff had a keen awareness the field is competitive, and that CCD had to consider the competitive environment to sustain itself, but rarely explained their work in terms of entrepreneurial discourses. These entrepreneurial discourses had not yet been solidified, or fully integrated on the front line level. Staff discussed the importance of financial sustainability in the organization and the imperative to grow via entrepreneurial strategic behaviors but exhibited a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which competitive values are at odds with civic values. One front line staff explained that community development organizations are "here to build and maintain community assets and facilitate the use of those assets…I mean think of the private market as you know, income driven, reactionary and less placed based." They argued that because they were tied to the community "by a million strings" whether CCD dissolves or not, we're not going anywhere" emphasizing that they are the community, integrated within it. Not solely a professional organization there to serve, but part of the community. However, it was also understood by staff that "the more money [CCD] has, the better because then [we] can be responsive" (CCD front line staff, October 4, 2018). Staff understood the process of acquiring properties/assets in order to sustain operations in the long term, but entrepreneurial discourses did not seem to have a full hold on the way they discussed

their work. Again, siloed expertise, as well as sincere trust in upper level management has largely shielded front line workers from the need to adopt entrepreneurial discourses in their front line resident facing work. Potentially, this could be due to the small size of the organization and the fact that strategic decision making remains the responsibility of only a few upper level experts in the organization. Overall, the agency perceives entrepreneurialism as a necessary part of staying in the game, but in practice, there are only a few members of the organization responsible for enacting these values and actions. And even when these values are taken as a given to stay afloat, the bottom line of mission (community and relationships) remains at center in these discussions. Board and upper level management are responsible for defining themselves in the larger competitive field, putting specific language around what their competitive advantage is (relationship to community), even while they actively seek out competitive advantage view new acquisitions and fee for service activities. They support that competitive advantage by letting front line workers do their relationship centered work in community, and supporting them to do so. Yet, as noted, there is a somewhat confused discourse around competitive advantage here. While knowing the neighborhood is seen as their main competitive advantage in perception, they are simultaneously seeking market like behaviors to expand activities that do not necessarily support their self-defined competitive advantage as explained above in terms of orientations towards innovation in seeking new revenue sources and mixed-income housing. There is ample literature to better understand why and how nonprofits respond to external environments in an increasingly competitive field by taking on such activities like fee for service, *but* it is a complicated and somewhat fragmented process. As evidenced here, there are some

unique tensions between democratic discourses (how they see themselves) versus what is actually practiced (what they actually do). The ways in which these discourses work in tandem is again, a complicated and fragmented process that will be further explored in Chapter 5.

Prudentialism and Technologies of Performance: Perceptions and Practices of Risk Management

At CCD, managerialist approaches, which align with an entrepreneurial orientation, (Hevenmark, 2016) were in the process of being adopted in order to manage perceived risks which will be further explored below[37]. At the time of this case observation, the organization was in the process of developing more internal managerial structures in order to manage internal conflict among employees, as a risk management response to fears of executive succession and the loss of institutional knowledge, and in discussions around defining themselves in a competitive environment as they grew quickly with their recently doubled portfolio. The following section highlights the relationships between the internal and external environmental context and the kinds of approaches and practices embraced by CCD to manage their operations. Organizations are affected in a variety of ways by internal and external environments and here the data showed that both played a significant role in the adoption of varying approaches undertaken by the organization. Although participants were not asked explicitly about managerialist practices, the data confirmed that the practices associated with managerialism were present in several ways and that the organization was managing certain perceptions of risk to cope with a more marketized environment by doing the

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[37] See discussion of the links between managerialism, professionalism, and marketization on pp. 82-85

following: 1) embracing corporatized human resources structures as a response to internal

conflict, 2) engaging in conversations about the adoption of data management systems in

fear of executive succession and loss of institutional knowledge, 3) capacity building

towards redefining their image for funders, and 4) in discussions around spatial strategies

and perceptions/expectations of/for organizational growth. These results align with other

studies showing evidence of the adoption of marketized approaches but have some

unique nuances that will be further explored below.

Perceived Risks: Concentration of Power and Institutional Knowledge

At the time of data collection, the need for more structured internal accountability

mechanisms was ever-present and boldly expressed by participants as there had been

some recent internal leadership struggles. As such, the board was in the middle if a

conversation around better human resource structures and had hired an external

consultant to perform an organizational analysis. The organizational analysis was being

held at the same time this research was conducted, which may have led participants to be

more open to sharing their concerns around this particular issue. The formal consulting

process culminated in a presentation and plan of action but this was highly confidential

and the researcher was asked not to share any information from this report, though it is

acknowledged here that many of the tensions discussed below were evident in the

consultants findings and recommendations. For almost thirty years, as the founder of the

organization in 1991, the executive director[38] has guided the organization and largely

been the holder institutional knowledge for over 25 years. The board had been pushing

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[38] For the purpose of making this discussion more explicit, the ED identifies as a white male. All race and gender information is available in Table 3

for an Assistant Director (AD) position in order to take some of the burden off of the ED

but also in fear that no one in the organization would know how to govern, manage

information, or have an understanding of institutional historical knowledge once the ED

was gone. The main concern here was that the organization's knowledge had been

concentrated into one holder, the ED, which was creating multiple tensions at the same

time, namely, the potential loss of institutional knowledge and the concentration of HR

power in one individual. An Assistant Director was hired but it became clear there were

tensions around the working relationship between the two eventually leading to the

Assistant Director's resignation.

This fear of institutional knowledge loss coupled with a high turnover of staff of

color in the organization, sparked conversations around internal accountability and

equity, both of which led to the hiring of two different consulting groups to help the

organization address these issues and conduct internal reviews. It became clear in

conversations regarding executive succession, that the board was very concerned about

the institutional loss that might accompany it. This was echoed across the board but the

board president sums it up here:

> Founder's syndrome is very freaking real. I know a lot of nonprofits struggle with
> it...some just end very badly, but [for] some that transition is really great…that's
> what I'm really hoping for. [Our ED] is awesome at his job and he's so freaking
> knowledgeable and amazing but I think when you've been doing the same thing for
> years and years and it somewhat works, it's hard to see how it could work some
> another way (CCD Board President, June 18, 2018).

The loss of institutional knowledge was of major concerns by all across the organization

as they pondered executive succession, and created this new AD position to offload some

of the management responsibility from the ED. The board president further stated:

> I think that's just a struggle and yeah, data management, you know, how did we do
> things before? It's like they have to dig through all of this stuff to find out if they
> have done it before, or do we have to like create a...recreate the wheel or something
> like that...I think it's just kind of like, and [our administrative assistant] is really
> like our institutional knowledge. Like he's been there for a long time and it's like
> everybody just goes to [him] to find out something and like he knows where it is
> and if he doesn't, he'll help you. You know, it's like he is the data management like,
> and I think that's probably not the best approach (CCD Board President, June 18,
> 2018).

Front line staff also articulated the tensions around hiring the Assistant Director and some

even discussed how they thought the ED really did not approve of the hiring but the

board had pushed for the creation of this position. Numerous front line staff called for

more internal accountability and felt there was not clarity in roles and expectations

regarding social auditing within the organization. In particular, staff and board expressed

concern about the lack of a reliable human resource system to resolve internal tensions

between staff. The board was very responsive to these calls from front line staff but it

was still under discussion as to how they would be resolved. The board president again

stated:

> If staff have concerns, where do they go? [We don't] have HR at all…it's just been
> really hard...getting [our ED] on board with that. Because I think he's functioned so
> long with a small staff and he feels comfortable kind of handling it all. But then
> when you have the staff issues coming up internally and obviously they're not
> going to tell you about it and like there's no unbiased party to go to. And so that
> just kind of creates like a lot of tension and then a high turnover and...So there
> needs to be some process in place where those things get flushed out and resolved
> appropriately… For a small staff, HR probably doesn't seem like a huge priority,
> but the things that we've heard from staff is [that] there's just a lot of

miscommunication and not a lot of clarity around their roles…(CCD Board President, June 18, 2018).

As stated above, in light of these problems arising in the organization, an external consultant was hired to assess where the organization's strengths and weaknesses were and how they could be addressed in strategic planning, as this was typically seen outside the scope of traditional strategic planning.

> The purpose of the organizational assessment is...mainly...to see whether or not the structures that are currently in place within the organization are functioning well. That is outside of the scope of a typical strategic plan. And we were concerned as the board because of the high turnover of our staff of color...and hearing from some of the staff related to the executive director's annual review, we were having concerns of whether or not this was structural bias. And so we wanted to bring in a third party person to do a review of the organization from the perspective of just efficiency and effectiveness and whether or not staff are feeling supported and whether or not communications are transparent, so forth (CCD Board Member, October 25, 2018).

This was reiterated by frontline staff:

> There were some staff issues that came up...just concerns...there was high turnover…And so we kind of wanted to find out…it was a good chance to interview staff individually and get their perspective on things and their interactions with executive director and all of that stuff....that's kind of been thoroughly documented…There were definitely some concerns that came up that [come] up over the years consistently. And we had [the] assistant director quit…and it didn't end well...So that, that's really what prompted it was this…there was definitely some internal turmoil that was happening. And so [we wondered if] this a pervasive issue and [do we not know] what's going on? So hopefully with this organizational assessment we can kind of identify those things. (CCD Frontline Staff, February 12, 2018).

It seems that the board and front line staff had both identified the issues, and the board was responsive to front line staff's call for action and had systems in place in an attempt to address these concerns. As stated, staff expressed the need for more defined roles and clarity around positions. The solutions discussed are managerial in nature, as the way

conflict was traditionally managed through interpersonal relationships and concentrated power seemed to no longer be working[39]. The data did not reveal any alternatives that may have been discussed as opposed to stronger HR systems, as it seemed that this was a given, a dominant discourse in the field, as to how such matters should be handled.

At the same time, staff also expressed concerns and fears around what that might look like in practice, relating a tension between taking on more bureaucratic management structures and balancing autonomy and freedom felt in their organizational roles pointing to a clear tension between managerialism and more grassroots governance. One program manager stated:

> I think that we could definitely adapt a model that's not so hierarchical. I think that that tends to be a fear is that if we instill a decision like a clear cut decision making process that we're instilling a hierarchy and that's not necessarily true, but I think it would be helpful to know who's taking ownership of this. That's kind of the question that I ask when I'm giving tasks where I have to work with different departments…like who's coordinating everyone's ideas and efforts around this. It doesn't even have to be like one main decision maker, but like who's going to make sure that everyone's input is collected and we all come to some sort of agreement that that's going to be our approach or that's where we're going to resources (CCD Program Manager, December 11, 2017).

The internal struggles pointed to the organization taking on more managerial approaches to governance as a result of lack of clarity in roles and the absence of a human resources department in the face of internal management conflict. A more structured approach to HR was seen as a way to manage the risk associated with high turnover and internal conflict, as well an attempt to deconcentrate executive power. Important to this conversation is that the way CCD is attempting to deal with these issues is by adopting

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[39] The relationship of whiteness and maleness as formal institutions shaping these processes is explored deeper in Chapter 5

more managerialist such as a more institutionalized HR system, rather than a more relationship-based approach. Relational systems of managing internal conflict seem to have failed within the organization and as they assess an appropriate response, a managerialist and professionalized approach is seen as *the only* approach. This speaks to how logics of professionalism take hold (or operate as a dominant discourse) in nonprofits[40]. At the same time, staff and board members did not exactly express that they wanted to make these internal structures more "official" but felt that for the sake of equity and conflict resolution these kinds of HR systems were deemed necessary. This is an interesting finding as even while they sought to create a more democratic system, it was a professionalized approach that seemed like the best way to achieve those results. It is evidenced here that market like tools may actually be aiding the organization in creating more democratic ways of being which will be further explored in Chapter 5.

While the organization seemed to have relied on the relationships of the small number of staff to manage internal conflict naturally via relationships in the past, it became evident that this method was not working under such a concentrated power structure where the ED held all the power, and staff began to feel like they were in the dark, without a place to turn with concerns. It is not clear why a more structured HR approach was taken to resolve this conflict, as there seemed to be no discussion of alternative methods to handle the situation. From an outsider's perspective, it seems as if the board was looking for an immediate solution, did not question any alternatives, and relied on what is perceivably a best practice approach in the professionalized nonprofit

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[40] See discussion of professionalism on pp. 15, 25-26, 35-37, 84-85

field moving through the chaos without a consideration of if this tool was an appropriate one for the organization. This could possibly be due to the influence of external associations that host board trainings, many of which CCD board members had attended. In analyzing external board training documents, managerial and professionalized discourses were the norm. For example, one training document framed the highest functioning boards as being in a "black tie stage" with clarified roles and responsibilities, the hiring of competent management [and resources] to hire competent staff to operate programs (External Board Training Document, 2017).

The board had a prominent role in providing the spaces for conversation around internal accountability regarding human resources as this accountability process was largely board driven. Additionally, board members suggested that the executive director's performance evaluations had been pretty informal in nature in the past and that the last few years have called for a more thorough evaluation and performance measurement goals. The accountability conversation driven by the need to adopt corporate management practices were being taken on, seemingly, as a result of both internal struggles of power and the fear of the loss if institutional knowledge in the case of executive succession, yet were unquestioned as to if these were the appropriate tools. As stated, it seems like the external use of professional associations for board trainings facilitated the unquestioned importation of these discourses into the organization.

It is also important to note that upper level staff and executive management steered clear of discussing these issues in interviews and so there is very little evidence to posit how they personally felt about these transitions. These issues present unique

tension as the organization grows. While on one hand they fear loss of institutional

knowledge and the concentration of power calling for more seemingly legitimate HR

processes and structures, they also fear what these structures might to create processes

that are *too* formal in nature. They perceive these managerial structures as both necessary

to immediately mitigate conflict and fear inducing. So while the lack of an internal HR

system is perceived as an internal risk, and has in fact caused damage in the organization,

in practice the organization seems to still be experimenting and questioning with the

appropriate technologies of performance (increased managerial structures) to help

mitigate these risks and continue to seek outside/external consultation on best practices

for the adoption of new human resources and organizational power sharing structures.

Further, the organization did not have a streamlined data management system to preserve

institutional knowledge but saw this as a way to do so which is explored in the following

section. Here, the use of data management is directly linked to the concentration of power

and knowledge within one person in the organization, and workers saw this as a way to

better manage information to make it assessable across the organization. The reasons as

to why managerial methods and tools were seen as necessary as opposed to other more

grassroots methods could be due to the impacts of institutional isomorphism, the influx of

new professionals on the board, and the use of consultants which is further speculated in

Chapter 5, though the data does not point specifically as to if other tools were considered.

Technologies of Performance: Data Management as Tools for Securing and Sharing Institutional Knowledge

When asked about data management within the organization, employees at

various levels in the organization tended to use different tools for data management, and

each used different sources of data and different strategies and tools for organizing data. Participants saw data management as something they should actively work on, again, due to fears about the loss of institutional knowledge in the face of executive succession. Across the organization, they embraced technologies of performance such as strategic planning, the use of smart goals as tool for planning, and the use of external assessments to a certain degree, but data management around financials and resident statistics was the responsibility of only a few people in the organization whose expertise was explicitly aimed at providing compliance reporting and "closing deals." The Assistant Director largely explained the use of data in terms of using data for tracking relationships and coalition building, as well as donor and partner tracking which is explored in detail below.

One area where programming was heavily influenced by data was in the launching of the baby booster's initiative. They were heavily drawing on evaluation tools driven by public health and equitable health outcomes, whereby the health field has been a large driver of these tools, best practices, and discourses associated with quantifiable health equity outcomes, and may be one avenue where external technologies of performance are being imported. Specifically, the program manager was working to develop an evaluation framework with a technical assistance center based out of the UC Berkeley School of Public Health, known as the Best Babies Zone (BBZ). The program manager stated, "We have a technical assistance provider and data consultants and researchers in San Francisco helping us with our evaluation plan to determine, how we measure whether or not someone is experiencing racism" (CCD Program Manager,

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December 11, 2017). Finally, when front line staff, those who interact with residents on a daily basis were asked about the use of data in the organization, they overwhelmingly pointed to the resident satisfaction surveys that are sent out on a biannual basis to engage community input on services and program satisfaction. This is all discussed in the following sections.

Siloed Expertise and Siloed Data Management

The siloeing of expertise also seemed to play a role in preserving civic discourses in the organization. In fact, while executive management managed perceived risks and financial sustainability in the organization, front line staff we're explicitly hired to be experts in community facing service including the active empowerment and engagement of residents. This specialization of expertise can be seen as a hallmark of professionalization (Hwang and Powell, 2009; Salamon, 2012). Front line staff typically had very little to say when asked questions about data management for funders, and very minimal expertise when it came to funding sources. This seemed to a be conscious choice of organizational leadership and attention was paid to diversifying the staff in a way that did not always defer to hiring people with more professionalized degrees unless the role was specifically aimed at managing financial data. Front line workers were seen as autonomous experts hired based on volunteer and life experiences as this was seen as the expert criteria needed for relating and connecting to community. With regard to hiring practices, the ED stated what he is looking for in employees:

> They demonstrate that they've got a heart for nonprofit work we've hired all kinds of people and all kinds of people who have been successful, but in general, they've all got some kind of volunteer experience. It could be a different kinds or

that they've worked with nonprofits before. Um, so I think that's a constant. And then, you know, it varies depending on the job and some of them are definitely more social work type, like the folks that are working with our residents. [Then] there are more technical, like the ones working on housing or the accounting and that kind of stuff (CCD Executive Director, December 19, 2017).

Upper level management, the executive director and real estate team, were largely responsible for managing programmatic data and financials. Therefore, they were able to speak to systems that were in use as well as systems that they thought would make their work easier. The pressures of managing data in affordable housing is captured here:

You have all the funding priorities of all the different agencies, so we're going to [state housing agencies], housing bureaus and it depends on the project, but they all have funding priorities, so you have to demonstrate that you're going to provide services with the project. You have to demonstrate that you're going to achieve affordability, that it's going to not take a dig in the future even though we're like straining it to pretty much as low as you can go. And then this is a tax credit project. So you also have a major equity investor which will be like a bank of some variety. You have to demonstrate outcomes…a lot of [outcomes] are going to be really concrete. Like did you deliver units that are affordable to a certain level?...There are other funding sources that will come in that for serving specific populations which will be less concrete…like are you stabilizing households? We don't really have service outcomes that are intensely measured. I mean, it's always a priority. There is definitely a part of asking how do you measure and verify. It's expected that we all have residence services activities [accounted for]... So my job I guess is more to make sure that what we say we're going to do is actually possible (CCD Real Estate Developer, December 13, 2017).

Data management in the organization was often explained as inefficient and unorganized, though staff knew the gate keepers in the organization, namely the administrative assistant that could help them locate what data was needed, where it might be, and as an organization, they often discussed better ways of organizing it. Additionally, some of the data useful to the organization was held by a private company that manages the affordable housing complexes; this data was not seen as reliable. While the Strategic Plan (2015) states that "[CCD] is strategic in evaluating and initiating community

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development opportunities" the strategies by which they managed these strategies was

unclear with no formal model or tools for data management. The following participant

articulated these issues, and how a better data management system might help him make

more efficient decisions more quickly.

> I spend a lot of my time focusing on how well are these assets of these properties functioning and which ones are not functioning. So that's why I'm really interested in CiviCRM, a data system, because I want to be able to tell these things quickly and have some key variables that I can pull up at any time instead of having to go dig for them or in some cases I'm relying on data coming from PNW management[41] [pseudonym], finding out that some of that data isn't that reliable...you need this data so you can pull it up quickly, what to use and to what ends. [When a partner] asks how come this particular property has got such a low debt to credit ratio? I need to know what that debt to credit ratio is at any given time and then I need to have the time to get in and find out what's driving that. Why are they expensive?...That's because last year we had a water break on the third floor, it damaged a bunch of units, so we had all these budget for expenses took place. [We] need to be able to mine some of that data, but I also want to be able to give that data quickly to [our real estate developer] because he's busy looking for ways to develop some of our properties and to look at the next project. So also our board needs to know what's going on, so I want to be able to answer those questions as far as thinking about this company (CCD Asset Manager, Upper Level Staff, February 5, 2018).

He further explained that professionalism *is* competition and is thus linked to

competency. He argued that the nonprofit sector should be:

> Allowed to build our own skills and to have the right tools to have data driven systems that we control and that actually serve us, that are designed for the nonprofit, not a hot wired version of a for profit system. Clients or not clients, our clients or customers, right? Everything will be an entirely different orientation, but providing training and building up our own competency and then that value is *respected in professional circles* and used and needed. It's slow to build though because in a nonprofit world, often one project is not the same as the next. So you like doing a tax credit deals very different doing a conventional debt deal and often they're done together anyway…We have to be smarter than the for profit system, we have to try to keep up with some of the tools that they're using and then we

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[41] PNW Management is a private property management company that manages the housing properties onsite for Cascadia Development

have to have them for ourselves, at least appreciate it or at least understood from the for profit side, [we] just may not have the tools to keep up with them (CCD Asset Manager, Upper Level Staff, February 5, 2018).

CCD has a great history and it's been around for over 25 years, 25 years' worth of data piles up. Every time you do a housing project, [we] end up with seven or eight or nine binders full of data. Not all of it's needed at any given time, but 10 years from now when this loan comes through, somebody's got to know that these requirements are coming due, and track [them], [both] the financial side of tracking that, [and] all the opportunities to identify who your other property partners are because you may have different funding sources that fund each property. Well, this is hard to keep track of. The more properties you build, it just builds exponentially. Some people can handle more chaos maybe, but I think there's a tipping point where there's just so much data that you can't manage it all and you have to use those specializing in data [to manage] that tipping point. Right now, too much data needs to be organized efficiently and it slows us down when we're doing development projects (CCD Asset Manager, Upper Level Staff, February 5, 2018).

So here there is an appreciation for the tools of market but also the recognition that they are not designed for nonprofit use and that better systems can be integrated to support nonprofit data management as a whole. Additionally, there is a concern that there is just too much data in the organizational history to capture but that efficient data was necessary for quickly developing projects. There is no question here that the nonprofit ecosystem is perceivably competitive, competition is the unquestioned discursive norm.

In order to maintain competitive advantage, organizational actors see the need to *control* the data which they are unable to do, relying on an external property management company. Without that control, they do not see themselves as able to effectively manage perceived risks in the competitive environment. The Assistant Director also explained tensions around the reliance on the property management company for data regarding who resides in the affordable housing complexes. She saw that in relying on the property management company for data, it did not really capture the essence of the work CCD is

doing around community building and relationships, so it was a particular type of data the agency seeks to gather, more representative and accessible data. For example, she saw the data collection strategies in use at the time as inefficient in reaching a diverse audience of residents given language barriers. She stated:

> We don't have a report that spits out we've got x amount of families that speak Russian, these x amount of families that speak Cambodian...It's complicated because we outsource property management, right? And so to collect that data becomes tricky…we're hoping to capture that this year in our resident satisfaction survey to gauge thinking about equity… [how can we] have effective communications that are in different languages so that other people, our entire resident body can read what we do (CCD Assistant Director, January 8, 2018).

Additionally, some data management strategies and tools were being imported from larger external bodies centered in measuring health inequity, particularly with the baby boosters program as stated above. This is another example where the organization did not directly control the data and metrics frameworks and were questioning the external evaluation plans. The baby booster's program lead stated:

> Specifically for the baby booster initiative it's still this bigger thing that's happening in public health, how do you measure health equity? That's a really hard thing to do…And because of the frameworks that the initiative is really grounded in, [that] socio economic status alone, housing alone, access to health clinics, the cultural competence of the health clinics that you access, pre and postnatal care, all of those things alone don't necessarily make the impact that we're looking for. So we have this bigger question right now. We're still trying to figure it out. We have a technical assistance provider and data consultants and researchers in San Francisco helping us with our evaluation plan to determine, well how do we measure whether or not someone is experiencing racism? They have a contract with a research company in San Francisco. So they're helping us with our evaluation plan (CCD Frontline Staff, December 11, 2017).

There was a struggle to determine how to define racial inequity in terms of health outcomes and measures, and again the use of external experts was employed to determine

appropriate measures. So there exists a tension of who controls the metrics and data management within the organization and the organization desires more control of these systems.

In addition, upper level management saw the need for better data tracking systems but each individual seemed to be on their own path to finding what tools those might be, each according to their own role in the organization. Interestingly, conversations about data management pointed to the need not only for quantifiable and reliable systems for decision making but also as tools for creating and streamlining data *for relationships*, as in to maintain, remember, consolidate, and institutionalize important partnerships, networks and relationships. The AD stated:

> A lot of this is [being] newly built out. I think it's like any really small nonprofit. I'm from a scrappy nonprofit grassroots movement that was coming in and even just organizing documents on our server so that it was a lot of building out and creating structures and systems. I think they're important for any organization is small, medium or large because I really believe you're only as good as you are able to be truly authentic about building relationships. That's at the heart of what we do. *We use these systems for capturing those relationships* and a place to put them…I think we have such a really strong team and there's so many of us out meeting community members and building, building, building, but when we don't have a centralized place to come back to where we capture that information, then it gets lost (CCD Assistant Director, January 8, 2018).

> [We're] talking to other nonprofit organizations whenever possible, in order to create linkages with them if they're already doing something in this area. We're trying to build in ways so that we could actually keep track of that and coordinate and to really build off each other's work where it makes sense....were trying to keep track of all the advocacy groups in the area, for instance, what their current campaigns are...what are the current themes that you see are rising in your advocacy databank and what are other organizations are doing? (CCD Asset Manager, Upper Level Staff, February 5, 2018).

> Right now, we don't have a database…I'm trying to build a constituent resource management database that we will use an asset management to manage all of the

property data, but also that kind of database is perfect [because] that's what it was originally created for, is [to] the track relationships within relationships...I'm trying to be aware of where all the interconnections are so that we can take advantage of that. Because a lot of the nonprofits, go from activity to activity, but we know that the real strength comes in collective voices.[For example] if we all get on and sign for the welcome home campaign, we might actually get some funding for housing....Right now it's on different spreadsheets but I've seen this happen a few times where [organizations] grow to a certain point where the tools that they have are just not really sufficient anymore to track the work that they're doing. And also because of the high turnover rate. How did we actually do that last year with this and this organization? Well, nobody remembers because Joe used to do that job. So what we're trying to do is try to organize all of our key functions and documents in time just because I can see it happening (CCD Asset Manager, Upper Level Staff, February 5, 2018).

So overall upper level staff saw data management tools as way to better capture information for financial decision making, as a way to capture relationships, as well as a way to manage information in the case of employee turnover, in other words, to preserve institutional knowledge. This points to these tools being used (or imagined) to being useful for both market and civic ends and aims, for both competition and collaboration. So even though they see the field as competitive, see other community development organizations as competitors, and want to manage data in order to be more competitive, there is a paradox here, a fused discourse, where data management was also seen as a tool of collaboration. However, it should be considered that being able to track and prove strategic partnership and collaboration as organizational outcomes could potentially be one more technology of performance useful in demonstrating competitive advantage to funders. It could also be seen a market tool to better define one markets niche when you have a clear picture of what competitors are doing. However, the language used when discussing data for relationships seemed authentic as strength was seen in being able to track and purvey the collective voice of the field as a whole.

When front line staff was asked about data management strategies in the organization, front line staff had an understanding of what data was being tracked in the organization and why. For the most part, front line staff was largely focused on data collected on the front line levels of the organization such as demographic data, programmatic enrollment data, and pre/post and exit surveys to be used for grant writing. They stated:

> Our ED does a lot of research and reading related to data collected outside our organization. We have some data we collect on an ongoing basis, like participation numbers, pre and post surveys, and quantitative and qualitative outcomes. A lot of our data is qualitative, which is harder to connect (CCD Frontline Staff, December 18, 2017).
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> [We] keep all the data of the participants that sign up… I also try to do pre/post surveys, and exit surveys…we try to use them to make the program better, especially the exit interviews…[For grant writing we track] outcomes like they contributed this many hour, took care of this many plants and trees, reached out to this many community members. That's the stuff that I use in the grants. They like to see those numbers. They do. (CCD Front Line Staff, December 21, 2017)

Additionally, data tracking was seen as a means for distributing services in an equitable manner:

> Data collection plays a significant role in our work, particularly surrounding demographic information, as we are committed to operating in an equitable fashion, and want to ensure that we distribute our resources equitably throughout our communities. I have cursory knowledge regarding program evaluation, and we do attempt to monitor our efficacy, though we do not adhere to any strict metrics to achieve this, we mostly just sense what is or is not working, and adjust accordingly (CCD Front Line Staff, January 8, 2018).

One front line staff member explained that there had been ongoing conversations about better data tracking tools, but stated they were happy keeping it simple and manageable:

[We track] incentives that we offer to people, even if it's just bus fares that I'm offering to my residents…and then at the end of every month we look back to see how much help we have offered to people, we transfer those numbers into our system so everyone knows what we're giving people and how much we haven't given to people…it's a shared spreadsheet among all [staff]. I guess primarily we stick with the spreadsheet. There has been [conversations about adopting data tracking software tools] but then again, we'd like to keep it simple so it's more manageable. So I think everybody's happy with how it's going on right now (CCD Front Line Staff, October 4, 2018).

While other front line staff explained that they wanted and needed more training in data tracking and that the organization was working on revamping their systems, specifically to be able to demonstrate outcomes to funders, and "get the most" out of the data:

That's one of the areas that [I'm] wanting more training in, and [I'll] be looking for best practices and how we can maximize the data we have and use it to our best abilities…We have a dashboard where we're…tracking numbers. We've revamped it recently to do more…It's an excel spreadsheet that we plug in our numbers and then it has it kicks it out into pie charts and bar graphs…Some of it is really hard to understand and we're saying I don't really like it, are we reading it right? Are we getting the most out of this? So we're supposed to be doing a redesign…Like we've got a chart right now that either like just says progress [is] either zero or 100. It doesn't make sense. It looks like we're completely done or we've not started. So, um, so once the board figures out what they want to see in the report, what kind of data they're looking at to kind of evaluate our organizational health, then we'll be doing the redesign… The partner database right now is an excel spreadsheet and hopefully I'll be getting familiarized with that [looking to see] if there's a better way or maybe a different platform, I'll be doing research on that at some point…You're going to run into a lot of problems if you're not doing data tracking (CCD Frontline Staff, February 12, 2018).

Funders want to know who showed up to this program if they're going to fund it. If it was really successful, then we had good numbers and that's going to get us some money to do the program again (CCD Frontline Staff, February 12, 2018).

These quotes demonstrate that front line staff are somewhat halfheartedly taking on marketized tools for programmatic data tracking. Here, data is seen as an avenue for perceivable professionalism to external stakeholders to garner credibility yet it does not seem as though CCD front line staff have a strong handle on how these tools are used, or

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how they have been useful in the organization. This is evidenced by the story above about

a chart that gets published for the board each month, which this front line staff claimed

no one knows how to read or interpret. Additionally, data tracking is sometimes seen as

burden which they hope to simplify as it gets in the way of providing services as

demonstrated by the following quote:

> We're calculating the numbers monthly and then we'll be sending it out quarterly
> to the board…It's a lot of data tracking. It's really hard to do if you have like a lot
> going on and you're welcoming people in and having to mark their right age
> groups. So we're trying to simplify it by just doing headcounts. Headcount of
> kids, head count of adults and babies and then the board report on the resident
> services end highlights all the activities and things and trainings that we did that
> month…a description of what we've been up to and like the work we're doing
> (CCD Frontline Staff, February 12, 2018).

Further, there is some question about the legitimacy and accuracy of the data, as one staff

explains that she thinks this kind of data collection puts residents in a "funny spot" where

they are "too uncomfortable to be truthful."

> [The resident surveys] put people in a funny situation where like they have to
> check boxes or like put down responses with pen and paper or an iPad. I did not
> like it because for the most part I could read in their faces that they were too
> uncomfortable to be truthful. So personally I like to check in with people. I'd be
> like, tell me like, you know, come on, what's going on? Did you like it? Did you
> not like it? It's then again, that psychology part in me that likes to make the
> connection and keep the connection and use the connection (CCD Front Line
> Staff, October 4, 2018).

Finally, when talking about data management, many front line staff consistently pointed

to the resident surveys that are sent out on a bi-annual basis and seemed to equate data

management as a practice of accountability towards residents as the main stakeholders.

These surveys were viewed as research to better understand what clients wanted or

needed, which could be seen as a form of market research. However, it is unclear whether

or not these surveys have just become rote annual exercises in market research, other than the feedback is used in programmatic design the following year. Staff referred to these as resident or community surveys, but the actual documents are titled, Resident Satisfaction Surveys. These surveys mainly ask questions about level of satisfaction with homes, maintenance, the property management, and the neighborhood (Resident Survey, 2016). However there is space for residents to specifically state if there are any events, programs, activities or services they would like to see offered at the property. Staff perceived this as a civic process, whereby community members had input into community programming. But, the way that front line staff perceived this exercise was one of civic value, getting representative feedback from their community, albeit sometimes perceivably not as legitimate or truthful as they would like to be as the front line staff states above.

Overall, the organization showed no signs of any kind of streamlined data management system, but discussions were underway about how to do so. Market tools of data management were in use, but embraced halfheartedly, and sometimes not useful due to misunderstandings in interpretations. Data tracking had been happening, but loosely, in unfindable spreadsheets, and governed by those who made them, each to their own ends. The risks associated with the lack of streamlined data systems was of concern as they feared the loss of institutional knowledge, lack of information needed to quickly develop projects, and a lack of understanding stakeholder relationships. Data management tools were seen as effective mechanisms (technologies of performance) to manage these risks, but there was no cohesion across the organization about what this might look like. Once

again, this points to the identity crises the organization is currently experiencing with regard to becoming more professionalized in practice (or not) which is explored in the following section.

Technologies of Performance: A Question of Defining Organizational Identity

At the time of this research the organization had just completed a rebranding exercise including the development of a new logo, were in workshop with two external consultants, and in the stages of a strategic planning process, all of which have been defined in the nonprofit literature as responses to marketization. Defining oneself in the marketplace and filling a unique niche in the community development ecosystem, was of central concern to the organization. They specifically stated in the 2015 Strategic Plan that they were "practice[ing] social entrepreneurship…taking advantage of opportunities to influence markets" (2015 Strategic Plan). But at this time, they were even more so being reflective as they pondered with how to cope with increasing external pressures, changes in the environment, changes in leadership and rapid growth, all amidst a staff size that has remained relatively small. The questions around professionalizing or not professionalizing were of major concern as the organization experienced these growing pains. On the one hand, they valued their efforts at sustaining a mix of professionals and residents on the board, as well as hiring front line staff with community experience, and even current or former residents, but also discussed the challenges that accompany such representation in formal structures. This was evident in conversations about board development (technical skills), professionalization of staff, and overall professional

development for the organization centered on equity issues which will be further explored below.

Professional Development

In general CCD has a somewhat laissez faire approach to *individual* professional development and had a very lax approach to onboarding for board members. Opportunities for professional development were sent out by the ED as options, but there was no coherence around who should take advantage of them. Opportunities were presented and sent out by the ED to the staff and board, but it was a "pick and choose what sounds interesting," and individualized approach to professional development. This approach points to the idea that under neoliberalism, individuals themselves are responsible for their own betterment in order to manage risks, to sustain the individual and organizational enterprise. However, it could also be plain disorganization around professional development as the agency experiences growing pains. There is an understanding that if one decided to take a professional development opportunity for their own self-fulfillment, the organization would support them in doing so. There exists a tension among board members between not feeling like they had enough onboarding or technical training but also not wanting the board to be so technical and based in expertise that they isolated community members and especially resident board members. They were very thoughtful about the tension between these two ideas, both marketized and civic/democratic operating at the same time.

First, board members expressed sincere concern of not always knowing their role and responsibilities, and desired deeper onboarding and better tools for board

development. The onboarding process was explained by most board members as minimal. This sentiment is summed up in the following quote which was expressed across board membership:

> I got basically I had a short orientation and a tour of all the facilities and then was thrown into the fire and I don't mean that in a negative way that I'm very comfortable with that, but I also look around at our and there's varying levels of knowledge and experience, but even more so confidence and so I tend to speak more than others because I'm very comfortable, very confident that I understand what I'm doing. And I just noticed that participation levels vary based upon that level of knowledge, experience, and confidence. So onboarding could be better is what I'm trying to say. So I guess they gave you like a packet or something that great. And I would say that briefly it was I think two or three of us new board members at the time got an orientation that was probably two hours (CCD Board Member, May 16, 2018).

Many board members expressed the tensions and conflicts between having a highly structured and financially educated board versus having a more representative, inclusive, or "lax" board. There were tensions around the costs and benefits of over-professionalizing the board in fear of isolating or marginalizing community resident board members. Here the foundational civic values of representation on the board acted somewhat as a resistance to the adoption of market logics. One participant stated:

> A more lax structure I think leads to a board member not feeling overwhelmed with, you know, these are volunteers who have busy lives who probably work and have kids. So the lax structure can lead to a board member of just feeling like, oh, this is a good fit for them because they're not just overburdened by this extra responsibility. The downside of it is that we have inconsistent showing of events. We have confusion around how decisions are made. I think overall it just makes it a less effective board. I think we can easily fall into a "check the box board" where the executive director comes to us just be like, oh, this is just, we just need your signature on this type of thing. Rather than being a board that holds the executive accountable while also providing the resources to allow staff to thrive. And that's kind of where we kind of want to get to. So it's a little bit of that balance of how do we provide enough structure for people to be bought in while also not being over

demanding of people's time. And so we just kind of want to find that medium. And so we're going to be kind of talking about what that might look like (CCD Board Member, October 25, 2018).

Here, it should be noted the mention of wanting to become a board that can better hold the executive accountable, a conversation that comes up consistently in the data. It seems to signify a search for board authenticity and legitimacy, as questions of power emerge in the organization. There were additionally some frustrations about not having clear roles and expectations on the board.

> Not having those explicit expectations for board members could come back and bite us...I think the lax nature could also convey a, uh, a perceived idea that it's okay if I just don't show up. And so we're starting to see that a little bit. Some of our board members who we really want to stay are kind of prioritizing our board at a low level because we haven't set expectations of what it means for them to participate. So when push comes to shove your family work and other responsibilities, we're starting to see some board members push this to the bottom because we're not holding them accountable to being part of the board...I think that's kind of the limiting issue is that because we don't have any outset roles for secretary, treasurer and even vice chair, um, there was an expectation going into my position that there would be, and I'm coming to find out that there's none, which is confusing. And so the people that tend to have more defined responsibilities on the executive community because they have to sign off on a lot of legal documents, on lot of financial statements as well (CCD Board Member, October 25, 2018).

Overall, there was a general concern that not all board members were adequately trained to make financial decisions even though organizational documents and external board trainings stressed the importance of fiduciary responsibility.

> That's definitely a struggle that I have concerns about because especially when we're reading financial reports, it's not just the resident board numbers, it's like everybody, like we just kind go over their head…I think having residents on the board, [at board meetings I am] conscious about like, oh my gosh, are we just like totally just skipping over, you know, like are we all understand that? Are we all on the same page? Because you have professionals who have like masters degrees and then you know probably resident board members who don't have that level of

education and I don't know how to like integrate in, and create that same level playing fields and it's difficult but it's so, so valuable to have them on the board because we talk about like issues that are happening in buildings that we probably would have never known about. I think there is an expertise that they have that everyone else doesn't have...But in terms of like that technical knowledge, it's just an assumption to think that they don't know, but I don't think everybody is understanding it. That gap exists and hopefully with this new committee, we can really lay those issues down and like figure out a better approach for that (CCD Board President, June 18, 2018).

Because professional development activity is self-selective and the ED takes a somewhat laissez faire approach to professional development, it was expressed that it may be helpful if the board attends trainings together to gain cohesion as a team.

Whenever trainings do come up, like they'd go out to everybody and it's like whoever can has time goes. Yeah. So it's kind of self-selective. Yeah. But I feel like, I mean, I'd like to do something where it's kind of a requirement to do like a board, a basic board training maybe all together because I feel like we all just have such different [levels of] knowledge,...maybe someone goes to a training comes back and we have the session, like, come back and discuss like what we learned (CCD Board President, June 18, 2018).

Often board members did go to professional development workshops around board governance and explained that they came back with more questions than answers:

I went to a one day seminar down in about how boards are structured and kind of came away realizing that we might have been doing a lot of things wrong and so we've been on board, has been meeting about kind of reorganizing the board and how board meetings happen, what the agenda should be, how the agenda is set. We realized we both been on the board for a while and didn't even know who wrote the agendas for the board meetings. And so there's that kind of constant need and desire to review and analyze processes that we have. And are we just doing this because that's what it's always been done or is there a better way so that the board, this seems very nimble that way and very anxious or I'm open to exploring different ways of doing things as a board (CCD Board Member, January 17, 2018).

This quote exemplifies how professionalized discourses may get imported viz professional associations into organizations that are seeking best practices in board

leadership. The way that they have been doing things is pointed out as "wrong" or inefficient" and this becomes an unquestionable truth that gets imported from external professional development agencies[42]. In particular, the seminar this board member speaks of is held by a large nonprofit membership organization supporting nonprofits of all size throughout the state. These board documents focused almost entirely on fiduciary responsibility and understanding financial obligations via a very technical and marketized lens. As the organization engages a search for how to share power and maintain a "legitimate" governing structure, the marketized or corporatized lens becomes adopted as an unquestionable best practice. The power given to these external experts is worth exploring and may be due to several factors: the perceived competitive field which requires that one "fit in" to even be able to play the game, the professionalization that has occurred placing educated experts as truth makers, and keeping up with other perceived competitors by using the same tools. It seems in an effort to decenter executive power, the board is suggesting these practices as best practices, without consideration of how things were done in a more grassroots way before, and how perhaps those systems could have been improved. This will be further explored in Chapter 5.

CCD seems to be taking it to heart how these structures might impact resident board members in particular. On the one hand, they desired technical expertise on the board, (which could also aid in deconcentrating ED power in decision making). On the other, they strongly valued having resident and grassroots representation on the board.

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[42] These discourses are taken on as unquestionable truths via a variety of the complicated phenomenon induced under institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) as well as the way that organizations respond to such pressures (Oliver, 1991) which will be further explored in Chapter 5.

However, they carried an underlying assumption that these board members may not be skilled in technical expertise around budgets. The organization viewed these board members as the sole experts in in aiding the organization in understanding what is happening on the front lines, in resident housing units. Resident board members were seen to have community expertise which could not be acquired via professional development, but only through the experiences of living within CCDs housing units. However, resident board policies were very clearly laid out in organizational documents and emphasized the role and protections of resident board members. These responsibilities included reporting on any complaints at the housing properties, to raise resident concerns to the board, and to advocate for the interests of residents (Resident Board Policy, 2017). Their role was not framed through the lens of financial responsibility anywhere in formal documents, as they were not expected this duty. However, the board was sensitive to how these conversations on finance dominate board meetings which may act to isolate resident board members. In board meeting observations, residents largely remained silent when discussing budgets but were readily knowledgably about issues occurring within the housing units. The researcher noted in observation journaling a general discomfort residents seemed to have when the discussion turned to finance, and a notable silence was documented. When asked if she felt like she had an authentic role in organizational decision making one resident board member stated:

> Not always. [Researcher: And why do you think that is?] That's my choice. How do I put this? I'm the kind of person who doesn't like to talk unless they know what they're talking about. I don't like to pretend that I know the answers or what's going on. So I like to be more reserved. And so it's just one of my weird things (Resident Board Member, May 24, 2018)

When discussing her responsibilities or leadership roles, she further stated:

> I don't really have any leadership roles. I think my first year was like taking it all in and learning. Um, because there's a lot of incredibly intelligent people and I'm just like not on par with them, this sit back and listener, and then if I have questions I may ask at the time or put someone aside and be like, whoever seems like they know they're talking about to [explain to] me a little more.

Resident board members are seen as representing resident interests but perhaps not seen, and do not feel, like full members of the board. This resident board member also expressed that she did not feel qualified to interject in organizational decision making. This begs the questions of if resident board members are really seen as whole contributors to the organization or rather people that represent a very narrow set of interests and perspectives assigned to them by the organization. The organization does view and speak of their residents as full participants of the board but this is not always seem true in practice. It should be noted as well that resident board members also have full support from the organization to self-enroll in professional development opportunities.

Staff felt as though they could attend professional development workshops, and the ED would send these opportunities out to staff often and encourage staff, board, and resident leaders to take whatever opportunities seemed interesting to them. Staff was often able to pick and choose what might seem interesting to them and generally get full support from the organization to attend professional development opportunities. One participant stated, "It's definitely more like DIY style. If I want to learn how to do Excel a little bit better, I'll look for an Excel class…[one staff member enrolled in college courses and [CCD] is paying for that" (CCD Associate Director, January 3, 2018). The general

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attitude towards professional development opportunities in the organization are

highlighted in these quotes:

> I think that in general you just have to kind of look for it yourself and get approval and I think in general, I mean I've never been turned down for anything or and also I've never really asked for permission. Like I just do what I need to do. I think it would be easy for someone like needed to just go away, I need more training in this, I'm going to do more training and I think it would be difficult for someone that's younger or new, to say like I actually need this and can I get it and I do this, but overall I think it's in general as supportive of like people should get training in areas that they need training in. [The ED] sends out training opportunities through like emails of like, hey there's this thing is going on (CCD Frontline Staff, January 10, 2018).

> Various improvement opportunities present themselves in the workplace, from working with equity specialists to increase our organizational impact in this area, having guest speakers facilitate learning opportunities during meetings or retreats, to the offering of classes and workshops geared towards personal and/or professional development that one would access during work hours at offsite locations, while still "on-the-clock". I've personally learned a lot regarding equity in practice, person-first language, conflict resolution, and money management skills that I can pass on to residents interested in such things (CCD Frontline Staff, January 8, 2018).

The executive director also hosts regular grant writing workshops on a quarterly basis

where staff can bring grants they are working on into the group setting to improve grant

writing skills and gives staff "an overview of what's important in grant writing and then

collectively [staff] kind of assess each other's writings and give each other feedback." So

while professional development skills were easily accessible, and there was an open

invitation, the board felt there was more professional development needed which

exemplifies how the organization may be at a tipping point for the importation of

marketized discourses, as research shows that marketized discourses are often taken on as

they are imported from professional associations. The organization is in the process of

adopting new technologies of performance such but at the same time have a lax structure

for ensuring that professionals in the organization have an understanding of how to deploy these technologies of performance. Even though these technologies of performance are being adopted, there is still uncertainty around how individuals in the organization will be trained to use such tools.

The data showed that professionalization had not yet taken a stronghold within the organization. While there seemed to be a cognitive understanding that they wanted it, and sometimes needed it, it was not adopted in practice, or by any means a requirement within the organization. Again, these conversations are arising at a critical tipping point where the organization is questioning who or what they want to be or become. Additionally, since the ED has largely been held responsible for technical decision making over the last 25 years, conversations are emerging about what skills might be needed for others to be able to share this decision making power in the organization. This points to some interesting considerations about marketization. As executive founders phase out, does this make nonprofits more vulnerable to adopting marketized technologies of performance to preserve technical expertise? This will be explored further in Chapter 5 discussion.

Technologies of Performance: The Professionalization of Equity Work and Reproducing White Professionalism

Equity work with an external consulting agency was underway in at the time of data collection and became an important piece of this research as it points to some significant findings on why and how marketized practices become adopted within civic organizations, especially as they are forced upon organizations from the external funding environment. During this time there had been a push for equity programming by the city,

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an important funder in the affordable housing ecosystem. As a result, many nonprofits in

the area began to scramble to create an equity statement and integrate measures of equity

into their work. As stated, CCD hired an external consultant at this time to do equity

work with all staff and board members to prepare an equity statement and better integrate

equity into their work. This call for greater accountability to equity was an externally

imposed discourse that the organization struggled to quickly implement. This is not to say

that equity was not already a focus in the organization, but there were greater calls to

demonstrate the work appropriately for funders. For example, the organization explicitly

addressed equity in organizational documents such as annual reports and strategic plans

stating how people of color were underserved in this neighborhood, and that they would

better focus towards establishing jobs for communities of color, women, and residents of

the neighborhood (CCD Strategic Plan, 2015; CCD Annual Report, 2016). Further, the

organization already had an equity statement which is paraphrased here for anonymity.

> Cascadia Community is committed to equity, diversity and inclusion which means
> creating conditions that enable everyone to reach their full potential. Equity is part
> of our everyday operation and embedded within our mission. In order to advance
> equity, we must make decisions and take action to engage under represented
> communities with an understanding of how history, bias, and oppression impact
> individuals, institutions, and systems (CCD Equity Statement, 2017).

Further, the equity statement outlines the history of racist housing policy in the

neighborhood such as redlining and urban renewal, and a commitment to addressing root

causes of the displacement and disparity faced by marginalized communities. They aimed

to do this by engaging underrepresented communities and seeking direct input from

community, promoting a culture that de-centered whiteness and celebrated differences,

nurturing relationships, centering strategies on equity and inclusion, promoting equitable

public policy, and building strong partnerships. Finally, they pledged to track the

outcomes from their equity plan and publicly report on progress (Paraphrased from CCD

Equity Statement, 2017). So even though they were already doing equity work as

outlined above, it is not just about the work itself, but how this work "looks" from the

outside, in other words, how it becomes measurable to external funders. They were doing

equity work but it did not "look right" or was not "appropriately demonstrated" to

external stakeholder. One board member articulated this by stating that nonprofits act

quickly when they know it will hurt them in the pocketbook. Important to note is that this

board member is also an ED at another organization that works closely with CCD and

can thus attest to the external pressures nonprofits face. They stated:

> Thinking about the larger picture of the nonprofit industrial complex folks don't move until it hits them in the pocketbook. So CCD started getting wind of city funding is going to be contingent on how are you articulating your equity work and what progress are you making? And you know, what metrics are you tracking? That's absolutely the worst reason to be doing equity work. Right? Like, you don't want the only reason we're doing it is because we have to do it...not because you know, that's the right thing to do, or that's what we know. We were doing better job than most of understanding those issues and having our work reflect the values that they're upholding (CCD Board Member and External Stakeholder, October 10, 2018).

Overall there was an awareness that the equity work was a response to funder's whims, or

because it was the fad at the time. But, the organization saw the need for it and

understood why the work needed to be done, exemplified in the following quotes:

> We are trying to adopt a stronger stance on equity within our organization and part of that is driven because we need to be educated and aware of expectations that funders have around an organization's understanding of and action on equity issues (CCD Frontline Staff, December 18, 2017).

I think we maybe just noticed that a lot of other organizations were doing it...That there was a need for it… I'm so glad we did it and I don't think we just did it to be cool or to fit in, but I think it was really [more about] understanding what outcomes are you seeing this as a result of this. (CCD Frontline Staff, February 12, 2018).

However, while the organization saw it as good work to be doing, it seemed like the impetus was how they would be perceived externally if they did not make the work more explicit. This is again, another tension around maintaining civic values but also questioning how they can ensure those values are expressed and perceived externally in a competitive environment. There was also an underlying nuance that they were doing it because everyone else was doing it. The organization has already defined the field as competitive, so this is perhaps yet another way to uphold competitive advantage. However, as they also see the field as collaborative, so this speaks to defining the larger collective nonprofit voice which one participant alludes to earlier in this chapter. They want to be seen as adding to that collective voice by getting on board with what other organizations are doing. In the nonprofit scholarship on neoliberalization it is common that nonprofits begin to take on neoliberal discourses via funders (Scott and Meyer, 1991; Alexander, Nank, & Stivers, 1999; Ebrihim, 2002; Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004; King, 2017). In this case, it is unique as the market (funders) was driving civic values in they were largely funding organizational programming with a basis in equity work. The push for equity work *is* a push for implementing more civic values but through the creation of equity statements, plans, and measurable outcomes. This process itself has been criticized as a professionalized way of doing equity work (Jeffrey, 2005) which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. So, while the integration of equity in a more strategic way was of some importance to the organization before the funder's priorities shifted, the urgent

focus on equity was also somewhat driven by the market environment at the time. And

alongside this, new technologies to manage, measure, and report such things. As such,

the bulk of professional development the organization had been engaged in that year was

surrounding equity work. One participant explains:

> We formed the equity committee [suggested by the executive director] who
> basically said we need to do an equity plan. And then that was how do we, you
> know, how to like, what does an equity plan look like? And that's where I think we
> had a good, you know, um, representation of board members that can bring in some
> of that work. [Another board member] who had worked on the equity plan for
> [another large city agency] brought his professional experience and then [other
> board members] with planning backgrounds kind of had their own analysis around
> those issues. So I thought our equity committee was good. We did an
> evaluation...went through the evaluation...and then we looked for a consultant to
> help us implement that plan and we had a budget associated with that CCD Board
> Member and External Stakeholder, October 10, 2018).

An equity committee of both board and staff was created and trainings were conducted

for both staff and board members on what equity was, what it meant to individuals and

how the organizations might change its policies and procedures to meet the equity goals

they might establish. For the most part the organization saw this equity work as deep and

big work, something they needed to face hands on, and they did so openly and willingly.

However, when asked about these equity trainings, feelings varied by racial identity as

people of color within the organization wondered if the organization would only "talk the

talk" and not "walk the walk." As important civic values become quickly translated into

technologies of performance, we must ask what is lost, in this case, the depth and breadth

of the actual anti-racist work which may go undone as the demonstrations of the work

become more important than the work itself. Staff of color had deeper concerns about the

organization's ability to adopt an equity strategy in both rhetoric *and* actions. I think what

is important here is rather than discussing variation among board and staff responses, the more interesting variations are in looking at responses from white individuals versus people of color within the organization. White respondents articulated how much they enjoyed the experience and saw it as necessary but difficult work while people of color expressed already having an understanding of oppression, not needing to be taught about it in professional environment and very dubious about how it would become implemented in the agency. Some staff of color in the organization expressed that they themselves had been victims of what they perceived as inequity within the organization. One participant explained this in terms of wages.

> So I don't know how much or how well it will improve our diversity within [the organization]...I'm also the youngest and I'm also the one without a college degree and I'm also undocumented, you know...I'm mostly like at the lowest of the bank, so what does that say about your diversity? Um, so yeah, just, it's still a process. I personally didn't [bring this to the attention of leadership]. One of my coworkers did. She's like hey, you know, I do the same work, but me as a white woman, I'm being paid more. And she also did not have a college degree when she started the work...I'm like the lowest with the pay. So like, yeah, well you don't have a college degree but she didn't either and I'm like when she left she was making like $18 or $19 an hour and I'm barely making $15 and that was on the job description that was stated as the starting salary for the youth organizing position, but I started at $12 (CCD Frontline Staff, December 21, 2017).

Workers stated that they did think it might result in better work plans around equity, but perhaps not be integrated into the organizational structure itself. Strategic planning and work plans were being developed to integrate equity measures into the work they performed in the community, but there were still tensions around a high turnover rate of people of color in the organization as well as equitable wages for people of color in the organization. As the funding market was driving the civic value of equity, the organization took this call to heart, but participants still worried that it would only be

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integrated as technologies of performance in the form of an equity statement, work plans,

and strategic goals around equity, rather than integrated as part of organizational culture,

or for real community change.

One participant, a woman of color in the organization described that the

organization had a somewhat backwards approach to integrating equity into the strategic

operations of the organization. She argued that the whole process was creating a lot of

extra work and that this form of leadership development "is more focused on white folk's

awareness that, like, racial issues exist and persist." She further stated:

> In my mind these conversations need to happen more in connection with like the
> general strategic planning that we do rather than separate from them because it's
> just a lot of work plans to juggle and we kind of have a separate plan around equity
> and then we have our separate strategic plans and I think those two things remain
> pretty disconnected from one another. And the equity initiative, curriculum and the
> timeline that they provide is the focal point really is, in my opinion, it's more to
> raise consciousness for white folks than it is to support black and brown people
> working at nonprofits (CCD Frontline Staff, December 11, 2017).

She saw this as a somewhat disingenuous process where the organization was

retroactively trying to apply the equity framework to the work they had done over the last

25 years. In an effort to link equity to the work the organization has already been

performing, there was little room left to discuss the core inequity issues within the

organization.

> What, when I read what we've been doing as an organization, you know, folks have
> to come up with things like, well how do we make a connection to the work that
> we've been doing over the last 25 years, even though we didn't necessarily have
> Black and Brown people at the center of that, you know, or even have them in
> mind…like how do we already tie what we're doing, what we were doing for the
> last x amount of years to this equity initiative…And you know, for me, especially
> as a woman of color in these organizations, I'm like, well, wasn't the point that y'all
> admitted that you didn't do anything about it and that's why we had to spend all this
> money on this equity initiative, because it's tied to being competitive and being

seen as innovative so that you can get these really limited funding sources like it leaves us no space to plan and do the work of like let's talk about race instead…the equity conversation becomes like, oh well this is what we're already doing as an organization. And like equity's at the center of what we're doing. But we haven't given ourselves any time to actually do that work. The competitive nature of having to keep up with that equity lens has you kind of retroactively going back without really untangling the inherent racism that's been there (CCD Frontline Staff, December 11, 2017).

This quote demonstrates that the push by market funders to quickly adopt equity frameworks may give a perceivably positive image directed externally, but if these conversations were developed from the bottom-up as a grassroots effort that emerges as a result of deeply considering the racial bias in the work we do in nonprofits, this work might be or feel more authentic. Additionally, adopting the marketized approach to this equity work in efforts to show measurable results and goals, left participants feeling like the breadth of this important work was muted by turning these discourses into technologies of performance. Participants described this translation of powerful conversations around equity into work plans, tasks and goals as "killing" the spirit of the conversations, leaving it "dead." One participant pointed to this process:

> We have like our one year goals and we did like one, three and five year goals... you know, you do this really cool work in person and you're like, these are emotional experiences that we're having and it's just so personal and then you put it in a work plan. It's like dead, you know, like it doesn't have to be but it definitely feels like it's a task, task lists rather than, um, kind of some of the more bolder ideas that we were having in person and like put[ting] it in a work plan and you're going to make it boring. . You've got to measure something and so you write it down in this plan and then like keep it, it becomes emotional gravity. I remember feeling really inspired when we were writing ideas down about different ways that we could take some really big steps towards equity, like things that we could do and then [we] wrote our notes down and then pass[ed] them over to [the Assistant Director] who separated them into sections, to just organize them and then reading them I was like, where did all of our ideas go? Like it felt like kind of lost (CCD Frontline Staff, December 21, 2017).

As equity was being pushed as a value funders were seeking, the organization struggled to make sense of the quick push towards integrating this value in a more quantifiable way, worrying that the equity work would be integrated in a topical way, and overlook the deeper inequities within the organization, as well as take the breath out of purposeful, civic minded, deep and thoughtful work. So even while they are taking on marketized tools as mentioned above to externalize organizational practices and make them more legible for external actors, they are not necessarily taking on the ideologies of these tools and see them as somewhat lifeless. This begs the question of the extent to which organizations become marketized if they are using the tools but not necessarily embodying the ideologies behind them which is further explored in the discussion chapter. This equity work is yet another identity struggle currently underway in the organization as a response to changing external environments, all of which are aimed at sustaining the organization long term. As marketized discourses are imported to become more competitive in the nonprofit marketplace, the question becomes, is it best for the organization itself to change substantially with regard to equity? Are they becoming more competitive because they are embracing equity work, or more equitable because they can demonstrate outcomes? Here, the technologies of performance become the ends in themselves which will be further explored in Chapter 5. Another question of identity was centered on service region and the imperative towards growth which is explored in the following section.

Perceived Risks: Sustainability, Spatial Strategies and Perceptions of Growth

CCD has a concretely defined geographic spatial service territory, one that is even explicitly stated in their mission statement. Participants largely agreed that their focus

was specific in "consciously trying to house people that have been residents of this neighborhood for a long time that are risk" (CCD Executive Director, December 19, 2017). Fair housing advocates in this region have focused heavily on the Right to Return movement[43] in other parts of the city that were gentrified rapidly, but this organization aims to be at the forefront of not letting gentrification displace their community residents as it has been done in other regions. One participant stated, "we're just trying to prevent tens of thousands of people being displaced...that's going to cost a bunch of money for them to return here" (CCD Executive Director, December 19, 2017). While the board seemed to have an eye towards growth, both upper level and front line staff maintained that their strength was in maintaining close ties to their service region and staying within that region. The mission statement reads that CCD develops homes in outer SE neighborhoods and strengthens communities (CCD Website, 2018), but the board president mentioned consideration of expanding their services outside the SE and was probed further on this topic. She stated:

> I don't know. That's, that's a good question. I mean, my initial answer is just to grow. Like, is there more opportunity and can we serve more people if we expand? But the question is, I mean there's a lot of other nonprofits out there that serve like all of [the city], and [our] area is changing so fast and that's our main service area. Maybe, maybe we do need to just concentrate on that and focus in that area because it is changing so fast. I don't know, and we're a small staff, so like, do we have the capacity to even do all of that? So yeah, those are big conversations (CCD Board President, June 18, 2018).

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[43] The Right to Return initiative prioritizes residents with generational ties to areas and gives them the right to return to a neighborhood they once called home. The initiative helps address the city's legacy of displacement and marginalization of largely African American neighborhoods due to urban renewal, redlining, and racist lending policies.

So while there was considerable strength in sticking to this service area geographically,

there was also an underlying and somewhat unquestioned discourse that nonprofits need

to grow and expand in order to be perceived as legitimate. They viewed their spatial

territory as an asset but also as a risk when considering the growth and sustainability of

the organization itself. The board overall perceived growth as unquestionable while front

line saw their ability to remain in the community as an asset. Because the organization

had a narrow and defined geographical boundary, it was often unclear (to the board

president) where the organization stood in the larger ecosystem of affordable housing and

there were pressures to develop a strategic plan for housing development for the next few

decades. There seemed to be a dissonance between waiting to stay within the

geographical boundaries but still being unclear what that meant when it came to growth

and not having a clear plan for expansion.

> We don't know where we fit in this like larger spectrum of affordable housing. I
> think we're trying to figure that because we don't really have an idea of like what
> we're working towards. Where do we want to be in the next 10, 15 years? We don't
> know. We've never really had a real conversation about that. Hence we don't have a
> functioning strategic plan (CCD Board President, June 18, 2018).

> Do we want to be like that or do we just want to stay small and like, like, do we
> want to just keep within our service area? Do we want to try to expand to all of [the
> city]? Like what is our goal, what is our vision in the future? And those are the
> things that we're trying to figure out right now. [Is CCD] considering expanding
> out of the out of southeast? We had talked about it and I think that that
> conversation will really happen in the strategic planning process. Like we'll really
> have to talk about that; where, what's our vision? (CCD Board President, June 18,
> 2018).

Staff on the other hand, both upper level staff and front line staff, defined their roles

within the organization as guided by relationships in the southeast part of the city and

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being defined by a very specific spatial region was described as an asset to the

organization which is exemplified in the following quotes:

Community development organizations have a real opportunity to address the things that are unique to their community and really understand how to prioritize the things most important to your particular set of people. I feel like once you kind of get beyond the community level, you know, this, these more generalized approaches, I think people feel really disconnected from them and like even the improvements that happen within communities. [We have] a deep connection to a particular set of people in a particular area with a very particular set of problems. We [provide and create] opportunities within outer southeast so folks don't have to leave their own neighborhoods to access things that are important to them to live healthy lives and have healthy families. I think there's a lot of like cultural and historical power and knowledge within all of the different community members that are living here (CCD Frontline Staff, December 11 2017).

I think that [community development organizations] are particularly valuable when thinking about place based initiatives because they are involved with the community specifically that they're trying to work with and for…I think it's kind of that personal aspect of CDCs is really important...just being able to be so familiar with a place, whether it's a street block to a particular zip code or neighborhood (CCD Volunteer, November 2, 2018).

We're trying to keep the culture within the neighborhood, keep locals within the neighborhood and better the quality of their lives (CCD Frontline Staff. November 1, 2018).

Further, staff noted how their organization approached issues of gentrification and service

territory differently than other organizations in the region who expanded their service

territories as they grew in size stating:

The difference [between us and other larger community development organizations] was we wanted to serve families in the neighborhood. We were doing two or three bedroom units and they proposed a bunch of studios (CCD Executive Director, December 19, 2017)

We're really focused in outer southeast and that's part of our name (CCD Frontline Staff, December 21, 2017).

I think the aim of the organization is really to focus on the neighborhoods and that's an important part of organizational mission and trying to differentiate itself...that's an intentional value of the organization, the because you know, we could try and spread out to the city or just, you know, be more opportunistic and like oh there's a property… but there's a benefit to, you know, we know the neighborhood, we have both staff and board members who live in the neighborhood (CCD Administrative Assistant, January 26, 2018).

The organization clearly defined being spatially bound as an asset and an organizational approach to maintaining their civic work. Board membership seemed to have an imperative towards growth but without much consideration regarding how maintaining local service regions is an asset, as the staff saw to be true. This may be the beginning of growth discourses being imported into what has long been held as a geographically community centered organization. There seems to be some tensions between historical identity and service territory versus the desire to remain a sustainable enterprise in the region under increased competition, echoing the aforementioned statement that you need money to stay in the game and an almost unquestioned growth imperative. Since they are in currently experiencing a growth spurt, they are just beginning to ask questions about what growth will look like moving forward. So while the board sees growth as a natural next step, the staff seems to have barely considered what expansion outside of the SE would look like.

In sum, the findings support that the organization is marketized in some ways but still has questions about professional versus community orientation and how risks should or ought to be managed, via professional tools or not. To some extent technologies of performance such as the use of external consultants has been largely embraced, but in other areas, such as managing institutional knowledge loss and internal conflict,

managerial technologies of performance such as a more defined HR system are under question. Here, there is evidence of numerous and varied responses to perceived internal and external risks as the organization considers who they have been and who they will become. The second portion of this chapter addresses the technologies of citizenship and worker civic identity is explored.

Civic Identities, Workplace Identities and Technologies of Citizenship

As explained in Chapter 2, the concept of empowerment runs through the discourses of the technologies of citizenship as they seek to transform the poor from "powerlessness to active citizenship" (Dean 1999, p. 67). Cruikshank defines the *technologies of citizenship* as the discourses, programs and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government (1999, p. 1). To manage risk, citizens must be "capable of self-government" (Cruikshank, 1999). Victims of poverty are seen to be "empowered to cast of their status as victims and actively participate in the transformation of their condition (p.67). This often takes the form of programs aimed at self-discipline and self-reliance to give participants as value for work (Soss et al., 2011). In order to discern discourses associated with neoliberal citizenship and the technologies of citizenship, participants in the study were asked to define their roles at work, discuss their own civic identity and engagement both at work and in private lives, describe an ideal nonprofit worker, describe what they though "good" citizenship looked like, to define their residents and to discuss any organizational efforts aimed towards the active empowerment of residents towards leadership and political action. Some major themes are discussed here; 1) the relationships between personal and professionalized civic lives,

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2) definitions "good" citizenship 3) resistance to civic-republic and political conceptions

of citizenship,[44] 4) alternative, counter, and fused discourses regarding resident

empowerment and engagement programs including an interesting conception of self-

determination which is further explored. Technologies of citizenship and neoliberal

citizenship discourses aimed at reforming the individual were evident to some extent

when discussing self-determination, but not in full, or as it is generally conceived of

within the literature. So too were counter discourses that may be useful in resisting

neoliberal citizenship. These findings once again illustrate the fused discourses at play in

the organizations, signifying a somewhat confused state of mixed values around

neoliberal citizenship.

Professional and Personal Civic Identities

First, differences in professional and personal civic identity were explored on all levels of

the organization. Participants showed varying degrees of civic participation both inside

and outside of work. Staff at higher levels of the organizations well as board members

had professionalized civic lives explaining much of their civic engagement in terms of

engagement and membership in professional associations centered on areas of their own

professional lives, while front line staff seemed to be more directly engaged in grassroots

activism tied to identity politics. While organizational actors interviewed were not

explicitly asked about identity formation, the data revealed that civic identity,

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[44] "Civic republicanism designates a political arrangement – a community of independent and free citizens who participate in self-rule. Central to this civic republicanism is a view that this community is a *political* community and that its citizens are attached both practically and emotionally to the republic. From a civic republican standpoint, politics is seen as something which concerns everyone and in which each citizen participates" (Hinchliffe, 2018, p. 1). Political citizenship is "a type of belonging that is premised on national origin or naturalization, and which indicates the formal rights and responsibilities of those within its jurisdiction" (Mason, 2012, p. 20).

background, and learned values were an important part of how they saw themselves in relation to their work in the nonprofit sector. Class, race, place, and parental modeling seemed to have a great influence on how people perceived their civic selves and became dedicated to nonprofit work. Many staff identified a personal connection to the problem of unaffordable housing, issues of gentrification, socio-economic barriers, and need for connected community.

The following quotes demonstrate the complexity of civic identity development[45] among participants demonstrating the construction of their civic selves and their civic identities as workers over time and in relation to personal stories of historical marginalization and ideas of community:

> I was homeschooled my entire life and my parents came from a very religious background and my parents did not encourage [my four sisters and I to] work [or] to go to school. The idea was that I get married and be a wife and a mother in that 18. I was excommunicated from my community and my church and my family and ended up at the time and working a part time job at our professional orchestra and music school...It was a very transitional time in my life where I was kind of going through who am I, what do I do, just out on my own. I started working at this nonprofit part time...For me it was very personal because I had lost a community or this, this idea that I had a community that was there to hold my hand and you know, friends and family...it wasn't just one particular moment, but rather building on my college experiences and working at this a professional orchestra that made me realize, well, whatever I want, wherever I land, I want to do community. I want to build, I want to be part of building community, I want to be part of an inclusive diverse network of people that come together and share common values, common beliefs, learn from each other and grow from each other (CCD Upper Level Staff, January 3, 2018).

> My mom owns a little drive through coffee shops when I was a kid and then she owned a little cafe for a while, for like nine years actually. And then she moved

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[45] To reiterate from the first chapter, according to Knefelkamp (2008), civic identity has some essential characteristics: 1) it does not develop in isolation but over time and through engagement with others within the context of real social, political, and economic structures; 2) it is connected to complex intellectual and ethical development, expanding capacity to think and act as citizens; 3) it is a holistic practice requiring the integration of critical thinking and the capacity for empathy; and, 4) becomes a deliberately chosen and repeatedly enacted aspect of the self (pp. 2-3).

the cafe up to this little front section and started a coffee shop. ..And I bought it at 22… financially and all the backend work was a real struggle of like payroll taxes, all that stuff was really hard... But like the community aspect of it was amazing. Like I couldn't get enough of it. People were meeting and dating, and kids were growing up in front of me. It was just really, really, really wonderful to know people for so long on a day to day basis. And to have all these relationships and it felt like such a special hub for connection..... That community really drove me and I think that I think with this new position too, it will be a lot of relationship building and I've worked with residents now so like I kind of understand the vibe of, of who lives in our apartments and hearing their stories and their strengths has been really empowering I think for them and for me to learn about. And uh, so that's like the community aspect of why I went into nonprofit work. (CCD Frontline Staff, February 8, 2018).

My mother was very liberal and she volunteered for legal women voters. She was active with the girl scouts. So she obviously didn't instill some of that in me. She had a robust civic life...You know, so my early conversations about politics would have been primarily with my mother and she was very liberal and so that. And because I had a good relationship with my mother, I think that stuck…One moment I really remember is when I was nine, 1968, she had heard that Bobby Kennedy was going to be riding the zoo train from the zoo to Washington Park. And so she drove me up there and the road, the zoo train a couple of cars back from Bobby Kennedy and he got out of the train and went down to the parking lot by the Rose Garden in at Washington Park. And my mother really wanted to shake his hand. She was pushing me through the crowd and I got really close. I was almost as close as I am to you, but it couldn't quite get there…And, and so my mom obviously was a big fan of Bobby Kennedy and I'm really glad that she gave me that experience… It was obviously at that age that this was something that was really important. It was happening. It was just a few weeks later that he was shot. So I think my mother for giving me those kinds of experiences (CCD Board Member, January 17, 2018).

This is just a snapshot of the rich stories told about how one's civic self was engendered. Many participants pointed to their mother's role in teaching them care for community by modeling behaviors in volunteerism. While much of the civic self was tied into identity politics as well illustrated by the following quotes:

My mom was always serving, growing up, she was doing volunteer work, working with the food bank, working in the Korean community center, doing all sorts of things like donating to build orphanages in Dominican Republic for missionary friends over there. So I'm always like constantly exposed to the fact that we can be successful in one of them, always give back (CCD Board Member, May 30, 2018)

So part of the reason that I'm doing this work is definitely my family's story. My grandparents were locked up in WWII. They were sent to the internment camps. Um, and I think that experience directly impacts my idea of like, how is our society treating folks (CCD Board Member, October 10, 2018).

Growing up as a kid was really confusing and really traumatic in terms of knowing that we live in a community as Latino. Knowing that my family was actively trying to remove the Latino nature of my upbringing in various fashions was really upsetting. And it really kind of instilled in me, who I am and what so I think about it because it's something to me that has been done to my mother that she doesn't really truly understand. And so that's driven me into what I do today and you know, I have to tread lightly in my work because I'm a light skin Latino. And so that gives me a privilege that a lot of people don't have and I recognize that. And so yeah, that's what got me into my work and understanding, okay, what are these policies that we pass from the urban planning perspective and public health perspective that exacerbate these issues (CCD Board Member, January 4, 2018).

Individual civic identities were constructed through the lens of family upbringing and personal experiences with historical marginalization. Work was seen as a place where they could enact their civic values and remain true to their civic identities. When people reflect upon their own civic identity, personal narratives are used to tell the stories of how and why one became a nonprofit worker. It is hard to differentiate here how people see themselves at work, versus how they see themselves at home, as the two are so inextricably linked. But what is evident is that workers saw themselves as part of their service community, many having been vulnerable to poverty and marginalization themselves. In order to understand the relationship between nonprofit worker civic identities and the social construction of beneficiary civic identity, a research question in this study, it seems important to highlight the personal narratives workers use to demonstrate their own personal civic identity construction. Organizational employees saw themselves not only as caring allies but those who have experienced marginalization, had family histories of marginalization, and have dedicated their professional lives to

serving in order to quell the social ills they themselves have suffered. They see themselves as both part of the community and as allies in the community which had impacts on how they constructed the civic lives of beneficiaries explored below. These narratives existed across organizational leadership and front line levels and were not bifurcated along levels in the organization. Even those at higher levels of the organization that enacted more professionalized civic lives still discussed their civic identities in terms of solidarity with the service community.

Civic Identity versus Civic Engagement

As stated above, board members and staff at higher levels of the organizations had more professionalized civic lives than front line staff, explaining much of their civic engagement in terms of engagement and membership in professional associations centered on areas of their own professional lives, while front line staff seemed to be more directly engaged in grassroots activism tied to identity politics. Board members and upper level staff consistently pointed to civic association and engagement as membership in affordable housing professional associations, real estate groups, business associations, local action committees, rotary clubs and public testimony but as part of their professional life, and not as a private citizen. Front line staff cited their associational lives in terms of Latin nights, Asian affinity groups, parent associations, neighborhood associations, church membership, direct action and protest, sports teams membership, and campaign volunteerism, all of which are much more community grassroots oriented. So in this way, front line workers seemed to have stronger, more integrated, ties of ally ship and solidarity in the communities they served. Seemingly, the higher the level of professionalism or organizational status, the more highly professionalized one's civic life.

These data points remain an interesting phenomenon for further inquiry and may have nuanced implications regarding the marketization of civic life which will be further explored in Chapter 5.

"Good" Citizenship

Participants were asked to define what they perceived as "good" citizenship in order to assess how citizenship discourses operate within the organization, and how and if aims to reform beneficiaries into "good citizens" were present. Conceptions of good citizenship were coded and four major themes emerged. There was little to no variance between levels in the organization in the first three themes where a good citizens was defined by the following: 1) Knowledgeable and Informed, 2) Active, 3) Being able to see beyond one's self towards the common good. However, the fourth category, 4) One who questions the status quo in society was overwhelmingly a quality identified by only front line staff. Important also to note is that there was a certain disdain for the term citizen as the political moment in time in the Trump era, discourses of "illegal citizenship" were promoting xenophobia and racism at the time. At times, participants asked to reframe the word citizenship and displayed discomfort with the term as citizenship was describing not as a legal status but rather a community membership, or community resident status. Participants really resisted the idea of citizenship as we know it foundationally tied to the roots of U.S. democracy. The researcher took note of the visible discomfort interviewees had with the term citizenship in observation journaling, and took note of how participants would reframe the term in their responses. Participants identified that "good" citizens ought to be knowledgeable and informed:

Good citizens aware and educated participates because it's pretty much educated in what way about what's going on (CCD Upper Level Staff, December 13, 2017).

Someone who's at least gone to the trouble of trying to learn a little bit, pays attention. Even if they don't get that involved all the time, knowing what's going on is good enough for me (CCD Board Member, May 29, 2018).

Self-aware of what's happening in your community, what's happening in the world....not being in your own bubble and if knowing, having that knowledge kind of spurs you on to be involved in volunteer or whatever, that's great (CCD Board President, June 18, 2018)

They described good citizenship as active, educated, and knowledgeable but at the same time they spoke also in terms of autonomy, agency, and self-determination. While they expressed that citizens should be active in community, they did not feel like non-action made them a bad citizen, and that each person has a right to decide to act or not, or to determine one's own path. In other words, good citizenship was active but also with agency to decide on action or inaction.[46] They also described that action should be largely locally oriented. They stated:

Be as engaged as they want to be, participating on a net positive level participation… they'd be contributing however it feels comfortable to them. So like finding the niches of like what they care about, what they want to help with and maximizing that, that like soft spot is key...Finding the strengths in and knowing kind of knowing what you care about and then contributing in that area. (CCD Front Line Staff, February 12, 2018).

To be able to think thoughtfully about the challenges of the day to be able to engage when there are things that, that you agree with or don't agree with and being able to channel that into change that matters and maybe not just complaining about it (CCD Front Line Staff, January 26, 2018).

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[46] This is further explored in the self-determination section below, as it is a mixed discourse embodying the neoliberal *rhetoric* of self-determination but without the neoliberal practices (like empowerment programming) that usually accompany such discourses

Citizenship was also described as being oriented towards the other, pondering notions of the common good, and feeling responsibility to and for others which requires perspective taking and empathy.

> It's important for people to be open minded and to just consider other people's circumstances and experiences…to be aware of what you have that other people don't. Also like being aware of your privilege and making sure you're supporting others who need the support (CCD Volunteer, November 5, 2018).

> A good citizen is someone that is responsible to themselves and has their individual aspirations and life but recognizes that they are operating and acting out that life in a social and communal stage...I want to say you're obligated to that...[one] should probably feel compelled to make sure that others have similar access and equity (CCD Front Line Staff, January 8, 2018)

> Maybe someone who looks out for other members of their community, isn't doing anything to cause harm or disruption within that community space. Someone who holds up to the levels of trust and honesty and maybe social bonds that have been established within that community (CCD Frontline Staff, October 17, 2018).

Finally, it was largely front line staff (many of which are younger employees) and younger board members in the organization that spoke explicitly to challenging the status quo as requirement of good citizenship.

> I think a good citizen is someone who very much ascribes and has a lot of belief and foundational values in like the United States political system, like the constitution kind of the way our founding fathers had imagine, you know, the country where everyone kind of takes up the political duty to like further strengthen the current government, the US democracy, and in terms of my opinion of that, I have a really hard time. And I was looking through the interview questions like, oh, civic engagement and citizen. I think I have a pretty harsh reaction to those words, you know, in full transparency in that, you know, there's this bigger question happening for me of well, what does it mean to really embed ourselves in values that were created by folks who were slave holders. You know, so because of that I really questioned like what is, what does it mean to be a good citizen and to have faith in the United States democracy. To pledge allegiance to a government that I think in theory those values sound nice and jolly for lack of better terms. I think there's just a lot of skepticism like, well, how do those folks come here in the first place and you know… I think in general, like my vision of a good citizen is someone who definitely questioned the status quo and actually like questions, a lot of the values that we were taught to be kind of the stable foundation that was supposed to get, you know, equal rights and opportunities to people. Um,

and so a good citizen is definitely someone who consistently questions those things and I'm much larger picture of like how were these things formed and you know, are we just perpetuating kind of the same old system or the same old practices when we don't question certain [ideals] (CCD Frontline Worker, December 11 2017).

I think it's the one that's actually questions that's willing to be uncomfortable with their own beliefs and their own kind of standing in society, right. And so on. Then that then acts on that uncomfortable, that feeling of being uncomfortable and kind of wants to lean into it a little bit more. And what I mean by that is that I think, you know, I think a lot of us come from privilege. A lot of us come from a variety of different stances in society and just that nature of being uncomfortable with that and then acting to better recognize what that means, better understand, uh, the society as a whole in terms of where their place actually is and then acting to try to, you know, try to create those kind of like equitable movements to allow for that to be, you know, more, more spread out in a sense. So, so what that looks like the ground is probably someone that's a little more, uh, actively engaged in issues that they're trying to push themselves in. Um, someone that is willing to, to lean into conversations that may be a little challenging for them (CCD Board Member, February 5, 2018).

In sum, good citizenship was explained as knowledgeable and informed, active, seeking the common good, and questioning the status quo. Again, there is yet another fused discourse occurring where good citizens are seen as active, knowledge, and autonomous (See full discussion in Woolford and Nelund, 2013) but also as self-sacrificing and oriented towards others. The neoliberal citizen is about managing risk, by embracing it to achieve prosperity. So to some extent, sacrificing self towards other-orientations such as taking personal risks by protesting and acting in solidarity with others to enact social change is somewhat antithetic to neoliberalism emphasis on individualized management of risk to maintain the individual and organizational enterprise. However, the social construction of neoliberal citizenship is also evident in that one must inform and educate one's self to become an active and "good" citizen. Further, it is hard to infer causality about why questioning the status quo seems to emerge among younger staff, but it could perhaps be an idealism present before professionalization takes full hold within

individuals. As Daniel King (2017) discusses in his auto-ethnography, where he struggled to maintain his ties to social equity where his attention shifted from an idealistic dreamer concerned with social inequality to (as a nonprofit professional). This has not yet fully taken hold in front line workers at CCD. In analyzing civic identity formation and notions of good citizenship, the workplace becomes a place for employees to act out their civic values. The ways in which these notions of good citizenship operate to inform the social construction of residents is explored below.

The Social Construction of Affordable Housing Residents

As stated, much of the existing literature points to how as nonprofit organizations (NPOs) take on market values, they may "lose the ability to adequately respond to the needs of the communities that they have traditionally served" and risk recasting citizenship as a quasi-market role where citizens are "not defined by their mutual engagement in a democratic mode of governance" but defined by "their discipline and prudence as consumers, workers, and tax paying investors" (Soss, Fording, and Schram, 2002, p. 43). However, this case reveals that neoliberal citizenship discourses have not yet fully taken hold in this organization as participants largely described their client base via a structural inequity lens, rather than individual deviance. They saw their residents as victims of structural and systemic oppression and simply in need of homes as a result of larger systematic inequity. However, discourses of self-determination are somewhat more complicated which is discussed. So while individual workers define their own version of good citizenship through a partial neoliberal lens, these ideologies are not necessarily used to define resident's "good" citizenship. This points to neoliberal ideologies not yet

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fully being enacted in the practices of the organization in resident/worker relationships,

but that it somewhat has a hold on individual psyches.

Board members consistently described residents as people simply in need of a

home and who have faced economic uncertainty. This could be due to the fact that board

members do not have as much interaction with them as front line staff, and therefore had

a harder time explaining them beyond simple needing a home.

> Well they vary in terms of their age their circumstance their background their culture but what they hold in common is some sort of economic challenge and a desire to have a stable life and they see CCD as being one of the few places where they're seen not as a mishap but rather as a victim of some circumstance that we don't discredit them. We value them (CCD Board Member, December 21, 2017).

> I mean, my understanding is they're folks that are, they meet a certain income threshold and want to have a stable place to live and they've learned about CCD through one channel or another and have applied (CCD Board Member, October 10, 2018).

> I see them as individuals that are trying to live in and enjoy the nature of the neighborhood who are searching a more, a communal space. The cool thing about most of our properties is that it's not just the living there, but it's also building community. So I think it's, you know, I think it's a space to build community to build relationships and create that social capital that's really, really needed. It tends to be culturally responsive. I, for many people, the understanding of the interconnected with different families is a part of people's culture. And so to be able to provide a sliver of sense of kind of cultural connectivity I think is really important for people. So I think it's a little bit of being able to afford and make ends meet, but also being able to live in a place where you can lean on your neighbor and you know, and, and, and have that connection. (CCD Board Member, November 15, 2018).

> I think the way [folks] model and live out their lives is super different. And it's not for me to like make value judgments about what's, what's good and what's bad... [I] think housing is a human right. If you're a human being, you deserve housing. You deserve to have a safe and stable place to live (CCD Board Member, June 19, 2018).

In contrast, both upper level and front line staff described residents via the lens of

systematic and structural barriers, and also as just "normal people."

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They're just people... depends on which hat I'm wearing. If I'm just going to be a human service worker or a macro social worker. To me there are people that just have one too many problems to manage. It's not just one thing. Put someone over the edge with their housing and it gets them in trouble with their landlord or puts them in the market where they're searching for housing…It's several things and most of us go through life …Prices are too high, and we'd get it done and if we have support networks, they help us with it, but we come to a point in time where these people just don't have the resources or the support to manage these problems anymore. That's who [our residents are]. (CCD Upper level Staff, February 5, 2018)

So you know, our southeast [city] is an incredibly diverse kind of slice of [city] and know and heavy immigrant and refugee population out here. I feel like a lot of folks of color are definitely out in outer southeast [city] and you know, for me outer southeast [city] has some of the best food and some of the most vibrant culture is kind of all mashed up into this really dense area. It's also filled with communities who have been, like historically disempowered for a really long time. And so I think the great things about the residents and the community members who live here don't often get to, to kind of shine through because folks are kind of struggling with meeting like what the bare minimums are like, what their sort of like current survival needs are. And so while I think there's a lot of like cultural and historical power and knowledge within the, within all the different community members that are living here, this barriers as well. And so I think, you know, for [CCD] it's a matter of us figuring out how to talk about those two things. Like, let's be real about the situation, but also like let's not disempower people because like they, you know, they've been fighting through these things for a really long time. (CCD Front Line Staff. December 11, 2017)

I think a community [where] systems have worked against them or that have put them in, not in bad housing, but it's been difficult for them to find housing they can afford that is of good quality. So then they seek our services for affordable housing. (CCD Front Line Staff, December 21, 2017)

Our communities are just normal people met with sometimes really unfortunate circumstances that snowballed because it's a razor thin margin between everything is good and no safety net and everything is completely screwed and it just takes nothing to get there and then you're in a world of hurt. Or conversely, a poverty trap. You're born in you never getting out. No amount of bullshit from Bernie Sanders or anybody else is going to change the perpetual poverty. It just is what it is...Just born into it, you got a bad draw you know and there's no movement there. (CCD Front Line Staff, January 8, 2018)

Additionally staff discussed residents on an individual level, not framed as individual

deviance, but rather as individual exposure to trauma. This may signify that trauma

informed service delivery is taking hold as another discourse that operates alongside

marketization and could be useful as a potential resistance discourse to offset the

neoliberalization of beneficiaries of service.

> They are very diverse. They're very resilient. They're funny and warm people. And
> I would say almost all of them have some sort of significant trauma in their history
> that's either a long, long time ago that affected the way that they process
> information like childhood abuse or neglect. And that affects their ability to parent
> now (CCD Front Line Staff, February 12, 2018)

> There's still sweet, nice people and once they open up to you you're like, oh, you're
> just a regular person, but some weird stuff has happened and now you're not
> thinking the way that makes sense. Do you know that would make sense to you or
> me because they trauma's impacted some much of their cognitive decision making.
> No, they're not all like that, I mean most just don't make enough money. Once
> you're in, you can live there forever. Even if you make more money. So like stable,
> wonderful families that are like contributing to society. They have jobs, their kids
> are great. (CCD Front Line Staff, February 12, 2018).

Trauma-informed care (TIC) is a widely adopted organizational approach to health and

human services (Hales, et al., 2017) as the nature of trauma touches the lives of at-risk

populations (Fallot and Harris, 2009). The implementation of trauma informed care

"shifts the focus from pathologizing to contextualizing. That is, instead of treating

symptomatology, practitioners place presenting symptoms within the greater context of

the person's history which, in behavioral health-care settings, often involves trauma"

(Harris & Fallot, 2001; See discussion in Hales, et, al 2017). TIC seems to be emerging

as a lens by which front line staff at CCD are beginning to think about their residents.

This discourse contextualizes the life experiences of individuals rather than

individualizing "deviance" as a personal problem, taking into account structurally violent

and oppressive systems within which people are embedded. A few years ago, a

professional association hosted a training with CCD's direct service (front line) employees. Additionally, some have received additional training in TIC during professional housing conferences. This could suggest that TIC is taking hold as a professionalized discourse within the field, and while it is being imported from professional associations, it still could stand as potential resistance to neoliberal citizenship, a question that should be further explored. Staff saw their residents as normal people that had experienced structurally inequitable outcomes in life through systematic barriers, rather than personal deviance. This was also exemplified in storytelling and resident highlights in social media posts. In sum, the organization maintained its democratic roots of solidarity and allyship with residents, rather than as responsibilized for their own conditions.

Table 6: Summary of Findings: The Social Construction of Citizenship

Civic Identity	Civic Engagement	"Good" Citizenship	Social Construction of Residents
Nonproift workers civic identity is rooted in personal narratives of marginalization; solidarity with residnet community	Upper level staff have more professioinlized civic lives; frontline staff have more grassroots community oriented cicic lives	1) Knowlegable and Informed 2) Active 3) Oriented Towards the Common Good 4) Questions the Status Quo	Workers see residents as victims of systamtic an dstructiral oppression rathrer than as indvidual deviants common to the rhetoric of neoliebral empowerment programs which aims to empower the poor to transform themselves

Resident Engagement and Resident Empowerment

Self-governing citizens then activate their own agency to act in a way that is responsible which is in their own best interest and the in the interest of their organization (Sandberg, 2013, p. 31). Here, workers desired for themselves and residents to be knowledgeable, informed, actively engaged to reform the structural injustice that residents have been victim to but enforce and present few avenues for them to get there. This is not because

they don't care, but rather because self-determination, which has a complex relationship

to neoliberalism explored below, seemed a more important component in preserving the

individual autonomy and agency of those they serve. It is first important to distinguish

here between resident civic engagement and resident empowerment programming.

Civic Engagement

When asked what CCD does, if anything to empower residents to become part of civic or

political life, the board argued that while they do give residents an opportunity to lead on

the board and be active in organizational decision making, there was a sense that this kind

of participation should not be forced upon residents, again, this idea of civic agency

(ability to act or not as made via autonomous choice) is important to the organization. It

seems as though the imperative to leave residents alone, and let them self-determine their

paths towards engagement is of paramount importance. Typically in marketized

environments, the client is seen as something to be managed in relation to the

organization and its maintenance. And clients are seen as needing to be empowered in

order to manage one's own risk, citizens are made to govern themselves via

empowerment programs. But here, the CCD board resists this idea. Board members

stated:

> I don't think so. I don't think we do it. I mean we have an advocacy role, but I
> don't think we'd go as far enough as to like encourage other people to get involved
> Unless, I mean, I guess if it's a bond measure or something, then you know, we
> will actively help campaign for that if it's approved by the whole board. …I think
> it's as fine balance…it feels weird to like have to teach people, you know, like our
> job isn't to like preach to people that you, they should know this or that or
> whatever but I think providing, like, presenting opportunities to get involved,
> even with CCD …we have resident council and like, there's all these different
> options…but I don't think it's really your job to like, impose it on people (CCD
> Board President, June 18, 2018).

So the thing that I really love about Rose's board is that we have a resident board members and I think in their own way that is a way to be active politically within the capacity that they have. Um, and man, some of those board members are just spectacular, uh, and they have taken that role as a leadership role within their property…I think for those that are not participating on the board, it's just creating a sense of a sense of space for people to be able to think about getting actively involved rather than just constantly feeling the overwhelm of stress (CCD Board Member, November, 15, 2018).

When upper level staff was questioned about actively engaging residents they discussed taking residents to testify but also questioned what they do as a nonprofit:

We had parents go and [on] housing forums and things like that CCD Executive Director, December 19, 2017).

Yes, both locally and state. So the [State] Housing Alliance, um, uh, works with CDC is during legislative session to do kind of bus busloads of people to help organize and get folks down to the, to the state capital to testify. Um, so we work in partnership with the housing alliance to provide, to just kind of take advantage of those opportunities, and present issues (CCD Assistant Director, January 8, 2018).

We are getting closer to doing that. We're right now trying to make sure we understand the rules. I mean we, we know that you can't, as a nonprofit you can't promote any particular candidate or party, but we certainly can and encourage people to get out the vote and we certainly can encourage people to vote for policies or programs that provide housing…That's how we can get people involved (CCD Upper Level Staff, February 5, 2018).

Additionally, it was upper level and front line staff discussed new efforts at marketing civic engagement. At the time of data collection there were also conversations around partnership with a local philanthropic organization to offer stipends for supporting active citizenship among residents in the neighborhood by paying them a small stipend to serve on a housing team comprised of various stakeholders in the region. While the organization showed interest here in more actively engaging residents in public and civic life, it was not seen as something CCD alone had the capacity for at this time. Increasing

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partnerships to share risk has been explored in the literature as a marker of prudentialism,

(Logan and Wekerle 2008) but CCD seems in this case to be increasing partnerships to

develop civic capacity and client engagement to preserve their foundational role in

developing and maintaining the civic proclivities of their residents which is lesser

understood in the literature. Important to note that scholars have called into question

offering marketized incentives to participate in civic life (Sandel, 2013). It may signal a

shift in the way nonprofits think about the active engagement of individuals who

experience financial hardship. However, nonprofit BIPOC leaders such as Vu Le have

openly called for appropriate payment to BIPOC leaders for their expertise. One person

stated:

> We started this project this year to do housing advocacy and its modeled on the youth initiative, and then there's this leadership program [where members] will be paid stipends for people that work on housing issues (CCD Executive Director, December 19, 2017).

> We're starting a new program in January called the Strong Housing Team and that's solely focused on getting people... that care about housing issues in their community. They will be going through like a training series and learning about history in Portland to [get to] a point where they're confident and comfortable enough to advocate for the issues they care about as a group. [That will be] made up of residents and citizens mostly or other partner and organizational members [in our community] (CCD Assistant Director, January 8, 2018).

> We got from [Anonymous Organization], stipend money to pay participants because we know that to get people of low income to volunteer is like an additional hardship because they already are trying to make ends meet and so you're asking them to donate their time in addition to their story, so we felt like if we can offset that and really make it more of a paid opportunity that we'd be likely to have a good pool of diverse participants that could feel empowered to work on these issues in their community and kind of get some actual benefit financially from it. So that's thing we're trying to do to address the lack of civic engagement in certain issues that are affecting people is to actually go look for money that would help pay. So that's a pretty unique opportunity now to get money to do that (CCD Front Line Staff, December 18, 2017).

When you've been working with the populations and seeing the sort of barriers people have to engagement, I mean it is just a huge equity issue and a lot of times with volunteer things, whether it's neighborhood associations, local planning boards or whatever, or even just voting in general, those demographics always skew a certain direction and that's because who has, who has the economic means to be able to be civically engaged and it's people who tend to be wealthier and have more time. So maybe they're retired. So that means the people making all the decisions on the neighborhood they want to see in the neighborhood that we all have to live in are generally overrepresented by a certain type of people who want to see a certain type of thing. So when we look at whether it's our residents directly or people in the community who want to get involved or advocate for a certain thing, I mean the loudest voices are not necessarily representative of the neighborhood. So I think the idea behind that, and you know, there's other things, we've also thought about things like childcare, you know, these are, these are huge barriers to helping people get involved (CCD Frontline Staff, January 26, 2018).

This calls into questions new movements to pay low income people to sit on committees and decision making bodies. While it pays vulnerable persons for their time, a seemingly positive way to gain active presentation in communities, it may also act to shift civic incentives to marketized incentives. This could lead to conflicts of interest when financial gain incentivizes civic behaviors. However, this could also be perceived a market-like tool that may actually aid the organizations efforts to be more democratic[47]. Civic engagement was discussed as something separate from civic empowerment programs, where empowerment programs were programs *designed by and for residents* for the purposes of self-enrichment discussed more below.

Front line staff saw themselves as actively engaging resident leadership, and drawing from a bottom up perspective in program delivery in designing and implementing empowerment programs. They state:

In general, we are a resident led community developer and we try very hard to plan programs that are resident identified. That's a great thing. Like with our resident satisfaction surveys that we are always asking like do you have an idea for a class?

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[47] The use of market tools in preserving democratic functions at CCD are further explored in Chapter 5

Like is there something you want more help on?... [We do] a resident council meeting [that is] open to all residents quarterly or needs basis. If we have an event coming up then we'll invite residents to come and participate, educate them on the things that are going on, but then also have them discuss what's important to them, what do they care about, what would they be willing to get involved in? Which is two different things. That's where we can do some recruitment for like signing people up if they're like, we want a writing class. Great. Like would you be willing to be a captain? I could do the flyer and we'll know about it or answer questions. So trying to involve them in leadership roles. (CCD Front Line Staff, February 12, 2018).

After having hopefully done outreach in November than actually having a place where for parents we'll reach out to partners can come and we'll get an even more feedback about what it is that they would like to see from us. So whether that takes the form of workshops that they want us to lead or if there's anyone who wants to lead a particular workshop. Um, we're envisioning something along the lines of a leadership institute. So there'd be a series of trainings around different topics, like the range from anything, you know homemade baby food to wage theft training, to knowing your know your rights workshops...those are just kind of ideas we've thrown around based on ideas that we've heard from a couple of people in conversations, different events, but ultimately it would be, our hope would be to have them leading it in terms of what it is specifically (CCD Frontline Staff, October 17, 2018).

Many staff described planning efforts to bring more residents to the decision making table in various settings on various issues. The organization knows well from trial and error that when resident programs are not resident driven, they fail. Front line staff had a keen awareness of this issues. One staff stated:

Every time we pass out flyer for anything that's pre designed, we fail. But when we know what they want and then we offer it, it's welcomed, it is used, it's successful and it's exciting. How can you, you said every time you predesigned something you failed (CCD Front Line Staff, November 1, 2018).

She goes on to further explain they engaged in partnership with a local Audubon society (which she described as "fancy schmanzy") was offering summer camp free to CCD residents. She developed plans, passed out flyers, knocked on doors (350 doors), and

stated she was getting excited about it. She states, "not one person showed up." She

further explains:

> Then I realized that to me it was a gorgeous idea. Just because it's a super expensive camp that I get to offer it for free doesn't mean that fits their needs. Who wants to drive all the way to northwest Portland every single morning to drop them off and then go get them next week, who wants to be away from their kids for a week? Then it started clicking that just because I as a parent or as an advocate thinks something is awesome, doesn't necessarily mean it's awesome to you. So I realized that pre designing programs will fail every time (CCD Front Line Staff, November 1, 2018)

Another staff explained a similar failure stating:

> I tried to do a book, a book club. There was like no one came because they didn't want that and I and I tried to say, well I want this and it's my strength and I definitely love reading. We'd love to host a reading group. But like they did not want that. So using your own strengths to have ideas are great, but like you have to get resident buy-in. You have to plan those programs around what they want (CCD Front Line Staff, January 10, 2018).

This points to a keen understanding of bottom up designed programming rather than a top

down effort at telling residents what they ought to want or need. Consulting residents on

programming was a regular and respected way to solicit bottom up programming by and

for residents themselves. The organization saw itself as actively promoting the

engagement of residents to get involved in leadership and organizational programming.

The organization created spaces where residents were learning and engaging democratic

skill building. One participant explains a recent debate among the resident group:

> [The residents said] I wish we had a basketball hoop or something. And you're like, well that's never going to happen because there's nowhere to put a basketball hoop. But I think it was a nice chance for them to get, to give feedback. Voice totally can be very empowering. It's very important (CCD Front Line Staff, January 10, 2018).

Another explains the goals of the organization as aimed promoting active engagement and civic learning.

> Creating a network where not only can they have access to different organizations that we work with and have resources, but also empower them to build sort of a coalition of their own to then affect policies or changes that they see on the ground at a neighborhood level. So right now, um, I've come into it like that, that doesn't exist necessarily yet...we have the building blocks for it but now we are in the process of working on outreach. So trying to go to this different events to see what the interest is of parents who are out there (CCD Frontline Staff, October 17, 2018).

Not only does the board require a high level of residents on the board, but there is also a resident council that dictates much of the organizational programming offered to residents. The neoliberal goal is to make beneficiaries more responsible, self-reliant citizens. So here empowerment programs did exist that aid in the transformation of individual into self- reliant governors of their own futures. However, even though this programming was evident, there were also other discourses at play, suggesting again the presence of fused discourses. Before exploring the alternative and democratic discourses found in the organization, it is important to first explore how residents themselves conceived of empowerment programs they designed to achieve prudent and self-actualized neoliberal citizenship themselves.

Internalization of Neoliberal Citizenship: Behavior Modification, Prudentialism, and Self Esteem Programs in Resident Driven Empowerment Programming

To recap, according to Cruikshank (1999) the notion of empowerment is stressed through the *technologies of citizenship* seeking to transform the poor from "powerlessness to active citizenship" (Dean, 1999, p. 67). In other words, the technologies of citizenship are aimed at transforming "victims of social inequalities and discrimination, economic

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deprivation and political subordination [to] be 'empowered' to cast off their status as victims and actively participate in the transformation of their condition'' (p. 67). In the nonprofit sector, this often takes the form of programs aimed at increasing low-income clients' self-reliance and self-discipline, and inculcating in them a value for work (Soss et al. 2011). Cruikshank defines the *technologies of citizenship* as the discourses, programs and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government (1999, p. 1). Cruikshank's work explores how one technology of citizenship, the self-esteem movement is one form of governance taken on by professionals. She argues that the self-esteem movement is a technology of subjectivity that solve social problems like crime and poverty by waging a war not on social systems but rather against the order of the self and the way we govern ourselves. She states:

> Personal fulfillment becomes a social obligation in the discourse of self-esteem according to an innovation which transforms the relationship of self-to-self into a relationship that is governable…Self-fulfillment is no longer a personal or private goal…Self-esteem is a practical and productive technology available for the production of certain kinds of selves, for "making up people,…Self-esteem is a technology in the sense that it is a specialized knowledge of how to esteem ourselves, to estimate, calculate, measure, evaluate, discipline, and to judge ourselves…Self-esteem is a way to subject citizens in the sense of making them "prone to" or "subject to" take up the goals of self-esteem for themselves and their vision of the good society…Those who undergo "revolution from within" are citizens doing the right thing; they join programs, volunteer, but most importantly, work on and improve their self-image (p. 89).

The self-esteem movement is a technology of citizenship that asks us to act on ourselves so that others do not have to. Resident leadership programs at CCD were focused on creating citizens that can *self-govern through self-determination*. Much of the resident driven programming, driven by residents themselves, included discourses of self-help, self-esteem, behavior modification, and preparation towards being a prudent market actor

while others. For example, courses in food preparation, resume writing, financial literacy

and self- help psychology were offered which conform to the neoliberal citizen as one

that must transform personal behaviors to better be able to make prudent and responsible

choices. Because these programs were suggested and organized by residents themselves,

this may point to the internalization of neoliberal citizenship on behalf of residents[48].

Staff had somewhat more radical ideas for community engagement such as how to make

homemade baby food, wage theft training, to knowing your rights workshops. But as

explained above, staff is weary to implement community education without it being

resident driven, (with aims towards constant resident self-determination) so even as staff

were seeking ways to resist neoliberal conceptions of citizenship in community education

programming, the desire to ensure community programming was driven by residents

prevailed as an organizational value. When coding for neoliberalization of residents,

several themes emerged such as discourses of self-determination, self-help, behavior

modification, being or becoming more prudent market actors, and the need to govern

oneself as well as others. These quotes came from either residents themselves, or staff

speaking about resident led programming. Staff did often reference the need or desire for

more financial planning courses, suggesting that the discourses of creating prudent

market actors was in use by the organizational staff but that these types of programs are

not developed unless residents themselves ask for it. The following quote exemplifies

how resident programming on self-help was organized:

> The idea was a residents idea…She had this idea that people were like too hard in
> themselves. They *didn't know how much they can accomplish* and they were, they
> needed work on their *self-esteem and goal setting*. And so we worked with her in,
> wrote a grant and it was approved for. So we provided like childcare and dinner

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[48] Internalization of neoliberal poverty governance is treated in Chapter 5

and all the materials and facilitators and we did, we brought in different group facilitators for different sessions and then we facilitated some of our own, most of them that were professionally facilitated, which was great. So like PCC came out and what kind of topics, topics were around *setting smart goals* with the acronym smart, *positive self-esteem, mindfulness..., how to access resources* like *how to engage* and *find what you need* when you need help...this year's are on *stress management* and how we view stress and you feel positively how it's a benefit if you view negatively (CCD Front Line Staff, January 10, 2018).

It was largely staff that discussed that financial literacy was something that the

community had asked for and they were in discussion about what these might look like.

They stated:

There has been more interest in figuring out how to provide relevant *financial education*, and that's something that we [CCD] would kind of seek out somebody else, some other professional that would be able to provide that. So like basics around budgeting or financial management (CCD Front Line Staff, December 18, 2017)

We plan to do like a fun financial, not literacy, but I'm sort of like *getting people to a financially stable place* (CCD Front Line Staff, December 21, 2017).

We were just thinking about like having somebody come in and talk about checking accounts. Just the basic fact about checking accounts because we realized not all of our residents on checking accounts and that it costs a lot to not have a checking account (CCD Front Line Staff, November 1, 2018).

Managing other residents and modifying resident behaviors was also evident:

And basically it was like I'm helping residents like *teaching them on how to eat better*, like nutrition, teaching them on *how to exercise better* ways to exercise with like very little time and things like that. And so it was like this, I wouldn't say a campaign, but it was that one of the properties. It's like, how can we help improve our community by *staying healthier* (CCD Resident Board Member, December 13, 2017).

I just primarily the new year new you because I saw the need of *a lot of people don't have the life skills for success...*[The program] involved not only *mental health but financial, resources, education, educational opportunities, grants and scholarships* like that…just various things that people were experiencing their lives and I really saw a need…. We *brought in a life coach* that I had actually used...I taught a class about neuroplasticity and mindfulness and then he came in and talked about how to relate to others, how to manage conversations that are difficult, that type of thing… I talked a bit about *how we present ourselves* in like job interviews. I used that as an example or just different ways that we impress others.

I did a little bit of talking about color psychology, *what you would wear to an interview*…then there's also the food piece trying to make sure that families have what they need to *stay healthy* nutritionally. We also do some recreation programs. [We] have a soccer program that was out of a response [from parents] to provide more recreation opportunities for their kids because they were saying [there's] just *a lot of laziness and obesity* and kids being stuck in front of a TV too many hours of the day. So we helped initiate a soccer recreation program (CCD Resident Board Member, May 29, 2018).

The above statements were expressed by a resident who had developed a year-long program to aid residents in bettering themselves. The rhetoric included here exemplifies neoliberal citizenship in that residents are described from a deficit perspective and in need of training to self-empower themselves out of poverty (i.e.: dress better, eat better, don't be lazy, improve one's self via self-care, self- esteem building, positivity, and mindfulness). This exemplifies Cruikshank's (1999) thesis that personal fulfillment becomes a social obligation to transforms the relationships of self-to-self into one that is governable. Further governing oneself *and others* was evident where residents saw themselves as watchdogs within the housing communities. So, while nonprofit workers were not managing subjects viz. surveillance, residents themselves were with each other. One resident stated:

A lot of our residents that like, you know, we're on top of it, we're looking, we're like making sure that our place is safe because we live here and we want it to be safe, you know. And a lot of them are like, you know, picking up garbage in the hallways, making sure kids aren't like running in the hallways (CCD Resident Board Member, December 13, 2017).

In sum, the organization faces an interesting dilemma here. On the one hand, it has been proven to them over and over that top-down service delivery does not work in this community. However, the bottom-up community education programming centers on neoliberal citizenship discourses which have been internalized by residents over time,

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which are aimed at creating more prudent and self-responsibilized individuals. Additionally, neoliberalism does seem to have taken hold in the way that people define citizenship for themselves on the individual level but workers do not tend to push these conceptions upon residents. There are neoliberal discourses at play but it is a complex and situated process as to the way they are adopted and practiced, seemingly unique to CCD itself. While resident driven programming utilizes techniques to aid the poor in managing their own risk, there were also several other dominant discourses embodying self-determination, assets based approaches, and place-making which existed alongside these technologies of citizenship and may be useful as resistance to neoliberalism.

De-Centering the Neoliberal Management of Beneficiaries: Resident Centered Discourses

While discourses of neoliberal citizenship emerged among discussions of resident driven programs, staff had taken on alternative discourses that may be useful in resisting the neoliberalization of citizenship including discourses of self-determination, asset based community development, and place-making.

Self-Determination: A Neoliberal Technology of Citizenship or Resistance?

First, a discourse of self- determination was one such discourse within the organization. Self-determination is generally tied to neoliberal governance, often alongside rhetoric of self-sufficiency and independence. However, at CCD the term is being used in rhetoric, but *without* the *technologies* of citizenship aimed at self-determination that generally accompany this rhetoric (i.e.: organizationally designed empowerment programs aimed at making residents able to be or become self-determinate). This is somewhat of a conundrum. Language around self-sufficiency and self-reliance were largely missing in

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worker discourses in the organization and the goal of the organization was not to reform

individuals to be able to reach self-sufficiency but to create systems by which residents

were able to be self-determinant. This is yet another example of how the organization has

taken on some aspects of neoliberalism in the form of marketized tools, sometimes

without the values are thought to accompany them. Residents were not required to

participate in CCD's programming, rather staff aimed to provide resident driven

community engagement and education that would attract a variety of residents to

participate. Front line staff, (resident assets coordinators), were highly engaged in and

enthusiastic about community engagement and the relationships they had with their

residents. They saw themselves as there to offer opportunities for engagement but not to

force residents to engage.

> The residents, we have a resident council and they're the ones that provide the
> suggestion of support. They want to see a, they also do a, a survey every two years
> to assess if the services they're receiving are what they want and what they need
> and you know, providing a space for them to say like, Oh, this is what we want is
> what we need. Uh, and just finding a way to make it happen. it's separate [from the
> board]. They have their own agenda and their own items (CCD Frontline Staff,
> December 21, 2017).

> I think a lot of what we focus on is not, you know, oriented around providing
> services but providing opportunities for leadership or engagement. So we have a
> group called resident council that we try to engage the residents that live in our
> housing and more leadership opportunities… So I think that's a piece of
> community organizing, not just providing services, but really thinking more about
> what can we do to organize our community members around the issues that they
> feel are important (CCD Front Line Staff, December 18, 2017).

Self-determination is an important and prominent way that this organization spoke of

resident engagement. Engagement should not be imposed, it should be bottom-up and

they saw themselves as authentically proving those opportunities for resident leadership.

However, there has been some critique of self-determination as it relates to the neoliberal

agenda, in that, while self-determination is a model by communities govern themselves, this can only occur within the context of limited political and economic forces, this cannot be taken out of the contemporary neoliberal context in which choices are predetermined (See discussion in Slowey, 2008). Thus, the concept of autonomy and self-determination becomes an artificial and illusory proposition.[49] CCD wanted residents to fully be and become their agential selves, to have agency and to make their own choices, to be self-responsibilized but they did not seem to care or have any avenues by which this *ought* to happen. It is presumed within the literature on self-determination that self-determination occurs via a set of accompanying self-determination competencies (Stancliffe, 2001). Technologies of citizenship aimed at creating self- determination competencies *usually* include programs such as job training aimed at becoming less of a burden on society. On the one hand, dependence and interdependency are seen as ways of being that are entirely appropriate given the structural and systematic marginalization CCDs residents have faced. On the other hand, the use of self-determination as a guiding discourse for resident interaction is present. But, it is missing a second piece- how to get there and/or how to achieve it. CCD allows residents themselves to define what self-determination looks like for themselves coupled with the notion that it is also ok to be dependent. For example, one could live in their housing unit the rest of their lives, as the goal is not to help residents escape poverty. They see the promotion of self-determination as a freedom allowing a more democratic mode of organizing client relationships. The problem here is that if one is self-determinate, but living within poverty, self-

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[49] The concept of self-determination has a complex relationship with neoliberalism and will be explored extensively in Chapter 5.

determination has already been defined by what it means to be responsible or not in the neoliberal era. To preclude that one is capable of self-determination, given the acknowledged structural and systematic oppressions that have landed them there in the first place is somewhat problematic. Further, CCDs conception and use of self-determination could be somewhat dangerous in that if the organization is formed to come to society's aide (the nonprofit), but does not aid in constructing what it means to be self-determinant, perhaps it may slow down work that actually changes structurally unjust systems. In essence, this reality may put the onus on the wrong person (the resident) in that one is acknowledging that the system has created problems for those in poverty, but those in poverty should be the ones to tell us what they want to do about it. This conception of self- determination among workers is aimed towards positive aspects of autonomy and agency, and workers no doubt have resident autonomy as a central and very heartfelt concern, but it deserves closer examination which will be explicated further in Chapter 5. What makes this phenomenon more complex, is that discourses of self-determination align with neoliberal technologies of citizenship aimed at self-reform, which assume that subjects do not have the skills needed for self-reform without interventions, a deficit perspective. Perhaps CCD is able to use the discourses of self-determination in such a way is because they largely espouse an asset-based community development approach across the organization rather than a deficit perspective. This that residents are already coming from a place of varying assets, talents, and abilities, which will not be defined by nonprofit workers but by the community itself.

Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD)

Mathie and Cunningham (2003) explain that in recent years, Asset- Based

Community Development (ABCD) has "caught the attention of community development

practitioners in North America as an innovative strategy for community-driven

development in urban neighborhoods and rural communities" (p. 3). They explain that

ABCD is adopted by those "disenchanted with the needs-based approach to community

development that is so entrenched in government and non-governmental service delivery"

ABCD's premise is:

> That people in communities can organize to drive the development process
> themselves by identifying and mobilizing existing (but often unrecognized)
> assets, thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunity. In
> particular, ABCD draws attention to social assets: the particular talents of
> individuals, as well as the social capital inherent in the relationships that fuel
> local associations and informal networks (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p. 4).

They further argue that ABCD has the potential to encourage active citizenship as in

originates in community, and ABCD aims to build a sense of community "while

enhancing the prospects for sustainable livelihoods" (p. 475). ABCD is also an approach

for mobilization and a strategy that rests on the idea that here are assets in the community

that are more likely to inspire to positive action, over focusing on a problem based

approach, with community members at its core. ABCD was explicitly and often

referenced in organizational documents and served as a guiding ethos in the organization.

For example, their 2015 Strategic Plan reads, "[CCD's] work is rooted in the concept of

asset-based community development…and we believe that neighborhood revitalization

must be community-led and engage the ideas, values and skills of residents" (CCD

Strategic Plan, 2015). Many of the front line staff's job titles were as Resident Assets

Coordinators. There are also methods by which community development organizations

assist in mobilizing community around a common vision or plan that might include:

1) Collecting stories of community successes and analyzing the reasons for success; mapping community assets

2) Forming a core steering group; building relationships among local assets for mutually beneficial problem solving within the community

3) Convening a representative planning group

4) Leveraging activities, resources, and investments from outside the community (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003, p. 477)

CCD was actively engaged in all four of these tenets of ABCD and it was a dominant

discourse at CCD both in speech and action. The ABCD approach is exemplified in the

following quote:

> Assuming that all the assets in our community are there, they just need some help to be mobilized...mom is not just a stressed out mom. She's also a mom that has these skills in this area and these connections in this area and what you might just need is a little bit of help from the outside to get those things going, so we try to approach everything from that asset based approach rather than you're an identified problem approach, which is the older model and the whole idea of dysfunction in in poverty that deviance [of the] poor (CCD Upper Level Staff, February 5, 2018).

These four tenets of ABCD were evidenced in the organization. CCD had collected

ample resident stories in the form of videos and displayed them as examples of impact on

their website as well as featured resident impact stories in monthly e-newsletters. In order

to protect anonymity, these stories are not shared here. Storytelling about residents was a

common tool used in fundraising campaigns as well. The resident council served a

steering committee and representative planning groups while coalition building was a

clear goal as evidenced in previous sections regarding managing partner relationships.

And there was an emphasis on qualitative data collection on the front line level which has been previously discussed here. So, it becomes a bit more evident how and why a discourse of self-determination is in use here. CCD does not see its residents as lacking in assets but rather see themselves as the facilitators in corralling resident assets to serve the community.

Place-Making

CCD also espoused a place-making approach in their community engagement efforts and see their role as facilitating a community where people want to live, work, and play. They describe their homes as having some extra element that provides a sense of community among tenants, a vegetable garden to learn in, a playground to play in, and a community room (CCD Annual Report, 2014). They also make specific mention of local, neighborhood, place-based work and its importance to resolving the nation's most significant problems (CCD Strategic Plan, 2015). Place-making is a people and relationship driven approach to managing public spaces that involves listening to and asking questions of the people that live in a particular space to discover needs and aspirations. Then that information is used to create a common vision for that place which can then "evolve into an implementation strategy, beginning with small scale, do-able improvements" that can "immediately bring benefits to public spaces and the people who us them (Metropolitan Planning Council, 2020). This is a collaborative process that facilitates creative patterns of use paying attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and its ongoing evolution (Project for Public Spaces, 2020). This process capitalizes on local assets inspiration and potential and is aimed at

contributing to people's health, happiness, and well-being (Project for Public Spaces,

2020). Participants noted:

> I know they had a program while back where they were putting together crews [and] volunteers to improve landscaping around the neighborhood (CCD Board Member, January 17, 2018).

> Ultimately, it would be our hope to have [residents] leading in terms of what they even see on a small scale, something within their neighborhood blocks, [perhaps] an issue with sidewalks or something, something that is specifically place-based…we can then address that more specifically (CCD Front Line Staff, October 17, 2018).

The organization has endless examples of place making efforts including collecting

personal stories, the development of resident soccer leagues, music programs, purchasing

a piano, putting on a play about gentrification, video production classes, photography,

mother-child centered groups including culturally specific story times in various

languages, community gardening, and emergency preparedness courses just to name a

few. There is an ongoing commitment within the organization to create a sense of home

and access in their developments, as place-making has become a central guiding ethos in

the organization. Overall, this section reveals that workers feel allyship solidarity, and see

themselves as part of their service community which may act to diminish the adoption of

top down neoliberal empowerment programming. Workers and residents see their own

version of "good" citizenship as somewhat tied to neoliberal discourses of self-education

and being an active and knowledgeable citizen but these conceptions have not trickled

downward into program development from workers downwards into the community.

Rather, it is residents themselves that integrate neoliberal conceptions of citizenship into

programs. This begs the question of the nature of the individual internalization of

neoliberal ideologies, and when and how they begin (or do not) to become transmitted into communities via nonprofit organizations.

Summary of Findings

In sum, the organization faced some unique dilemmas as it searched for identity as it grew. As new sources of risk emerged, they discussed the adoption of market like tools for managing the loss of institutional knowledge, financial sustainability, and internal conflict but these have not yet been fully incorporated into the organization as of yet. In the face of some of these issues, the organization has taken on market like tools to preserve democratic modes of governance such as relationship tracking data management, streamlined HR systems, and siloed expertise which is an interesting phenomenon. Entrepreneurial behavior in the organization was siloed to the top of the organization, giving front line staff more leeway in maintaining community solidarity and ally ship. This data also points to organizational life cycle and founder succession as being especially important as nonprofits take on development or implement more marketized ways of knowing and doing. In this case, the organization was having conversations about the costs and benefits of embracing such strategies. Technologies of citizenship were also evident but showed up in very unique and complex ways. CCD, at the time of this research, was existing in a state of fused discourses where marketized and democratic discourses prevailed and operated in different ways towards different ends. Some of which were fully embraced, while others were half-heartedly embraced, though there is a cognitive perception that they are best practices in most cases. Symbolically they are seen as they best way to manage perceived risks, but they are not yet in full enactment. The findings here indicate that marketization of community development is a

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situated process, and it is contextual, as the organizations interacts with and adapts to

local discourses producing nuanced variation in how it is both perceived and practiced.

These issues will be further discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Overview

As marketized discourses proliferate in the nonprofit sector under the rise of

neoliberalism, hallmarked by market fundamentalism, concerns have been raised about

threats to nonprofit autonomy, threats to the sector's important civic role, and to its

identity (see Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Sandberg, 2013). As market values and

business-like practices are imported into the daily practices of nonprofits, a central focus

of this work is to better understand how neoliberal logics are imported into the sector,

how they are understood in both logic and practice, and to determine whether this

phenomenon has any impact on the way nonprofit workers perceive civic identity. This

study also sought to better understand the way nonprofits relate to and socially construct

the civic identity of their beneficiaries under neoliberal frames. Research on nonprofits

becoming more business-like in both structure and function, and the increasing

professionalism and managerialism that accompanies the neoliberal paradigm has gained

considerable interest in nonprofit academic study. However, the way these values and

logics become operationalized on the organizational level is less understood and remains

an underdeveloped area of inquiry (see Maier, et al., 2016). It is even less understood

how nonprofit workers come to internalize or resist these discourses and if and how this

impacts their civic role in relation to beneficiaries. This is of concern because as

nonprofit organizations (NPOs) take on market values, they may "lose the ability to

adequately respond to the needs of the communities that they have traditionally served"

recasting citizenship as a quasi-market role where citizens are "not defined by their

mutual engagement in a democratic mode of governance" but defined by "their discipline and prudence as consumers, workers, and tax paying investors" (Soss, Fording, and Schram, 2002, p. 43). This can occur particularly if and when market values replace or overshadow democratic values such as solidarity and cooperation which has been discussed in previous chapters. Further, the *marketized nonprofit worker* and the way they socially construct citizenship has not yet been typified in the literature. This research sought to examine the processes by which nonprofits import, embrace and operationalize, or potentially resist neoliberal discourses and approaches, and the impacts this has on civic identity construction of the organization and those operating within it.

To summarize, the literature on neoliberalism and the nonprofit's civic functions were detailed in Chapter One. Chapter Two provided an overview of the study's theoretical grounding by detailing theories drawn from the work of Foucault and other scholars that build on his work that informed the design of this study. Chapter Three explicated the empirical setting and research strategy including a detailed description of methods of data collection and analysis drawing on both inductive and deductive methods, as well as how the theoretical frames were employed in the processes of data collection and analysis. Chapter Four presented detailed findings from the case study. This final chapter synthesizes the findings presented in Chapter Four from all data sources and identifies where these findings relate to and extend the literature found throughout this work. This chapter is organized to address the four research questions in this study:

How has neoliberal marketization of the nonprofit sector affected the everyday practices of a nonprofit service organization? How have these discourses come to manifest?

How do neoliberal discourses and neoliberal practices shape nonprofit worker citizenship identity? What is the relationship between nonprofit worker civic identities and the social construction of beneficiary civic identity?

Is neoliberal citizenship the dominant discourse, and is it practiced and/or resisted by nonprofit workers? If found, what forms of knowledge, meaning, and civic identity are constituted under neoliberal discourse in the nonprofit?

What emerging counter discourses to neoliberalism can be identified as useful resistance tools, and/or tools to serve the sector in preserving and reclaiming its democratic and civic functions?

Theoretical Frameworks: Power, Governmentality, Ruling Relations, and Resistance

This study examined the influence of neoliberal discourses on people's ways of thinking and behaving in nonprofit organizations, focusing on the relationships between discourses, everyday practices, and meaning making in nonprofit work. The study results point to how neoliberal marketization shows up in everyday practices in the nonprofit as well as how they are resisted within an intricate web of power relations. For Foucault, power was seen to be produced in unstable ways through capillary action (Foucault, 1984). Foucault's concept of discourse describes ways of taking about truth and knowledge, reflecting a certain set of rules, and determining what is sayable at any given time, thus power is constantly transmitted through discourses (Foucault, 1984; Gordon, 1980, See discussion in English, 2006). Further, resistance to discursive power is possible in the form of counter discourses producing new forms of knowledge and new sources of power (Ramazanoglu, 1993). This research makes more explicit the ways in which power operated in this organization in a multi-directional capillary fashion tracing various forms of power and the influences they had on individual subjectivities. Power creates the subject, in this case, nonprofit workers and beneficiaries, where the state exercises

capillary power from a distance. This can be seen here in terms of how the organization

began to approach new technologies of performance aimed at furthering the expansion

and growth of the organization, as well as in terms on managing internal risks. As

English (2006) states, the state continues to exercise power through practices (Miller and

Rose, 1993) but this can produce both silence and resistance (p. 99). Further, expert

knowledge plays an important role in how power is exercised (Rose, 1996). At CDD, we

see these expert knowledge's influencing behavior on upper levels in the organization

while more grassroots knowledge supports solidarity on the front lines.

This work also aimed to examine how nonprofit workers understand themselves

and their beneficiaries in relation to neoliberal marketization. Governmentality provided

a lens with which to view the "conduct of conduct" (Foucault, 2000) and focused on the

everyday practices through which groups and individuals are taught to see themselves as

particular types of subjects (e.g., nonprofit professionals; Clarke, 2005; Foucault, 1991b;

Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1996a; See discussion in King, 2019). Thus the

governmentality analytical framework was especially useful for better understanding how

nonprofit workers governed themselves and their beneficiaries. As King (2019) states,

professionalization act to influence nonprofit workers through discursive technologies of

performance and through socialization practices called the technologies of agency which

are the practices "developed, mediated, and taught by fellow nonprofit practitioners,

particularly those who occupy management positions into behaving and acting in

particular appropriate ways, through ongoing processes of professionalization identity

work (Fournier, 1999; Noordegraaf, 2011). Further Dean (1999) asserts that these two

technologies intertwine to "develop practitioners into self-managing and responsible

nonprofit professionals" (King, 2019, pg. 245). While these technologies of agency appeared to govern the board and upper level staff, the technologies of performance that generally accompany such tactics were not firmly in place on the organization, potentially as a result of stratified expertise at CCD, as well as the particular organizational stage in the life cycle which is further explored below. However, the power of these technologies of performance came to light in the discussion of equity work and the development of measurements for funders which is also explained below. For King (2019), attention to funder's aims, hitting targets, and focusing on funder's outcomes rather than participant needs drove him further from his organizations original ethos. However, at CCD, they maintained solidarity with residents as these technologies had not yet firmly taken hold as the dominant discourse, or "proper" way of doing things. At CCD, bottom-up, more grassroots technologies of agency such as moral socialization and solidarity with community served to resist neoliberal marketization.

> Utilizing IE as an analytical frame in this study sought to:
>
> Extend and expand people's everyday knowledge of how things work…display[ing] the actual ongoing coordination or practical activities in and through which we daily and nightly bring our world into being…seeing this way has the capacity to write sociology that shifts outside the relation of ruling to a stance from which relations and powers or the world we live in become visible from the sites of peoples actual experience (Smith, 1987, pp. 212-213).

This work aimed to bring light to how social organization coordinated the behaviors of nonprofit practitioners rendering more visible the ruling relationships that govern behavior. It is my hope that by locating and naming the power and agency exemplified by the nonprofit workers at CCD a path can be carved to better understanding how to maintain the civic foundations of our work in the nonprofit. While the external

environment including funders, provided a ruling apparatus in the organization as they

questioned growth and sustainability, simultaneously solidarity served as ruling

apparatus by which behavior was governed, especially on the front lines of the

organization. Here, solidarity, awareness, respect, and agency were seen as defining a

"good" nonprofit professional, rather than the logics generally associated with

neoliberalism.

This critical analysis sought to connect the dots between experiences to the ruling

relations that coordinate these experiences illuminating the taken for granted structures

and discourses that coordinated activities at CCD. This work has the potential to

engender a new political consciousness in relationship to the neoliberal nonprofit worker.

In this case, the personal histories and experiences (standpoints) that CCD front line

workers brought with them into the organization coordinated behaviors in way that acted

to resist to neoliberal governance. These accounts helped to frame accountability towards

beneficiaries rather than external governance structures. However, upper level board

members standpoints impacted their views on neoliberal governance as being a natural

way of organizing. In this case, power is seen again to be capillary and flowing from

multiple sources, and interlocking in specific ways.

Finally, the task of this work was to render visible the workings of institutions

that appear to be neutral and independent so that one could fight against them (Foucault,

1984). Foucault was concerned with "specific revolts of conduct that arise in relation to

direction, regulation and incitement of conduct" (Odysseos, Death, and Malmvig, 2016,

p. 152) Instead of resistance, he names these counter conducts which is the "struggle

against the processes implemented for conducting others" (p.152). In order for power to

exist, there must also be some degree of freedom, thus Foucault argues that the

possibilities of resistance are located at the level of ethical behaviors , or at the level of

individuals daily lives (Odysseos et al, 2016) so attention was given here to how

nonprofit workers at CCD negotiating the margins of power (David and Fisher, 1993, p.6;

See discussion in Odysseos et al, 2016). These results point to how individuals interacted

with powerful discourses of neoliberalism and citizenship and the way sin which they

were internalized, resisted, and transformed inventing new forms of knowledge. This

work showed how CCD workers resisted dominant discourses in different ways with

different resources to different degrees. Identifying the contradictory ways in which

power and resistance acted in the organization has potential and power that can contribute

to our understanding of the relationship between nonprofit work and neoliberal

marketization.

The technologies of power and resistance found here, namely personal identities

guiding by moral behaviors, and discourses of self-determination, agency, asset-based

community development and place making served as counter conducts to create spaces of

resistance to the power of neoliberal marketization in everyday meaning making in

relationship to residents. The social construction of citizenship and civic identity long

before participants entered the organization also served as technologies of power and

strategies of resistance shaped by previously formed moral obligations to the community

they served. The resistance discourses identified here produced new forms of power,

which also rendered more visible the taken for granted notions of neoliberal

marketization. The particular ways in which these discourses operated and to what ends

are further discussed in the remainder of this chapter, as well as implications and

considerations for nonprofit practitioners and academics.

Aim One: Identify how neoliberal discourses have come to manifest in the case organization and how neoliberal marketization of the nonprofit sector affected the everyday practices of the organization.

Several themes emerged as to the levels of marketization in the organization and how

and why neoliberal market discourses were (or were not) taken on. Marketized discourses

seemed to be taken on in response to several key factors and perceived risks including

internal human resources conflict, fear around the processes of executive succession, the

doubling of the portfolio in a short amount of time, and board reorganization. These

discourses seemed to be adopted and imported by both board members from professional

environments, guiding professional associations' best practices, as well as strategies to

align with the major players in the affordable housing market, which require proving

measurable outcomes for continued funding. Some of these discourses were already

woven into the organization at upper management levels, but had not yet been

internalized by front line workers. However, discourses around the need for increased

technologies of performance, especially tools for data collection, seemed to be of concern

for the entire organization in light of fear of institutional knowledge loss at the potential

succession of leadership. While these tools were discussed as being needed in perception,

there seemed to be no plan on how they would be implemented in practice and no

questions raised about gauging their authority as the proper tools. Further, while CCD

was in the process of adopting more marketized processes and ways of practicing their

roles in the form of managerialism and the adoption of market tools, they did not

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necessarily adopt the ideologies and logic that generally accompany such tools. Neoliberal market discourses were largely stratified throughout the organization which points to how expert roles, a result of increased professionalism, were actually aiding the organization in keeping its frontline workers aligned with a more grassroots logic in relation to residents. Finally, organizational tensions arose between having a specific spatial strategy with clearly defined organizational service region, as it conflicted with an imperative towards growth, especially among board members. Many of these findings are hypothesized to be a result of the contextual and temporal aspects of the organization mentioned above, such as founder succession planning, adding new board members, and organizational growth in a short period of time.

Overall, results point to CCD existing in a state of fused discourses, both market and civic, that manifest toward different ends within very particular contextual and temporal settings and stratified in the organization. What seems evident here is neoliberal discourses and logics are not a totalizing structure that gets immediately fortified and enacted in these organizations with no point of return, but rather a messy, evolving, and sometimes conflicting rationale that gets piecemealed together. Neoliberal marketization was enacted in varying applications as the organization experienced turning points, growing pains, and internal discord. As these perceived threats came to light, technologies of performance were assessed and discussed as ways to counteract these threats. In some instances, market like tools were adopted, and actually aided the organization in preserving grassroots civic models of governance, such as stratified expert roles and data tools for relationship management, signifying that neoliberal marketization may not be the threat we think it is. In fact, if we consider neoliberal

marketization to be inevitable, there are some insights in this case study that may point us towards not only balancing marketized and civic discourses, but also how some of the tools of marketization have proved useful in preserving civic discourses at CCD, which will be further explored below.

These findings support Peck and Tickell's (2002) assertion that studies of neoliberalism should aim to bring attention to local peculiarities, or everyday actions in micro settings, to examine how subjectivities and organizational features are embedded in wider networks and structures of neoliberal marketization. Peck and Tickell (2002) warns of an over-generalized account of the omnipresent and dangerous version of neoliberalism in the nonprofit sector as it fails to identify the local variability and complex internal considerations evident within this case study. Much of the temporal and contextual phenomenon at the time of this research including the recent doubling of their portfolio, fear of founder succession, loss of institutional knowledge, concentration of power, new young professional board members, and new relationships with funders of equity programming impacted how neoliberal discourses were taken on as a result of internal discord and perceived threats to organizational sustainability. However, at the same time, this was not a totalizing force, as the organization was also able to maintain civic and community oriented discourses in tandem with imported marketized discourses. The way that these discourses manifest is complex and represents a "more fragmented empirical reality" at the organizational level, rather than the assumption of the market posing such a "monolithic threat" to the nonprofit sector (Suykens, et al., 2020, p. 1). In order to better understand how and why these discourses were being taken on at CCD, the literature on isomorphism and resource dependency (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; DiMaggio

& Powell, 1983; Scott and Meyer, 1991; Oliver, 1992), founder phenomenon (Block and Rosenberg, 2002), organizational life cycle (Lavoie and Culbert, 1978; Quinn and Cameron, 1983), and professionalization (Hwang & Powell, 2009; Sandberg, 2013) are useful analytical tools and explored within the sections below.

Isomorphism and Resource Dependency: Responding to Institutional Pressures

The taken for granted and informally adopted marketized discourses noted above are possibly due to isomorphic pressures in the contextual environment. At CCD, when faced with organizational discord, changes in staff and board, and the doubling of their portfolio, managerial and professional discourses and technologies of performance such as better HR and data management tools prevailed as *the* way to resolve many of the organization's internal governance issues without much consideration to other more grassroots models. While the data does not directly point to why this occurred, isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) and resource dependency theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) are useful analytical tools in hypothesizing as to *why* and *how* this occurred. As discussed in Chapter One, organizations are influenced by external environments to adopt certain discourses and practices, as they manage the complex process of ensuring adaptability and survival in a competitive environment. At CCD, the researcher hypothesized that the reason these solutions occurred as the only choice is a result of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). However, this is not as "cut and dry" as one might expect. CCD exists within a state of fused discourses where isomorphism seemed to be influencing the governing logic in some areas, while again, the organization attempted to actively hold onto civic discourses on the frontlines.

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Isomorphism is described as the process by which close-working organizations move toward similarity over time and similarities emerge as a result of increased complex interdependence. Coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism can occur simultaneously but tend to result from different conditions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Coercive isomorphism results from regulatory and political influence, mimetic isomorphism results from uncertainty, and normative isomorphism results from pressures from professions (Hersberger-Langloh, Stühlinger, von Schnurbein, 2020). First, "coercive isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150), occurs as external stakeholders impose changes in the organizational environment. CCD struggled to understand their competitive advantage in the competitive field, labeling it as relational, but yet still seeking competitive activities that were not in alignment with how they viewed themselves, insinuating external pressures and the "develop or die" mentality that prevails in the community development ecosystem. Further, fear and uncertainty about organizational sustainability was evident in the way the organization discussed a growth imperative, and questioned whether they wanted to stay local to their geographical service region or expand their service territory.

Nonprofits in particular are also thought to mimic neoliberal values as processes of *professionalization* occur (Hwang & Powell, 2009; Sandberg, 2013). The logic is that groups with similar education and professional backgrounds and who are embedded in professional networks have been instilled with a logic of professionalism, which confines the logic of what is acceptable, knowable, and actionable given the bounds of how one understands "professionalism." A professional logic "tells them which practices they

should follow in a given situation" (Lowndes & Roberts, 2013, p. 60). Under normative

isomorphism, CCD seemed to be orienting themselves towards particular kinds of

conduct concerned with "optimization of performance, aptitude and states" (Dean, 1996,

p. 48; Sandberg, 2011). This is particularly evident in the way that the organization

addressed new models for human resources, succession planning, and data management.

The election of a new cast of board members, largely young professionals coming out of

a local urban affairs master's program seemed to influence how the board approached the

discord occurring in the organization which has implications for higher education in

nonprofit management which will be further explored in the recommendations section.

The adoption of business-like practices in response to institutional pressures often

takes the form of managerialism as in this case, which describes an ideology that

business-like practices "should" be adopted. On the one hand, there are strong critiques

of managerialism in the nonprofit literature, including that the focus on strategy and

management dilutes organizational mission and purpose (Bush, 1992; Eikenberry &

Kluver, 2004; Froelich, 1999; Maier et al, 2014) and can lead to mission drift (Dees &

Anderson, 2003; Jones, 2007). While others have found positive impacts such as the

more efficient and effective management of resources and increased organizational

performance (Guo, 2006; Modi & Mishra, 2010; See discussion in Hersberger-Langloh,

Stühlinger, von Schnurbein, 2020). At CCD, tools and logics of managerialism were

adopted, or in the process of being adopted with an aim to balance mission with stability.

Additionally, what is interesting here is that more managerial forms of human resources

governance were being adopted as a way to create *more* democratic structures in the

organization, with workers stating it would bring more accountability, legitimacy, and

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transparency to internal employee relations. The literature on managerialism often takes either a positive or negative view with little middle ground (Sanders, 2015), but again, in this case, it is both—it is complicated and context specific.

Further, changes in relationships in the funding environment also "influence the need for nonprofit organizations to use market like strategies to deal with resource constraints" (Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004, p. 133), known as resource dependency. Here, individual organizations must conform if they are to receive support and legitimacy in an institution environment where there are rules and requirements (Scott and Meyer, 1991). Eikenberry and Kluver (2004) further elaborate on four areas that have played a role in the marketization process including a growing reliance on the generation of commercial revenue, an increase in performance based contract competition, changes in philanthropy, and the proliferation of social entrepreneurship (p. 134). Shifts to marketization were somewhat evident at CCD but not yet fully developed as an all-encompassing lens. In relation to these four areas, first CCD discussed taking on fee-for-service activities as a means towards achieving greater competitive advantage. Yet simultaneously trying to hold onto relationships and knowing one's community as their competitive advantage indicating changes in the organization due to growing reliance on commercial revenue as well as the proliferation of social entrepreneurship. Second, CCD discussed the difficulty in meeting funder expectations when doing equity work, as they struggled to remain competitive in gaining contracts from equity funders, which points to how changes in philanthropy is one such avenue whereby CCD came to struggle with the tensions between civic and market discourses.

In order to explain some of this variation found at CCD, the work of Christine Oliver (1991) is helpful (see also Sandberg, Elliott & Petchel, 2020). She proposes a typology of strategic responses to institutional pressures that combines isomorphism and resource dependency theories that may be a useful analytical tool in better understanding how CCD has responded to these pressures. This typology varies from active organizational resistance to passive conformity to proactive manipulation. Her work on organizational strategic responses to institutional pressures may better help us understand the process of neoliberal marketization in CCD's decision-making related to neoliberal market pressures. Oliver argues that as organizations respond to pressures given a combination of factors such as why the organization is being pressured to conform, who is exerting the pressure, the nature of the norms being required, the means by which pressure is being asserted, and the context in which the pressures are being asserted, organizations will enact particular strategic responses: acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance, or manipulation (Oliver, 1991). These responses range the spectrum from passive (acquiescence) to actively resistant (manipulation) responses to environmental pressures. Taking this model and applying it to the findings of this project, CCD seemed to align with both acquiescence and compromise indicating variability in how CCD responded to various institutional pressures. Acquiescence takes the form of habit, imitation and compliance. Habit refers to unconscious or blind adherence to taken for granted rules and values when norms have become a matter of social fact which renders the organization unaware of institutional influences, precluding them from responding strategically. This produces actions and practices that are repeated unconsciously and are seemingly customary (p.152). This seemed evident in the way that new forms of managerialism

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were taken for granted as *the* best practice without discussion of other, possibly more grassroots models of governance. Compliance is "considered more active than habit or imitation to the extent that an organization consciously and strategically chooses to comply with institutional pressures in anticipation of specific self-serving benefits that may range from social support to resources to predictability (DiMaggio, 1988; Meyer & Rowan, 1983; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; See discussion in Oliver, 1992). This enhances stability and legitimacy to external stakeholders. Faced with conflicting institutional demands, CCD also employed a compromising strategy in some areas as they attempted to balance their mission with stability, particularly as it came to acquisitions as well as forming equity standards in response to funders' whims. Oliver states "these compromise tactics represent the thin edge of the wedge in organizational resistance to institutional pressures" and thus requires balancing "stabilization and structural innovation" (p.154). Balancing refers to the tactics of accommodating multiple demands between multiple stakeholders and internal interests (p. 154). In some areas, acquiescence was an automatic and undiscussed response to such pressures, but was resisted or compromised in other areas.

CCD seemed to be exhibiting a mixed response given which threat they were responding to. As they were confronted with institutional demands and market norms to define their competitive advantage, they toggled with balancing the market lens with a relationship based lens, and sought balance rather than deference to one or the other. Further, CCD was attempting to maintain internal relationships, (i.e., seeking to avoid power concentration and enhance relations, legitimacy, and transparency) but were doing so with managerial tools like business-like HR systems. Further, CCD aimed to

compromise with competing institutional demands. On the one hand, they were conforming to the "develop or die" mentality with discussions of increasing competitive advantage by expanding geographical service areas and developing more fee-for-service activity. On the other hand, they struggled to keep a stronghold of what they defined as their competitive advantage; relationships and knowing the community. The results point to some contradictory trends in the organization such as competition with balance, a confused competitive advantage, discord around where the organization was headed, and what technologies of performance might be the "best" ones to usher them into the next phase of organizational life.

Neoliberal Marketization as a Response to Change, Discord, and Growth: Founder Transition, Life Cycle, and Professionalization

At the time of this research, some major organizational growing pains were underfoot. The board and staff were concerned about the loss of institutional knowledge in founder succession, the lack of transparent human resource systems, and the concentration of power in the executive. The organization had just doubled the size of their portfolio and had a recent influx of young professionals added to the board. And the lack of equity planning became an urgent threat to the organization as funders changed reporting requirements for equity work. In order to better understand these phenomena the literature on nonprofit founders, organizational life cycle theories, and professionalization are explored in the following sections.

Founder Transition

The evidence in this case points to the idea that founder transition and the fear of knowledge attrition may have substantial influence over the adoption of neoliberal

marketization. Carman and Nesbit (2012) explore how the dynamics associated with the founding of new nonprofit organizations, the characteristics of the founders, and the developmental life cycles of nonprofit organizations contribute to the landscape of the nonprofit sector. The literature on founders of nonprofit organizations find that founders are often ideological, passionate people who seek to create (Coombs, 2019; Frank, 2002; James, 2003; Rose-Ackerman, 1996; Young, 1986), and are often described as personable, charismatic, and inspirational (James, 2003; Stevens, 2001, p. 28). However, at the same time, there is ample literature on the downfalls of founder syndrome where "the founder exercise[es] too much power and influence in the organization (Block and Rosenberg, 2002) and there are "struggle[s] with leadership transition (Adams, 2005; Allison, 2002; Balsar & Carmin, 2009; Hernandez & Leslie, 2001; See full discussion in Carmin and Nesbit, 2012). Founders syndrome refers to "the influential powers and privileges that the founder exercises or that others attribute to the founder" (Block and Rosenberg, 2002) and here, the use of the word "syndrome" suggests an unhealthy organizational situation. In a study of how founders and non-founders exercise power and influence, Block and Rosenberg (2002) found that founder-led nonprofits have smaller budget sizes than organizations led by non-founders, and it is suggested that this is because when organizations shift out of the founding stage, they tend to hire executives who focus on management (pg. 364). This insinuates that founders are not necessarily skilled managers but rather entrepreneurs with vison and ideas, whereas new leadership is likely to have more experience and skill in managing and maintaining the organization (p. 364).

What stands out here is that as CCD's ED approached the end of their tenure, there were growing concerns about how to manage leadership transition, knowledge management, and new systems to create more transparent human resources systems. As the organization sought ways to manage this transition, market like responses seemed a given, a taken for granted way to deal with these changes insinuating that normative isomorphism via professionalization has taken hold, as well as Oliver's notion of acquiescence. In much of the literature, founder's syndrome is considered a bad thing, but this leads to new questions about how founders act to preserve institutional memory and maintain more civically rooted systems of governance. One might ask how these scholarly conceptions of the founder fare in the face of marketization. As succession planning begins, the tools of the market such as data management systems, HR systems and strategic succession planning documents are compiled, is anyone asking what other models have worked under the founder? As stated above, first, Block and Rosenberg (2002) found that founders have smaller budget sizes than organizations led by non-founders. When the ED at CCD spoke about not getting the bid for family homes and losing to a competitor that proposed studios, it shows the steadfastness of the founder in serving community over competition. The organization has also remained a small staff of ten under his guidance and has taken pride in the relational aspects of the organization. This may point to the idea that the reason founders have smaller budgets is because they have not fully conformed to the idea of the growth imperative as they are passionate about niche areas of service within, in this case, a small geographical area. This is antithetical to the literature that posits the founder as the growth seeking entrepreneur. Second, as stated, organizations moving out of founder stage tend to hire executives that

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focus on management with "more experience and skill in managing and maintaining the organization" (Block and Rosenberg, 2002, p. 364). One might argue that this should not be considered *more* experience but rather *different* experience. It seems to be a taken for granted assumption that managerialism is the right way to organize new leadership when the founder has maintained the organization on a relational and successful level for over ten years. Therefore, the leap from founder executives to a more professionalized manager has significant implications for how and why neoliberal discourses get taken on in organizations and deserves further attention in the literature. While much of the literature on neoliberal marketization points to entrepreneurial discourses as crowding out civic values, we should ask which ones are worthy of being preserved, because some of the qualities of founders might actually aid in preserving civic and democratic values and practices within organizations. A new question to explore is what founders offer us in the face of marketization and how this knowledge can be harnessed as a balancing mechanism in the sector. Founder succession may be a critical point of vulnerability to the adoption of neoliberal marketization and managerialism and deserves greater attention in the field. These findings also point to larger implications and issues for nonprofit succession planning and leadership development, especially as organizations move out of founder stage.

At CCD, the hiring of the Assistant Director (from outside of the organization) was seemingly meant to create a leadership pipeline at CCD in the case of executive succession, but as noted in Chapter Four the hire did not work out and created some internal conflict in the organization. This incident led to the organization considering more structured HR systems for accountability and transparency as many in the

organization and board were unclear how these power struggles played out. Most workers

when speaking to this situation noted that there seemed to be a conflict in values between

the ED and AD. As noted in Chapter 4, the AD was hired for quantitative data

management and managerial expertise from outside the organization. However, as CCD

took on market-like strategies to deal with these issues in order to create a more

democratic HR system to mitigate such internal conflicts, the literature on succession

points to the idea that they may have misplaced their area of focus. This is not a surprise,

as Bozer, Kuna and Santora (2015) note that executive succession planning has not been

a priority for most nonprofits and that despite an exodus of EDs in the field, nonprofits

remain ill-prepared for managing and planning succession (p. 1). Stewart, Adams,

McMillian, and Burns (2020) in their work on the board's role in executive succession

hiring found that boards prioritized mission expertise followed by fundraising track

record and financial management. Further, boards prioritized growth outcomes when

asked what they sought from hiring for executive transitions. While boards are bringing

on more managerial hires to increase growth, research has found that "the promotion of

internal candidates has been positively associated with organizational performance (See

discussion in Stewart et al., 2020). Given this research, attention should be paid to how

entrepreneurial values play into the hiring process, as the board may privilege managerial

hires as they consider the next stage of organizational growth upon founder succession.

Attention to gender, race and leadership pipelines is of utmost importance as well in light

of these findings. Bozer, Kuna and Santora (2015) suggest that these concerns can be

avoided by instituting organizational policies that encourage internal candidates to apply

for managerial positions and thoughtfully and authentically implement internal leadership

development tailored to promote skills, knowledge, and abilities of internal candidates that are already familiar with organizational culture. Founders hold important tacit knowledge which is "information not stored in any formal system since it cannot be easily described or codified but is essential for doing work" (Pfeffer and Sutton as cited in March, 2020, p. 55). Thus, according to March (2020) successful transitions afford opportunities to the successor to spend time with the incumbent "to gain a better understanding of the organization, the challenges, and opportunities to advance the purposefulness of the organization before assuming the helm" (p. 55). They further state "memorializing tacit information is an effect component of the leadership development and transition processes (March, 2020, p. 55). At CCD, when faced with the loss of institutional knowledge upon founder succession, CCD started to adapt marketized tools in fear of the loss of this knowledge such as hiring from outside the organization, then developing seemingly more accountable HR systems when that hire did not work out. However, what these authors suggest is that greater focus on internal knowledge and internal power transfers can remedy this while holding onto the best parts of founder's knowledge and value set. Given this information, boards and founders should be encouraged to work together on leadership development plans to ensure smooth transitions and consider that founder succession is a point of vulnerability where new values can easily be imported. Boards should also take into account what values and aspects of their personal backgrounds might be influencing their choices for more entrepreneurial and managerial candidates. While using market like tools such as stronger HR systems might assist in resolving internal conflicts once they have occurred, perhaps a more upstream or grassroots approach to leadership development might have proven

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more democratic in the long run. However, these options were not considered as they did not seem to be within the professionalized field of knowledge at the time that these conflicts occurred. This points to how dominant neoliberal discourses can confine what is knowable and doable at any given time, and how entrepreneurial discourses prevail even in succession planning. Succession planning is one *critical juncture* where nonprofits should reassess their values in terms of both mission and market ends. The concept of critical junctures and intervention points for balancing the effects of marketization in the nonprofit sector is treated at the end of this chapter.

Organizational Life Cycle

The case organization was in the middle of a tipping point as their portfolio grew, so organizational life cycle is also an important consideration in how and why neoliberal discourses become adopted. At the time of this research, CCD had recently doubled their portfolio, which brought new conversations around the future of the organization, its financial sustainability, as well as internal systems to manage operations. The organizational life cycle model assumes that there are regularities in organizational development. These regularities occur in such a way that the organizations' development processes lend themselves to segmentation into stages or periods of time (Smith, Mitchell, and Summer, 1985). Since organizations are in a continuous process of adaptation and since organizations exhibit a unique set of characteristics in each developmental stage, having the ability to recognize an organization's particular stage of development may help the formulation of its strategies, identification of risk and opportunities, and management of organizational change relative to neoliberal marketization. Organizational life cycle theory may also be useful for assessing how

nonprofits come to adopt neoliberal market discourses as they grow, interact with more

players, deal with hiring and programs, and become more professionalized as a result of

their growth stage. Different authors emphasize a unique set of characteristics found in

each stage of their life cycle models but it is important to note that these stages are

sequential in nature; occur as a hierarchical progression that is not easily reversed; and

involve a broad range of organizational activities and structures (Quinn and Cameron,

1983; Lavoie and Culbert, 1978). In general, organizational life cycle models assume that

an organization goes through inception to growth, maturity, and decline or

redevelopment.

Quinn and Cameron (1983) present nine previously iterated models of

organizational life cycle and summarized these models into some key characteristics. It

is suggested that changes that occur in organizations follow a predictable pattern that can

be characterized by developmental stages. They summarize each stage as corresponding

to particular qualities known as 1) Entrepreneurial behaviors, 2) Collectivity Stage 3)

Formalization and Control Stage and the 4) Elaboration of Structure Stage. Each has its

own accompanying behaviors and qualities.

1) Entrepreneurial Stage- Marshalling of resources, lots of ideas, entrepreneurial
   activities, little planning and coordination, formation of a niche, and the prime
   movers have power

2) Collectivity Stage- informal communication and structure, sense of collectivity,
   long hours spent, sense of mission, innovation continues, high commitment

3) Formalization and Control Stage- formalization of rules, stable structure,
   emphasis on efficiency and maintenance, conservatism, and institutionalized
   procedures

4) Elaboration of Structure Stage- decentralization, domain expansion, adaptation
   and renewal

CCD seemed to be somewhere in between stages of collectivity and formalization, exhibiting a sense of collectivity and mission but moving into the development of more formal structures influenced by a young and professionalized board, and new strategic planning around organizational sustainability. They were beginning to reason that without better control of data (formalization) they could not effectively manage the perceived risks to the organizations and their programs they faced. So this presented a unique phase of the life cycle where they were beginning to take on the tools of the market, or considering taking them on, to formalize operations and consecrate organizational knowledge, but at the same time, they were not necessarily adopting the ideologies behind the market tools. There were still remnants of informal structure and collectivity. For example, many workers expressed that they were "like a family." They saw technologies of performance/tools as useful in gaining control and managing data *for* control but still seemed to discuss it from a democratic perspective, not yet formalizing them into a stabilized institutional structure. Examples of this included using market surveys with beneficiaries but aimed at downward accountability to residents, the use of data management systems to preserve and document partner and donor relationships, and the use of better human resources systems to make inter-workplace relationship more democratic and transparent. This body of research points to some unique intervention points for organizations to consider as they grow. At CCD, they were facing critical junctures in the organizational life cycle, and using the life cycle theories may prove useful to scholars and practitioners concerned with marketization diminishing democratic values. Taking a step back to consider how organizations react to these taken for granted shifts and critical junctures is necessary to ensure that normative market values are not

subconsciously adopted and enacted at the expense of more democratic ones. Counter

discourses to marketization posed in recent nonprofit literature may offer the sector a set

of balancing values and critical questions to ask at these junctures. These are explored for

their utility and practical applications at the end of this chapter.

Professionalization

At CCD, there was evidence of increasing professionalization as they grew in the form of

the choice of board members newly elected, and the board's deep consideration of

whether or not to formalize the board structure by increasing professional development.

The professionalization of an organization as it relates to marketization is complex. Does

the organization become marketized then seek professional workers/board members, or

does the organization seek professional workers/board members that then act to increase

marketization- the proverbial chicken and the egg question. This is not clear in this

research but has implications for thinking about professionalization in organizations,

how, why, and when it occurs, and its impacts. At CCD, the professional background of

the board coupled with founder succession planning and the doubling of their portfolio

seemed to be increasing the business-like strategies and approaches to risk management

in the face of new perceived risks. The influence of credentialed new actors seemed to be

spearheading a transition into more marketized ways of being and knowing in the

organization. It seemed as though the role of expertise was beginning to play a stronger

role in organizational decision making at the upper level of the organization. However,

what is unique here is that professionalism in the form of siloed organizational expertise

was *also* acting to help preserve democratic and grassroots approaches on the front lines

of the organization because professionalism was concentrated at the top of the

organization, and frontline workers maintained autonomy to manage community relationships. As stated throughout this work, the primary concern among some scholars is the potential harm that marketization may cause for the traditional roles of nonprofits in creating and maintaining a strong civil society. However, the siloed expertise seen at CCD common to professionalization is a market tool that is acting to actually preserve the organization's civic functions on the frontlines.

Much of the literature on professionalization in the nonprofit sector asserts that "professionalization threatens the original purpose of the organizations by weakening their grassroots ties and forcing them to enact donor policy rather than follow their own agendas (See discussion in Marberg, Korzilius, and van Kranenburg, 2017). Managerialist vocabularies have been one such indicator of the professionalization process (See discussion in Marberg, Korzilius, and van Kranenburg, 2017, p. 112). The logic goes that the way we speak in organizations impacts organizational practices. However, attention to outcomes should be a further focus of study on local levels, as the way professionalization plays out in both language and action on the frontlines of organizations are two different things. While professionalization was evident in the form of expert roles at CCD, the outcome of these expert roles allowed for upper levels of the organization to focus on market like strategies for sustainability of the organization while frontline workers were able to be experts in community development and relationality in the community, thus preserving democratic and civic functions at the frontlines. Amanda Stewart (2014) asserts that often professionalization gives nonprofit workers independence and autonomy gained through expertise and competency. She states, "While professionalization appears to have brought independence and autonomy to the

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upper ranks of organizations, it appears to have brought increased worker control to the lower ranks" (p. 9). In the case of CCD, worker control and their expert roles as community assets coordinators served the organization's civic functions. Stewart states that professionalization in the nonprofit sector cannot be treated "as a one size fits all concept as the outcomes and elements will vary according to the subsector, organizational and personal difference" (p. 16). Organizational level characteristics such as age, size, and financial influence contribute to variation in how professionalization operates. Variation can also be expected at the personal level of the nonprofit workers: demographics, educational experience, and cultural background, and so on. At CCD, the personal identities of frontline workers as well as their own personal civic identities, mattered in terms of how they related to community work, as well as their autonomy to work with the community in ways that they (and residents) deemed important. The siloed expertise in the organization allowed for worker autonomy that made the organization both concerned with organizational financial sustainability at the top levels of the organization and civically oriented on the frontlines of the organization. However, the technologies of performance associated with the professionalization process had not yet taken a firm hold in the organization, which could act to change worker subjectivities in the long run. This research adds to what we know about professionalization in the nonprofit, in that it points to how professionalization must be studied on the local level, and within varying subsects of the nonprofit organization, as the way professionalization becomes operationalized varies depending on the local setting, managerial styles, levels of expertise, personal qualities of workers, and worker autonomy. While professional tools may be implemented in practice, the outcomes may not have such dire

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consequences for the nonprofit's civic role as suspected. Further, these findings add to the literature on the professionalization of the nonprofit in that it shows how even though market like tools and structures are taken on, the values that seemingly accompany them are not always taken on alongside those tools, especially among front line workers that come from these communities themselves. This reiterates the notion that nonprofit marketization should be understood as a situated process as the meta-logics of neoliberalism interact with and adapt to localized discourses to produce variation (Sandberg et al., 2020). While technologies of performance that accompany professionalization are beginning to be implemented at CCD, the way they are being used in practice does not align with current research on the diminishing civic role of the nonprofit as these tools are taken on. So, it is hard to say if CCD is becoming marketized if they are using the tools, but without the accompanying neoliberal logic. So, "while the meta-logic of neoliberalism may seek to homogenize and make legible the conduct of organizations for easier governability (Dean 1999), the enactment of that logic seems to result in anything but homogeneity while still achieving marketized behavior" (Sandberg et al., 2020, p. 508). The work of Suyken, De Rynck, and Verschuere (2019), Sanders (2015), and Sue Kenny (2002) are helpful for better understanding how both market and civic discourses become fused in organizations, operate towards different ends, and may not be as threatening as critical scholars posit.

A State of Fused Discourses

The ways in which neoliberal discourses have come to manifest at CCD and how neoliberal marketization affected the everyday practices of the organization has been shown to be complex and nuanced. It is taken on at critical points in the organizational

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life cycle and in different ways towards different aims. This research began with the concern about marketization and its detrimental impacts on the foundational civic role of nonprofits, and while on one hand these concerns are founded, on the other hand, these fears are not as well founded as we may think. The work of Suyken, De Rynck, and Verschuere (2019) point to the hybridization of organizations, and is especially helpful in better understanding this variation. They assert in particular that organizational differences in terms of commercialization can be explained in differences in organizational origins, professional capacity, and types of tasks (p. 348). They find that organizations facing resource uncertainty are more likely to commercialize when they are focused on service provision rather than advocacy efforts, have sufficient professional capacity, and have origins in an environment that is more open to the introduction of businesslike practices. And that smaller advocacy related organizations are less susceptible to market pressures, which may explain the tensions around marketization evident at CCD as a small organization of only ten paid employees. Further, as examined in Chapter One, the literature points to how neoliberal values pose a risk of crowding out civic values, but that was not entirely the case here at CCD. While neoliberal tools are taken on in the face of perceived threats, there was still an effort to maintain civic values. Not only that, some marketization has acted to preserve civic foundations such as managing relationships both inside and outside the organization.

Sanders (2015) further explores the tension between pursuing a social mission and meeting the demand of a market economy. He argues that everyday discourse creates meaning and becoming business-like itself is a communicative construction that is not fixed but rather negotiated in practice. Again, this research began with the presumption

that being nonprofit-like is tied to foundational roots in foundational civic discourses, and that marketization poses a threat to these foundations. However, Sanders argues that this mission-market tension *is* nonprofit-like and that the trend towards overcoming business-like tendencies in the nonprofit is not only understood within the confines of profit motive, self-interest, and competition. Rather, the tension between market and mission both must exist and that both imperatives are useful (p. 209). In Sanders' ethnographic study of these tensions, he found that being business-like and pursuing a social mission is contradictory in many instances where these concepts are openly challenged and debated. Sanders found that nonprofit workers embraced the contradiction as normal, framed the tension as ongoing and normal part of everyday nonprofit work, which was also evident at CCD. Participants in Sanders' study articulated that both sides of the mission-market tension needed to remain in play for their organization to be successful, despite the difficult decisions and trade-offs necessary when trying to satisfy both (p. 218). Further, "this mutual interdependence occurred as staff members disconnected profit motive and self-interest from the meaning of business and replaced them with 'people' and the impact on their lives" (p. 215). Sanders urges nonprofit scholars to recognize this tension as an essential feature of the nonprofit and address this mission-market tension as a key feature of what it means to be nonprofit-like. Further, their findings indicate the central role that communication plays in how these tensions are understood where communication is the constitutive and productive force that sustains meanings within organizations (p. 218). The meanings of these tensions are connected to how staff members talk about them, and continually constructed, and framed within specific everyday interactions among staff. It seems as though the general premise of this

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research, that nonprofits ought to be democratic and not business-like is called into question as we reexamine what it means to be "nonprofit-like."

Sue Kenny's (2002) work is also helpful in better understanding how these tensions have evolved specifically in the field of community development, as a subset of the larger nonprofit field. She examines the range of contradictory expectations affecting community development and explores research on how certain operating frameworks impact community development practice. She articulates some of the contradictory aims and practices, such as innovation and creativity as positively held values clashing with the bureaucratic accounting and restrictive auditing regimes (Power, 1997), and more time being spent on financial reporting, monitoring and evaluation (p. 285). She also discusses how the professionalization of community development has resulted in lip service paid to grassroots ideology in workers, while in reality, "credentialist creep" is occurring, where those with formal education are the ones listened to and offered paid work (p. 285). Another tension she describes is that community development is premised on the notion of self-determination and change, and on this premise, one would think that discourses of social entrepreneurship and capacity building would be embraced, but she finds ambivalence in the field when it comes to responding to these changes. In order to understand these contradictions, Kenny discusses four operating frameworks that are not exclusive and operate in often contradictory ways to influence values, assumptions, principles, practices, social relations and everyday actions. These are charity, welfare-state industry, activist, and market and are further detailed below.

The charity framework is framed by some thematic discourses: empathy, virtue and compassion, moral discipline and service, and dependency and patronage. It takes the

view that it is the individual that is the "locus of risk attached to social problems such as poverty" (p. 287). She states that from a community development perspective, the reconstructions of the charity framework have been part of a shift in understanding the individualization of poverty to be overcome by changing individuals rather than reforming society. Welfare-state industry is constructed around two principles. One, the role of the state is to intervene in civil society and the market to ensure stability in people's lives. Second, interventions should be based in social rights, social justice, social equality, and redistribution (p. 288). Formalized equality thus becomes embedded in structural features such as standardized rules, programs, and distributional features. In the activist framework, community organizations are organized around logics of solidarity, trust, empathy, and mutuality and are largely issue based (p. 291). Operations are constructed around community participation towards social change and organized expression towards self-determination, solidarity and advocacy (p. 291). Under this framework, "empowerment takes place as groups are resourced to take control of their own destinies" (p. 291). Finally, the market framework is organized around individual self-interest and self-help, private initiative, enterprise, and competition (p. 293). What Kenny (2002) argues is that third way politics mix and match all of these aspects emphasizing both the market rationale of enterprise and the activist rationale of solidarity and mutual trust. She argues that social-entrepreneurship can draw from the activist framework of self-determination but it can also draw on the self- determination rhetoric common to market ideology where individuals are meant to compete to become resilient (p. 296). Here, it is the operating framework from which one operates that brings these discourses into existence in varying ways. For example, CCD used concepts of self-

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determination to describe their residents, but framed these concepts from an activist

perspective rather than a market one. This will be further explored in the next section.

Kenny advocates for a "proceed with caution" approach as these operating frameworks

become used towards certain ends and operate in tandem towards certain ends. Better

understanding the fused nature of these discourses is imperative to identify effective

strategies of practices that prevent capture by the state and market (p. 297). So again, the

civic/market tension is not one or the other, but rather a fused discourse that operates in

varying ways on the micro-level of organizations and their local environments. In some

ways, as evidenced at CCD, there is hope as marketization can act to preserve some civic

grassroots discourses simply making it easier to do democratic work. Both marketized

and civic/activist discourses exist simultaneously. As evidenced at CCD, perhaps

marketization is not the threat to civil society we imagined but rather as something to be

harnessed when appropriate. Marketized and civic discourses are not mutually exclusive

but rather exist in varied, complex, and nuanced applications and should be further

studied on the local level to better understand the peculiarities by which they manifest. If

co-existence is evident, we should remain cognizant of this and ask what we might do in

order to better help these conflicting discourses exist together. Further, these trends must

be understood within the broader ideology of neoliberalism within the nonprofit

ecosystem.

Professionalism and the Role of Funders in the Proliferation of Marketized Technologies of Performance

At CCD, there were also areas where technologies of performance in the form of

measures, plans, and statements around CCD's equity work were taken on and

highlighted the problematic nature of quickly forcing the use of market like tools to do fundamentally civic oriented work. This is one area where the tensions between market and civic values come alive in this research. In this case, these tensions became evident in the process of planning around equity to appease funders around equity compliance. Much of CCD's frontline staff identified with marginalized identities and as the anti-racist work became professionalized they struggled to make sense of it. Participants described this translation of powerful conversations around equity into work plans, tasks and goals as "killing" the spirit of the conversations, leaving it "dead." The professionalization of equity work calls into question how marketized technologies of performance are integrated into very important civic work within the sector. While this was not the aim of this research, this is considered a significant finding and has implications for how we understand the nonprofit/funder relationship. Also, there are implications for how certain archetypes of professionals are reified via funding requirements, further consecrating a version of "white professionalism" which is clearly problematic in the face of tackling anti-racist work.

Especially of concern in this case is the role of funders in perpetuating models for performance measurement around anti-racist and equity work. The work of Ebrahim (2002) is useful here as he advances three key arguments as they relate to the struggles over information between NGOs and funders. First, he finds that funders affect NGOs by placing demands on their attention promoting positivist and quantifiable valuations of success and failure. Second, NGOs try to resist these funder attempts through several strategies including the symbolic generation of information, selective sharing of information, and the strategic use of professionals to enhance legitimacy. And third, these

combinations of demands and resistance "serves to entrench existing information systems, thereby reproducing tensions between NGOs and funders" (p. 84). The difficulties CCD expressed surrounding the implementation of equity work has implications for how funders may actually be undermining the necessary work that goes into systems level change towards equity further perpetuating a notion of white professionalism that is largely problematic. Here, resource dependency which influences organizations to use market like strategies requires a kind of conformity to receive legitimacy and support. This further supports Cunningham, Baines, and Shields' (2017) conclusion noted in Chapter One that embracing these measures as funders increasingly demand performance and accountability measures, work processes and content became dominated by outputs rather than care. But who defines these outputs and how are they entrenched in notions of white supremacy?

The notion of professionalization and its relationship to whiteness has been explored with the field of social work and may offer some insights as it can be applied to nonprofit work as well. Donna Jeffrey (2005) describes how the day to day practices on which social work professions rest, sustain and reproduce whiteness, thus "doing" race work becomes susceptible to the same formula functions to reproduce whiteness and race as one more skills set at which to be competent, which may render being a "good" social worker and having an anti-racist practice as irreconcilable (p. 409). Further, Badwall (2014) "critiques the centralization of whiteness in social work and makes visible the liberal foundations of the profession that are implicated in constituting colonial and imperial practices of moral superiority" arguing that "the professional values and practices committed to the goals of social justice are the same values and practices that

reinstall whiteness and underpin incidents of racial violence" (p. 1). She states that as racialized bodies become constituted as the other, they become subjects to be regulated, controlled, and saved by colonial, white, and bourgeois subjects. Further, white dominance has been shaped through colonialism, nation-building, and state formation to construct hegemonic scripts about the identity and practices of social workers (Jeffery, 2002; Valverde, 1991). Badwell further states that "historically, whiteness was constituted through imperatives to help, specifically through the production of desire to aid populations in need" (in Heron, 1999, p. #). As helping becomes professionalized, there are inherent hegemonic scripts that operate to produce certain ways of being, knowing, and acting professional. And one cannot decouple these practices from the hegemonic norm of whiteness and white dominance. We must consider the role of professionalization in protecting certain identities and practices and how they can be used to perpetuate racism and white supremacy. Jeffrey (2002) contends that we must carefully examine "how performances of whiteness and their accompanying set of naturalized practices constitute the very foundations of the [social work] profession and the social organization the profession upholds (p. 418). She asks, what is the good of anti-racist work if you can't master it, but the question here is: how do we define mastery?

More recently, Heckler (2019) argues that performances adopted by nonprofits, aimed at conforming to the legal and economic realities of the sector benefit whites and men, as whiteness and masculinity are institutions that shape these realities (p. 266). Defining whiteness and masculinity as institutions, Heckler asserts that blindness to these institutions prevent the close examination necessary to unravel the benefits allocated based on race and gender (p. 267). Until they are "theoretically defined, empirically

observed, and radically dismantled" race and gender equity will remain "ethereal" (p. 267). Further, as rules and norms are adopted in the nonprofit sector such as the move towards professionalization (Frumkin, 1998), and marketization (Eikenberry, 2013), the performance of whiteness and masculinity conform to "pressures created by Masculinity and Whiteness" (p. 270). These institutions are embedded in nonprofit organization as they are all organizations via isomorphic pressures. He asserts that researchers have not yet theorized how these institutions uniquely impact nonprofits specifically. He states:

> As nonprofits adopt performances that conform to Masculinity and Whiteness to secure more resources from the race and gender institutions dominating their environment, they benefit White men organizational members, thereby embedding societal White supremacy and patriarchy in their organizations, while reinforcing the link between professionalization, race, and gender. The prioritization of incessant innovation diverts resources away from race and gender justice in ways that reinforce Masculinity and Whiteness. While most NPO managers are likely to agree that race and gender justice are laudable goals, managerialism and entrepreneurialism emphasize the short-term needs of the NPO by framing work as an ongoing process of changing to avoid loss (Heckler, 2019, p. 274).

As nonprofit practitioners become "preoccupied by completing paperwork and hitting targets rather than serving clients' interests" the focus shifts to "focusing on funder outcomes rather than on participants' needs" (King, 2017, p. 254). As this occurs, the threat of short term loss such as losing funding takes priority over long term gains such as racial and gender justice (Heckler, 2019). Further still, the pursuit of funding and donations creates pressures for nonprofits to adopt whiteness performance in organizational culture, reproducing whiteness and white supremacy. Racial equity is not a social cause that can be treated like a business venture, or one that can always be measured by positivist valuations, but rather a deeply ingrained and integrated problematic American reality. As a sector it is imperative that steps are taken to assess

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how the technologies of performance such as funding evaluation and monitoring procedures impact our role in systemic and meaningful change, prioritizing long term gains over short term threats (Heckler, 2019). Heckler asserts that Masculinity and Whiteness must be mitigated and managed before equity is achieved, and "race and gender justice in nonprofits require the systematic dismantling of the institutions that maintain and reinforce White supremacy and patriarchy: whiteness and masculinity" (p. 280).

As organizations face demands for measurable equity outcomes, statements, and plans to obtain funding, they may act quickly to accommodate funder desires. But, this may actually serve to have an opposite effect where deeply held values are not changed, but rather just the way they are presented to the external environment. These demands for demonstrable outcomes could be undermining the harder conversations on anti-racism work preventing longer lasting, deeper, and more meaningful cultural shifts in organizational ideologies which impact civil society at large. This is not to say that equity work should not be of importance in funding decisions but rather the way this work is structured could be more centered on the foundational democratic roots of civil society such as solidarity, equality, critical discourse, and mutual reciprocity, and long term planning. Perhaps anti-racist inter-organizational work must be addressed first before trying to demonstrate and project professional measures externally. However, the competitive framework and tight timelines ever present in the neoliberal marketplace may not allow for thoughtful, timely, intentional work around anti-racism. Audre Lorde's (1979) well known declaration comes to mind here, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." This points to the role of foundations to fund

capacity building and long term planning around anti-racist and equity work. This represents a tension between the practices of market and civic values in the nonprofit. As CCD takes on the technologies of performance demanded by funders in order to ensure financial sustainability, they simultaneously struggled with the implications these had for long term democratic work aimed at dismantling racism in their organization and their community.

These issues have yet to be thoroughly explored on a scholarly level. In particular, the relationships between funders and capacity building for deep and engaged equity work have not yet been deeply explored. However, these issues are being discussed thoughtfully in practitioner publications such as *The Nonprofit Quarterly*. For example, conversations in those publications are actively addressing transfers of power from elites to communities (Hayley, 2021), assessing core power dynamics and white privilege in organizations (Suárez, 2018), democratizing funding organizations (Lerner, 2021), and assessing anti-racist work (Agbo, 2021). Specifically, one of many examples comes from Nwamaka Agbo (2021). In her article "Rejecting False Harmony: How Philanthropy Can Support Real Healing," she calls for philanthropic organizations to explicitly name support for Black, Indigenous, and communities of color as a "first step in acknowledging violence, extraction, and exploitation that has sacrificed these communities in exchange for wealth accumulation and power consolidation" (para 7). She further states that this is not a time for "quick fixes and limited response funding" but rather a "moment for long and deep commitment" to support community-serving, movement based organizations that are "at the forefront of defending democracy and envisioning an inclusive, just, and liberated society for all of us" (Agbo, 2021, para 11).

Agbo (2021) calls for multi-year general operating support, generational funding, and non-extractive and integrated capital investments, reduced reporting, and solidarity philanthropy.

Lerner (2021) argues that foundations are "one of the most durable bastions of oligarchy…generally governed by a small group of benefactors and professionals, who are disproportionally white, wealthy, and male" (para 8). He calls for the democratization of philanthropy where foundations should cede decision making power to the communities impacted by funding decisions. This means serving as schools of democracy rather than defenders of oligarchy, teaching boards, staff, grantees, and communities to practice democracy. This will require "deeper investment in participatory grant making with one such solution to redirect money pooled to community finds, run by and for existing geographic, demographics, or issue based communities" (para 11). If foundations expect politicians, citizens, and nonprofit organizations to behave democratically, consideration must be given to how foundations can model this behavior.

Finally, one important component of equity work is the acknowledgement that the racial leadership gap in the nonprofit sector is dismal, with "fewer than 20 percent of nonprofit director positions being held by Blacks, Asians, Latinxs, and Native Americans combined" (Murphy, 2020, para 1). As the equity conversation deepens, we have to consider our role in promoting inequity. Zuri Murphy (2020) highlights how the vision and strategies of people of color can improve organizational effectives. She states that these leaders "can exercise ideological power for their community's benefit" and that when marginalized people begin to "wield ideological power, they have the authority to produce knowledge and create meaning" (para 6). She states that foundations, nonprofits,

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and grassroots organizations can effectively develop social change leaders by doing three things: 1) acknowledge the conditions which marginalize people lead, 2) make space for and nurture oppositional consciousness at all levels of their institutions, and 3) provide opportunities to lift up the knowledge production of marginalized leaders (para, 9). She calls for privileged people at all levels to relinquish their hold on "shaping thought and determining strategy" (para 11) and make room for marginalized people at the table. This requires equity to be woven into hiring practices and leadership development on the front lines of organizations. This section highlights that these issues and tensions are systemic and must be addressed on all levels of the nonprofit ecosystem from foundations to street level organizations, to educational institutions committed to creating reflective nonprofit practitioners.

Aims Two and Three: Identify how and if neoliberal practices shape worker and beneficiary citizenship identity and the identity construction process. Identify whether or not neoliberal citizenship the dominant discourse, and if it is practiced and/or resisted by nonprofit workers.

At CCD, the way that neoliberal practices shaped worker and beneficiary relations was complex and fused as well, as neoliberal discourses were taken on in different ways toward different ends. As stated in Chapter 4, siloed expertise allowed for front line workers to maintain ties of solidarity and mutuality on the resident facing front of the organization. CCD has been able to maintain this front line grassroots discourse seemingly as a result of hiring those from within the community that identified as being part of that community. Neoliberal citizenship purports that citizens are active, often meaning participation in wage labor. They manage risk prudently and are made capable

of planning for potential threats and dangers. They are a responsible person capable of self-management, self-governance, and making reasonable choices. They are not reliant on government or social service for survival and are autonomous, self-reliant, and empowered agents. They are entrepreneurs of the self who can maximize their personal interests, well-being, and quality of life through self-promotion and competition (see full discussion in Woolford and Nelund, 2013). CCD's relationship with their residents did not align with notions of the social construction of the neoliberal citizen. Workers did not construct their residents via a neoliberal lens, with the expectations of the concept of self-determination, which will be explored below. Notions of neoliberal citizenship, especially as they relate to technologies of citizenship aimed at making the neoliberal citizen, were largely resisted by workers themselves as workers tried to implement more radical and grassroots programs that were oriented towards systematic oppression and systems social change, for example, wanting to host workshops on wage theft. As discussed in the last chapter, the project of self- esteem building is one such tactic to empower citizens to get citizens to act upon themselves, to participate in their own empowerment, and to fulfill the social obligation of a "responsible citizen" (Cruickshank, 1999, pp. 91-92). At CCD, front line workers largely let residents guide the conversation about who they *ought* to be, and while they had ideas about what active citizenship might look like, they did *not* coercively force these notions onto residents.

As outlined in previous chapters, Daniel King (2017) discusses how he moved from an "ideal dreamer" to a nonprofit professional becoming more committed to achieving funders' aims, completing paperwork, and hitting targets rather than serving clients' interests. Over the course of working in a nonprofit he saw himself move from

"aiming to help people cope with the challenges produced by capitalist societies" to "being a nonprofit professional, helping individuals fix their problems and become responsibilized for their outcomes" (p. 254). However, the workers at CCD did not understand their work in this way, potentially due to the stratification of expertise, where front line workers espoused discourses of self-determination, Asset Based Community Development (ABCD), and place-making. In addition, as King argues (2017), the technologies of performance which are the everyday practice such as filling out funding forms, produce a certain reality. Then these become enacted as "technologies of the self" which change the conditions for personhood and action (Foucault, 1991b, 2010, as discussed in King, 2017, p.254). Because the business-like practices like "goals, targets, and measurements" that "regulate and codify conduct, through standardized reporting forms" (King, 2017, p. 255), had not yet fully taken hold on the frontlines of the organization, frontline worker subjectivities still seemed to align somewhere in between King's notions of the "idealist dreamer" and "the nonprofit professional." They were not exactly idealistic, but very clear in their value systems. However, as new forms of data management were under discussion, attention should be given to how these might shape or create new technologies of agency[50] (Dean, 1999) in the future, potentially creating new attitudes and dispositions about worker and beneficiary identity. As King states, focusing on the routine practices that shift workers from dreamers to professionals opens up deeper understanding for how these processes occur, and enables the ability to better understand how the professionalization process is adopted or resisted (2017, p. 256).

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[50] Socialization practices that create conditions for what is doable at any given time

CCD workers described "good citizenship" as active, educated, and knowledgeable but at the same time they spoke also in terms of autonomy, agency, and self-determination when it came to their clients. While they expressed that citizens should be active in community, they did not feel like non-action made them bad citizens, and that each person had a right to decide to act or not, or to determine one's own path. Further, as discussed in Chapter 4, while individual workers define their own version of good citizenship through a partially neoliberal lens, (one that is active and educated) these ideologies are not necessarily used to define resident's "good" citizenship. This points to neoliberal ideologies not yet fully being enacted in the practices of the organization in resident/worker relationships, but that it has something of a hold on individual psyches. Typically in marketized environments, the client is seen as something to be managed, as well as taught how to manage their own risk in society, but CCD resisted this idea and these logics have not taken hold yet in the worker/resident relationship. Neoliberal citizenship was actively resisted in the organization, as dependence was seen not as something to escape, but rather something that happens as a result of systematic failures in society. This is completely antithetical to entrepreneurial discourses of the neoliberal entrepreneurial subject. As common with many studies on poverty, at CCD their relationships with clients are not indicative of the New Paternalism that defines neoliberal market ideologies and seek to give direction to the poor to act in their own best interests and their own good. Frankly, CCD did not seem to mind if their residents remained dependent forever and there is no effort to remove them from affordable housing. The language is much more centered on interdependence, community, and connection rather dependence or independence.

Even while there is a concept of self-determination which embodies individualistic ideas of reform and betterment to participate in the market, at CCD the concept was used more in an activist orientation based on engagement and community building, that autonomous agents can and should be able to determine their own futures and build their communities in ways they see fit. Here, it was more defined as embodying a notion that residents are agentic selves able to decide for themselves how, when, and if they want to participate. It was more about maintaining community social ties rather than pushing residents to engage in self-help programming. In doing this, CCD workers embodied an assets based approach, not enforcing, but opening up avenues by which residents are invited to advocate for themselves in relation to one another based on their personal skillsets. They framed citizenship as both active *and* autonomous, citing the importance of engagement but also not pressuring it, giving residents agency to act, or not. While CCD workers themselves did not promote programming that offers a self-help agenda, they did construct resident citizenship in some particular ways. First, all participation was seen as voluntary in nature, not coercive and based in freedom of choice. Residents were constructed as autonomous, free agents, with assets rather than deficiencies. Residents were seen as tied to community and place, where CCD must listen and ask questions to discover needs and aspirations. Residents were seen via a relational lens where it is relationships that fuel association and informal networks. This may be a unique feature of community development organizations as a unique subset of the nonprofit sector, in that they are initially born of commitments to community driven self-determination.

In contrast, one interesting finding here is that residents themselves, when put in charge of developing programming seemed to have internalized the notion of neoliberal citizenship themselves, without pressures from CCD workers to view themselves in these ways. Cruikshank defines the *technologies of citizenship* as the discourses, programs and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government (1999, p. 1). Strategies and discourses are aimed at shaping the actions of individuals including the ways we act upon ourselves (Cruickshank, 1994, p. 4). As subjects come to define themselves as citizens, they also become subjects of subtle governance programs, and become susceptible to what Foucault refers to as bio power (1990), which is the way in which individuals are disciplined or regulated to become better self-regulators themselves. The will to empower is a strategy for regulating political subjectivities, it acts upon others interests and desires to conduct actions towards appropriate ends, shapes capacity of the subject to act, and transforms the capacities of the governed. Resident driven programming largely focused on self-help and self-esteem building strategies that Cruikshank speaks to. Residents framed *themselves* from a deficit perspective implementing programs aimed at "empowering" *themselves* out of poverty (i.e., dress better, eat better, don't be lazy, improve oneself via self-care, self-esteem building, positivity, and mindfulness). This exemplifies Cruikshank's (1999) thesis that personal fulfillment becomes a social obligation to transform the relationships of self-to-self into one that is governable. So, while nonprofit workers at CCD were not managing subjects viz. surveillance and reform, residents themselves were. This may point to either internalized feelings of personal responsibility and failure in residents, or simply the way

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that neoliberal citizenship has become a dominant frame in American society, particularly in paternalistic poverty governance (See the work of Soss, Ford, and Schram, 2001).

There is ample research on the internalization of poverty under neoliberalism, where subjectivities come to be defined by feelings of personal responsibility and failure (Cruikshank, 1996; Lyon-Callo, 2004; Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2001). Research suggests that neoliberalism impacts individual subjectivities, not just via policy structure, but through insidious ideological processes (Sweet, 2018). In one powerful study, authors found that the internalization of neoliberal narratives had shaped women's experiences in a theme they called "no legitimate dependency" where "deeply held notions of individual personal responsibility around managing one's own life and health caused women to reject all non-individualistic explanations for personal hardship and to apply judgments of dependency and shirking responsibility to both themselves and others" (Peacock, Bissel, and Owens, 2014; As cited in Sweet, 2018, p. 87). This too can be seen at CCD among residents in the way they manage themselves and others.

In an earlier chapter, the work of Soss, Ford, and Schram (2002) was detailed as they argue that as poverty governance became marketized under neoliberal reforms, both clients and workers on the front lines in welfare organizations became the subjects of new techniques at self-governance which promoted a disciplinary stance towards clients that penalized vulnerable segments of the poor. Authors, drawing on the technologies of citizenship, coin these processes as the *technologies of discipline* which govern both clients and case managers, with "incentives for right behavior and penalties for noncompliance; both aim [ing] to reshape the motivations of targets so that they will pursue preferred ends as self-regulating subjects; and neither controls behavior

completely enough to forestall subversion" (p. 229). This has been explored on the local level as well. Lyon-Callo's (2004) work provides an example of the effects of neoliberalism in the homeless sheltering industry where he argues that homelessness can only be understood within the context of increasing neoliberal policies, practices, and discourses. He found that under neoliberal policy reforms, attention became increasingly focused on individualized and market based practices of reform and governance which had major implications for how subjects and workers were conceived of through the discourses (technologies of citizenship) of *self-help* and *deviancy*. While beneficiaries do interact with programs in organizations, it is largely the front line workers who are enacting the organizational logics in these relationships. So perhaps again, the local particularities in the nonprofit sector matter. The way that CCD managed expert roles on the frontlines which were focused on residents' self-determination, assets, and place making do not constitute a paternal relationship evident in the literature on poverty governance.

There seemed to be very little evidence of CCD engaging in the processes of marketizing their residents. However, important to note is that this research occurred in a section of the city with a long history of displacement, gentrification and disinvestment by the city. Decline in the area has been attributed to the development of an interstate that effectively cut this neighborhood up the middle, reducing social capital, walkability, and livability. Economic growth in the area was stifled by this freeway construction and much of this areas social and developmental ills can be traced to the city's historical lack of

investment (Anonymous[51], 2017). While the urban core of the city has become more white and affluent, its outer eastside has become more diverse and poor (Anonymous[52], 2015). Further, as the authors state, "overt discrimination, local politics, and class-based consumer demand [have] play[ed] fundamental roles in the continued displacement of low-income residents and people of color, especially African Americans" (p. 504). Here, even while CCD does not socially construct their residents in the image of the neoliberal citizen, this internalization could be the result of history of place and repeated interactions with public administrative agencies that have reified what it means to live in this area of the city. The internalizations of neoliberalism have created subjects who monitor themselves toward neoliberal notions of the self-governing individual. This has implications for the development of nonprofit educational programs that better help those in poverty understand the systemic and structural oppression that creates the self-governed subject. However, because the researcher had little access to residents, the internalization of neoliberal logics among residents could not be further explored to come to any sound conclusions on why and how this has come to be specifically at CCD. Based on current scholarship and the displacement of this entire section of the city, the researcher assumes that these subjectivities have come to be internalized after years navigating systems of poverty alleviation in government, state, local, for-profit, and nonprofit environments as well as the historical subjectivities of place, shaped by these institutions.

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[51] The authors and title of this work have been omitted to keep the organization under study anonymous as the title of the work includes the city name and region where this study took place.
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Aim Four: Identify any emerging counter discourses to neoliberalism that could be identified as resistance tools or to preserve and reclaim democratic and civic functions.

As identified in Chapter Four, discourses of self-determination, asset based community development and place making were emerging discourses that could be useful in resisting neoliberalism. Additionally, discourses of balance emerged as useful as we begin to understand how market and civic frames operate in tandem toward certain ends. While a discourse of balance is not necessarily in resistance to neoliberalism, it is still one such discourse that may be helpful in resisting the perceived totalizing nature of market logics. Self-determination as explained in Chapter Four is a complicated discourse as it applies to the literature on both neoliberal citizenship and community development. It seems as though the way in which community development as a field uses this term is activist in its orientation rather than a neoliberal conception of the term (Kenny, 2002). It is presumed within the literature on self-determination as it relates to neoliberal discourses that self-determination is attained via a set of accompanying self-determination competencies (Stancliffe, 2001). Technologies of citizenship aimed at creating self- determination competencies, such as programs like job training aimed at becoming less of a burden on society, were are not evident at CCD, except by the design of residents themselves even as workers defined their residents via a lens of self-determination. Self-determination has been explored in the literature of sovereignty and indigenous rights, disability rights, transgender rights, and social work. It is framed in varying ways, both problematic in the neoliberal sense, and enabling in the ways it promotes liberty, autonomy, and self-governance. In social work, it is defined as "that condition in which personal behavior emanates from a person's own wishes, choices, and

decisions" (Abramson, 1985, p. 387) Further, positive self-determination as liberty, is

freedom to act as one wishes, using abilities and resources to fulfill one's purpose (p.

387), while negative self-determination "implies freedom from coercion and interference

(p. 387). Self-determination is based in the moral philosophy of autonomy, which is

defined as free action that is voluntary and intentional, not as a result of coercion or

undue influence, not performed under duress, and is a conscious choice of the person

involved (p. 388). Self-determination implies freedom of choice, but one cannot discount

the neoliberal reality that has confined paradigmatic views of what is available to choose

at any given time. So this begs the questions of whether or not CCD is operating to create

programs that disrupt what becomes choose-able if they are not promoting programs that

unpack systematic inequality with residents. However, this is a slippery slope to

paternalism, which counteracts self-determination by enforcing particular notions of

citizenship.

Clements (2004) further explicates the limits of self-determination specifically in

relation to her work in community development. She defines self-determination as the

ability of "people/s to name, create and control their own history…and creating structures

that allow [for] decisions to be made by the people most affected by the outcome, and

[for people] to maintain the maximum possible control over their lives and over creating

their history" (p. 66). However, she states that the limits of self-determination reside in

the fact that when related to the individual, it is not addressing reorganization of the

relationships of power, and does not address oppression. When working with her clients,

she saw that the commonality among the groups she worked with was oppression and

they tended to focus on this common thread. She argues that "this is not a healthy basis for community development because, unless new bonds form in these types of groups, those involved must maintain their victim status to stay in the group" (p. #). In her work in housing, she found that the commonality of oppression tended to render these groups unable to be self-determinant. She found that when working with the tenants to identify their oppressions, they became more politically active and worked to change their situation. As a result of her learning experiences in the field, she adopted a new approach focused on balance that sought to end oppression by restoring balance to the whole, rather than to focus on individual self-determinacy alone. At CCD, the concept of self-determination seemed to preclude the structural oppressions which deny self-determinacy and deserves closer attention as self-determinacy as a value is enacted on the front lines of the organization. If self-determination is a goal, then power relationships must be analyzed to ensure the pre-conditions for self-determination can even exist.

The assets based approach evident at CCD is a discourse that can be useful in resisting the neoliberal marketization of citizenship. It is based in the logic that people in communities have enough on their own without paternalistic intervention to drive the development process themselves, mobilize existing assets, and respond to and create their own opportunity. An asset based approach on the front line level is one way that CCD has resisted seeing clients from a deficit perspective which precludes technologies of citizenship aimed at reform. CCD saw their role, especially at the front lines, as the facilitators in corralling residents together to determine their own direction. An asset based community development approach, founded in the community development field,

may prove useful for the nonprofit sector as it seeks to maintain its civic and democratic values. Place-making, like self-determination can be viewed from both a market and activist orientation. Market based place-making has been an approach to "increase commerce and rents in an area by crafting vibrant street spaces a neoliberal project aimed at bringing white capital back to urban spaces" (Montgomery, 2016). However, CCD took a bottom up, more grassroots approach to place making emphasizing self-organization to "imagine, collectively construct and inhabit lived space" (Darcy and Rogers, 2014) as a process of meaning making in the community. This harkens back to Kenny's (2002) argument above that organizations take on discourses and practices that could be oriented from a market or activist lens, and what matters is how these discourses become enacted and carried out on the everyday level of the local. As evidenced here, some market like tools and discourses were taken on, but not necessarily with the totality of the value sets they are said to represent. However, in order to better understand these tensions, organizations should take pause at critical junctures to assess themselves in terms of these tensions. The following sections gives brief treatment to the work of nonprofit scholars offering counter discourses to neoliberalism which might serve the sector in providing alternative frameworks by which to view decision making, bringing balance to the tensions inherent in market and civic values.

Critical Junctures: Harnessing Awareness and Asking New Questions to Balance the Forces of Neoliberal Marketization

Critical junctures in organizational life as witnessed at CCD, may present opportunities for interventions that could provide more awareness and reflection on how and why organizations take on new discourses and the impacts it has on civic and social

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missions. In order to perceive that a logic is a taken for granted one, that logic must first

be recognized, harnessed, and thus, cognitive dissonance reduced. At CCD, neoliberal

logics were not perceived as threatening but rather just *the logical way* to organize

themselves. There was no awareness of these discourses becoming dangerous or

threatening to the organization's civic foundational roots, though there was tension

evident when discussing them. In some areas, especially as it concerns turning

conversations about race and equity into measurable outcomes for funders, there was a

level of discomfort around some of the strategies and values being adopted. It is moments

such as these that can be harnessed, in order to be resisted. So the questions remains, how

might nonprofit workers be made more aware of the threats of neoliberalism before they

become fully marketized and it is too late, or it begins to have real effects on their

advocacy and civic roles? This research suggests that these critical moments in

organizational life may be one such point of intervention needed for reflection and

awareness. The aim in the following section is to present alternative, or counter

discourses to neoliberalism that can serve in generating insights for keeping these

tensions alive in organizations, and learning to bring balance so that marketization does

not become a totalizing force. In other words, being okay with ambiguity, allowing the

tensions to be engaged without answers, is one resistance to neoliberalism itself. Being

comfortable with balancing these tensions between market and civic discourses as they

arise is perhaps a way to generate new possibilities for organizing the nonprofit. As

Sanders and McClellan (2014) assert, focusing on some emergent yet suppressed tensions

between financial imperatives and social mission, as evidenced in this research as well,

consideration of alternative ways of talking about nonprofit work might engender new

possibilities for nonprofit organizing which can create "generative transformations" (Deetz and McClellan, 2009) that offer "alternative ways of talking about nonprofit work that might enable new vocabularies with the potential to resist, transform, or otherwise allow for the alternative meanings and understandings to remain in tension rather than be suppressed" (p. 81). Further, in order to become more reflective in understanding and balancing these tensions, the systems that create practitioners should be given attention as well, as far as how we create and reproduce reflective and reflexive practitioners in educational institutions. The concept of the reflective practitioner is treated at the end of this section. Here, counter discourses from the current literature are offered as models of new vocabularies and frames that may be useful in integrating balance. These counter discourses may provide some useful information for interventions aimed at assessing these critical junctures from a reflective space as well as pose a set of questions organizations can ask themselves as part of the decision making process.

A Democratic Counter Discourse as a Balancing Mechanism

First, as discussed in previous chapters, Eikenberry (2009) explicates a democratic discourse to counter the pressures of nonprofit marketization. She argues for a democratic counter discourse to balance market impacts and create more meaningful democratic participation in nonprofit organizations. Suggestions towards achieving this balancing effect include "cultivating diverse relationships with individuals rather than focusing mainly on raising funds through market approaches," building social relationships and social networks, shifting "from a transactional to transformational giving model that engages individuals more regularly and more deeply in the work of the organization," emphasizing "value-driven dimensions of their programs rather than focus

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on efficiency and business-like approaches," "reinvigorating a more active citizenship dedicated to the principles of grassroots democracy and inclusiveness" (p. 591) and promoting "alternative and more democratic funding discourses for donors" (p. 592: See full discussion in Eikenberry 2009). As Eikenberry proposes, democratic discourses might have a balancing effect on the importance of neoliberal logics in the nonprofit.

Balance is a discourse evident in the way CCD negotiated the importation of market logics into the organization. Practices of balance when properly implemented may act to resist the negative impacts associated with highly marketized nonprofit organizations. As CCD faced a tipping point in the organization, spaces were provided organizationally to think critically through how they might balance more marketized and civic values, and they seemed to keep balance as the focus. Kaptchuk (1983) asserts that the Taoist concept of balance is one which recognizes that all our differences are needed to make a whole, it contains constant movement at all levels of the personal, day to day, to worldwide shifts over eras (See discussion in Clements, 2004). A focus on balance brings light to the dualism of critical approaches that might be replaced "with holistic, dynamic, and inclusive approaches where the interconnections between people, between groups of people and between people and the environment are recognized" (Clements, 2004, p. 74). This requires the understanding that we exist in complex relationships where power is continually transacted and that these relationships are created and recreated everyday (Clements, 2004), so too are the relationships between the adoption of neoliberal logics and the impacts it has on civic values. The balance approach may allow us to hold these tensions between market and civic values in tandem at the same time, being critical but still allowing for their contradictions to exist. It is this space of

contradiction where organizations can hold these tensions and evaluate the taken for granted notion of marketization as the guiding logic for nonprofits. As neoliberalism is concerned with quantifying everything in an orderly fashion, holding space for contradiction, tension, and reflection may be a powerful resistance to neoliberalism in itself. Balance may be one such discourse that is aiding in resisting the totalizing force of neoliberalism and can be a useful lens by which nonprofits can examine themselves at critical junctures.

An Ethics of Care

While it is not given full treatment here, Sandberg and Elliott (2019) propose an ethics of care as a counter to marketization in the nonprofit, as the caring role of nonprofits have been an overlooked aspect of civic engagement. This discourse of care seeks to reassert a nonprofit practice that engages in and values care. An ethics of care "critiques universalist approaches to ethics (e.g., utilitarianism, Rawlsian ethics, etc.) for their tendency to privilege rationality, rules-based systems, neutrality and impartiality, and abstraction that fail to capture the relational and emotional processes that lie at the heart of moral deliberation" (p. 290). It has five features as outlined in the work of Virginia Held (2006):

> 1) The central focus is always attendance to and meeting of the needs of individuals to whom we have a responsibility;
>
> 2) Emotion is valued in deliberation and decision making;
>
> 3) Respect for the differences of others is asserted rather than rationalized away to avoid the appearance of bias;

4) Both public and private domains are relevant for shaping our sense of what it means to be moral; and,

5) Individuals are conceived in relational terms rather than in isolation. (Virginia Held, 2006)

A discourse of care in organizations includes valuing taking care of the needs of individuals, valuing emotion in the decision making process, respecting difference, viewing individuals as whole moral characters, and being mindful of relationships which stand in contrast to the discourses of the neoliberal marketplace, which fundamentally value one's ability to compete (Sandberg and Elliott, 2019, p. 292; see Foucault, 2008). As organizations begin to take on technologies of performance, they might ask themselves if they are meeting their caring responsibility, incorporating these distinguishing characteristics of care in the assessment and adoption of new systems which "runs counter to the contemporary trend toward the development of a professionalized and rationalized nonprofit worker whose primary duty is to remake the nonprofit organization in the image of an enterprise" (Sandberg, 2016, 2013) and enhance its performance (Mirabella, 2013). The care framework can encourage nonprofits to think more deliberately in terms of relational capacities beyond the rational market based understanding of the nonprofit. When technologies of performance are considered, discussed and/or adopted, nonprofits might ask themselves, how and if these impact the organization's caring responsibilities.

Stewardship and Sustainability

In their study on expectations for nonprofits with social missions to become more business-like, Sanders and McClellan (2020) advance discourses of stewardship and

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sustainability as suggestions for how organizations might talk about their work in ways

that maintain discursive tensions and offer ways of talking about nonprofit organization

that both acknowledge and support the tensions between financial imperatives and social

missions (p. 83). They assert that giving critical attention to language "can create

generative transformations[53] that offer alternative ways of talking about nonprofit work

that might enable new vocabularies with the potential to resist, transform or otherwise

allow for the alternative meanings and understandings to remain in tension rather than be

suppressed" (p. 81). These authors are focused on ways of talking within nonprofits that

keep the tensions alive and keep the "contradictions inherent in pursuing a social mission

within a market economy" in place (p. 81). They state that offering a long term

perspective of service framed by *stewardship "*provides an explicit framework for

articulating personal responsibility for organizational success and the well-being of those

who depend on the organization's services and resources" (p. 81). In their study of a local

social service nonprofit, they argue that if stewardship was a more privileged way of

speaking of nonprofit work, rather than the business framework for describing financial

imperatives, this discourse might keep the need to successfully function within the

financial imperatives of the market in productive tension with the notion that [an

organization's] money, facilities, resources and outcomes belonged to participants and

that staff members are responsible for watching over and managing those resources in

order to fulfill their social mission" (p. 82). The discourse of stewardship does not

privilege the implicit notions of business like discourses, and rejects the logics of "private

ownership, competition, and self-interest" central to the business construct and makes

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[53] Originally from Deetz and McClellan, 2009

more readily apparent the "tensions between financial responsibility and the common good" (p. 82). Further, in terms of keeping organizations financially sound, long term financial sustainability emerged as a business logic in these authors' work. This includes practices of maximizing program participants, efforts at raising money and market programs that aim towards a growth imperative. As they state, "Sustainability in the nonprofit sector is often focused on revenue generation and economic growth" (p. 82). The authors found that the language of sustainability in their case study was often suppressed by the use of business like terms, labeled as "business" and thus not able to "be used as an explicit form of organizational sense-making" (p.83). The authors state:

> Embracing the discourse of sustainability to make sense of fundraising, fee structures and other so-called business functions promotes a logic of maintenance and service to others, and keeps the inherent need for financial stability in tension with pursuit of a social mission. (p. 83).
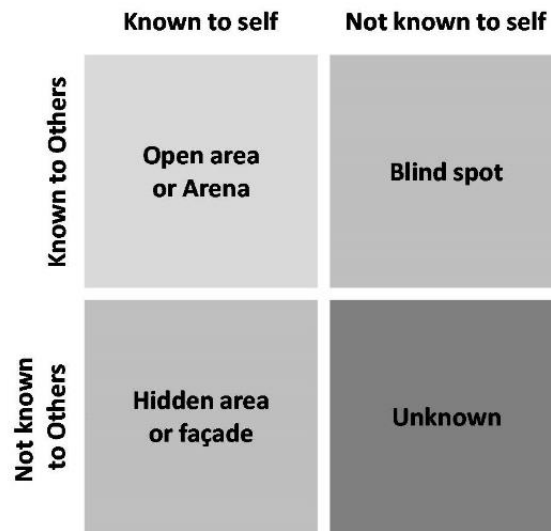
These two alternative discourses of stewardship and sustainability are presented as ways organizations[54] might acknowledge these inherent tensions and begin to speak differently about their work in ways that hold these tensions. These are offered as possibilities for generative transformations that do not suppress these tensions but rather bring them to the forefront allowing deeper reflection on what it means to engage in nonprofit work, or to be a nonprofit.

Organizational Johari Window: A Tool for Organizational Self Awareness

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[54] This work is speaking distinctly about their case organization under study but is generalizable to nonprofits wishing to hold tensions between market and civic language.

The work of Adizes, Cudamov, and Rodic (2017) is useful in that they provide an organizational tool for assessing critical junctures and intervention points in nonprofit organizations. They introduce the Johari window as a tool for recognizing perceptions and behaviors in order to improve organizational performance in the unknown and hidden parts of the organizational Johari window. While these authors posit this as useful specifically for determining when an organization should seek consultancy services, perhaps this tool might be expanded to include other critical junctures in the organizational life cycle, such as founder succession, adoption of data management tools, and growth spurts. The Johari window model (Luft and Ingham, 1955, See Figure 2 below) is a tool developed to help individuals see themselves in the context of self-perception and perception of others in terms of what is known and not-known (Adizes et al., 2017, p. 242). The model is an exercise in discovering blind spots and contains four quadrants, or panes of human interaction: open, hidden, blind, and unknown. The open pane represents actions, behaviors, and information that are known to the individual and those around them, anything that is public knowledge. The second pane is the blind spot where actions and behaviors are known to others but the individual is not aware of them. The third pane is the hidden pane where information is known to the individual but to no one else. This may consist of private information the individual chooses to keep hidden out of fear or negative reaction. Finally, the fourth pane is simply the unknown, and includes any information, behaviors, skills, etc. that are unknown to the individual and others. The goal of this model when used individually is to increase the open pane reducing other panes through self-disclosure and the give and take of constructive feedback, reducing the blind, hidden, and unknown areas.

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Figure 2: The Johari Window Model

(Adapted from Luft and Ingham, 1955, image accessed at communicationtheory.org)

Adizes et al. (2017) state this model can be "extended on an organizational level,"
especially as it pertains to perspectives of the outside world where the unknown
quadrants represent areas where consultancy services are needed. Quadrant 2 represents
the organization's latent and underdeveloped possibilities, where unknown leaning,
change, and possibilities exist. They argue that for organizations to perform at their
prime, organizations must also actively work in Quadrant 4. They state:

> So called "Unknown aspect of an organization" could be achieved through the
> change management process implementation in every segment of an organization,
> from processes to structure, communication of vision and values to culture
> artefacts and deep beliefs which at the end of the change process become the most
> valuable asset. In starting the change process, it is something which could not be
> described and defined – so called intangible and by the end of organizational
> transformation process it becomes awakened, meaningfully defined internally in
> organization and impossible to be copied from competitors. (p. 243).

This model allows for the organizations to ask itself if perceptions both internally and externally correspond with reality. It is a tool for the organization to ask, "Do we have any perceptions of what is unknown to us and when is the time to proactively work on it (p. 243)?" Again, while these authors posit this tool as useful for when to seek, or not, the use of consultants, it could be useful for examining critical junctures such as founder transitions, growth tipping points, and other tipping points in organizations. Seeking out the hidden and unknown sectors of the organization can be accomplished through open discussion with employees, partners, stakeholders, and scanning relevant academic scholarship. This is an opportunity to study oneself (the organization) as a subset of the nonprofit ecosystem one works in to uncover systemic efforts changes, and knowledge production that influences the micro organization, but that one might be blinded to. As discussed in this research, the move to market based strategies comes with new tensions and concerns around civic roles, and may run counter to nonprofits' missions and values, or act to shift them. But if the Johari window was used as a means to ask the right questions, it could be useful for addressing the more hidden impacts of market driven tools and strategies. For example, when organizations address these hidden and unknown windows, they might ask themselves questions based on the counter discourses posed here such as:

- Are decisions or tools being made or taken on in a democratic way?

- Are these decisions in line with our democratic role in society?

- Are we meeting our caring obligations to both stakeholders, ourselves, and our beneficiaries?

- What tensions are evident as a result of discussing these decisions and seeking external input?

- How do we understand these decisions from a lens of stewardship and organizational sustainability, rather than business as usual aimed at the growth imperative?

Taken collectively, the counter-discourses do not necessarily promise "an end to market discourse" and its influence on the nonprofit field, but rather a method for engendering "a balancing effect by creating more spaces in which people could engage in public discourse and work together to address collective problems outside of the market" (Eikenberry, 2009a, p. 584).

Systematic Reflection and the Reflexive Practitioner

While these alternative discourses can be used on the organizational level, all institutions in the nonprofit environment can make use of these alternative discourses in order to challenge the taken for granted logic of neoliberalization. It is not feasible to end marketized discourses in the nonprofit, but balance can still be achieved. As discussed in the above sections, reflection is needed across the nonprofit ecosystem from the foundations that support nonprofit organizations, to leaders and front line workers in nonprofits, to the educational institutions that create nonprofit professionals. The work of Celia Davies (1995) is particularly useful for imagining how professionals can move beyond taken for granted binaries. She argues that "we can extend what it means to be a professional beyond the rational, market-based understanding that seems now to define it, by placing care at its center" which "allows one to attend to the uniqueness and uncertainty of the particular problem[s] being address[ed] by fostering and applying

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individual capacities" such as: 1) [r]eflectively using expertise and experience; 2)

creating an active community in which a solution can be negotiated; 3) recognizing

interdependence with others; 4) collectively being accountable for practice; 5) an

engaged and committed stance towards [others]; and 5) accepting of use of self as part of

the professional encounter. (See discussion in Elliott and Sandberg, 2019; Parton, 2003,

p. 12). While Davies is specifically pointing to the caring professional, these capacities

can be expanded to encompass the reflexive practitioner that allows space for reflection

needed to transcend the binaries presented by civic and market values in nonprofit

organizations. Here reflexivity refers to self-reflexivity[55] and critical reflexivity.[56] As

Parton (2003) adds, this aligns with the reflexive[57] public administration practitioner

discussed by Cunliffe and Jun (2005) where public administrators actively seek to "work

out their relationship to other individuals (including employees and citizens), to

understand their role in a diverse and complex society, and to understand the need for

organizational members to act in more critical, responsive, and ethical ways" (Cunliffe &

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[55] "Self-reflexivity embraces subjectivity by placing people firmly in the construction of social reality and the creation of meaning. We define self-reflexivity as the conscious act of an existential self, wherein we examine our values and ourselves by exercising critical consciousness. It is a process that depends on the idea of a transforming self, continuously emerging and changing as we interact with others and our environment. Self-reflexivity goes deeper than reflecting on an event or a situation; it is a dialogue with self about our fundamental assumptions, values, and ways of interacting" (Cunliffe and Jun, 2005, p. 229).

[56] "Critical reflexivity offers a way of critiquing ideologies, normalized practices, and their consequences. It offers a way of reformulating and expanding the bounds of social and organizational practice by highlighting systemic control structures that reproduce themselves in our discourse and practices. In this way, we can begin to rethink how our metanarratives legitimate our "social and political institutions and practices, laws, ethics and ways of thinking" (Cunliffe and Jun, 2005, p. 232).

[57] "[R]eflexivity works at two levels—being self-reflexive about our own beliefs, values, and so on, and the nature of our relationships with others, what we say, and how we treat them, and being critically reflexive about organizational practices, policies, social structures, and knowledge bases. Both self- and critical-reflexivity are important in working toward ethical, responsive, and responsible organizations" (Cunliffe,2016, p. 741).

Jun, 2005, p. 226). This requires taking the time to reflect on and continually question our own bias and taken for granted attitudes, including the tensions that arise when reflecting on neoliberalism in the nonprofit and its impacts on organizational civic foundations.

How do we create reflexive practitioners in the nonprofit ecosystem? Universities and colleges have a powerful role in shaping professional discourses in the nonprofit, as evidenced at CCD with many members having professional degrees in urban development. These educational systems are not immune to neoliberal discourses and if we wish to engender reflexive practitioners, pedagogical strategies must change accordingly. This entails moving beyond professional education to "learning [how] to produce "the necessary social and economic conditions that enable love, care, and solidarity relationships to be sustained economically, politically, and socially" (p. 434) developing professionals that are "competent, critical reflexive, and empathetic" (Sandberg and Elliott, 2010. p. 299). Sandberg and Elliott offer a few pedagogical strategies to engender more reflexive practitioners:[58]

- Acknowledge the displacement of affect in higher education and reincorporate affect into teaching and learning processes
- Allow students to bring their full identities, experiences, and emotions to the classroom in order to better adopt relational knowing of one another, which sets the stage for empathy, sympathy, and responsiveness

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[58] While this article is specifically in regards to creating caring nonprofit professionals, the logic is extended here to the reflexive professional.

- Engage the autobiographical with storytelling, narrative inquiry, and relational listening

- Intentionally democratizing the classroom and enacting democratic values within the pedagogical process [to] encourage students to take an active rather than passive role in the learning process[59] (See full discussion in Sandberg and Elliott, 2019).

Further, Mirabella and Nguyen (2019) bring attention to the increasing proliferation of neoliberal methods in the nonprofit[60] and their relationship to the curricular approaches to nonprofit management and philanthropic studies in higher education, placing the pedagogical conversation at the center of the tensions evident at CCD. This work explains how critical public administrator theorists refuse the neoliberal values of New Public Management and propose to reclaim more democratic values through critical pedagogies suggesting changes to in-curriculum discourses that "include voices of marginalized groups and communities, educate students as agents of social transformation, and prepare future third sector leaders for their principal role as community organizers and advocates for social justice and democracy" (p. 389). In order to push back on efficiency and accountability that "threaten to crowd out all other values"

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[59] 1. Give students opportunities to reflect on materials with one another; 2. Create opportunities for student buy-in on assignments by giving them choices about assignments to pursue; 3. Provide opportunities for students to take some control of the structure of and discussions in the course; 4. Facilitate small group exercises that lead to larger group connections; and, 5. Surrender the role of the expert (Sandberg and Elliott, 2019, p. 300).

[60] "Market-oriented approaches such as these have led nonprofits to worship at the altar of efficiency engaging in more competitive practices, embracing the tenants of entrepreneurialism, and adopting market-friendly rather than client- friendly approaches (Eikenberry, 2009; Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004; Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018; Evans, Richmond, & Shields, 2005; Maier et al., 2016; Sandberg, 2013; In Mirabella and Nguyen, 2019. p. 389).

they also call for "democratiz[ing] the educational process by including various stakeholders with diverse frameworks and lived experiences that are not governed by the market" (p. 389). Some of these pedagogical strategies include:

- Bringing socioeconomic issues to the forefront of our classrooms to make students aware of the relationships between class and the operation of government programs engaging in critical dialog to assist students while engaging in difficult conversations around race.

- Engaging a dialogical approach to knowledge creates spaces for faculty and students to engage with one another as they develop a unique understanding of their relationship to the world within their particular community (Freire, 1973, In Mirabella and Nguyen, 2019).

- Focusing less on teaching students about skill acquisition to make them more employable within hierarchical organizations, and focus more on how these hierarchical relationships reproduce power relationships

- Denaturalizing truths about management as being natural, exposing the ways in which they hinder human relationships and infuse critical perspectives that allow students to questions assumptions, limitations, and shortcomings of the management discourse (See full discussion in Mirabella and Nguyen, 2019).

These strategies constitute a more democratic approach to nonprofit education that "challenges market-based models of education and restores the citizen to her rightful place in the civic square (Giroux, 2011, p. 76, In Mirabella and Nguyen, 2020). They argue that the role of racism must be explored with faculty introducing theories of

whiteness (Heckler, 2017, p. 175-176) to better help them understand their own racial performances (p. 188). The role of the faculty is also to reject the neoliberal marketization of the university and aims towards connections "between academic theorizing and community issues arising from historical social conditions" (p. 396) and create space for students to develop agency that "will enable them to become active participants in our democracy. This could create conditions that will link learning with social change, developing in our students a "renewed sense of social and political agency" (Giroux, 2011, p. 71, In Mirabella and Nguyen, 2020). By integrating these pedagogical strategies, again, we are able to reflect on the tensions between market and democratic life, bringing balance to nonprofit higher education. This will result in more reflexive practitioners across the nonprofit ecosystem: in foundations, board rooms, and front line service organizations. While higher education may represent a top-down approach to engendering reflexive practitioners in the nonprofit sector, a critical pedagogical strategy also includes a bottom-up approach including the voices of marginalized communities. At CCD, board members tended to frame marketization from a NPM lens. However, CCD was able to preserve democratic discourses at the front liens is because those workers were hired from the community in which they serve, and felt a great deal of solidarity with residents. This has implications for nonprofit leaders as hiring credentialed nonprofit workers becomes commonplace. In sum, change must happen on a systemic level across institutions as we seek to balance market and civic values in the nonprofit ecosystem.

Conclusion and Implications

In summary, this research project has several aims, to identify how and if neoliberal discourses are being adopted within the case organization, if this has impacts on social constructions of citizenship, and what discourses are in operation that might be useful in resisting neoliberal marketization. What became evident is that as new threats emerge as a result of critical points in the organization, the organization is discussing the use of more market like tools to manage those risks. Further, some of the tools they have adopted, while market like are acting to preserve democratic modes of governance such as relationship tracking data management, streamlined HR systems, and siloed expertise which is an interesting phenomenon. Entrepreneurial behavior in the organization is siloed to the top of the organization, giving front line staff more leeway in maintaining community solidarity and ally-ship, pointing to how expert roles have allowed them to maintain more democratic grassroots discourses on the frontline. Technologies of citizenship are evident but show up in very unique and complex ways. CCD is existing in a state of fused discourses where marketized and democratic discourses prevail and operate in different ways towards different ends. Some of which are fully embraced, while others are half-heartedly embraced. The findings here indicate that marketization of community development is a situated process, and it is contextual, as the organization interacts with and adapts to local discourses producing nuanced variation in how it is both perceived and practiced. Competition and collaboration exists simultaneously, entrepreneurial behaviors and grassroots orientations exist simultaneously, and activist and market frameworks operate towards different ends and aims simultaneously. Marketization and professionalization have not yet been fully realized in this case study, but this body of work does provide some clues as to what critical junctures should be

noted in organizational life, and how they might be addressed so that organizations can take a step back and reflect on how and if these discourses are imparted in times of rapid change. At CCD, neoliberalism has not yet become totalizing discourses in this stage of organizational development, but it is being considered and often taken for granted as the best way to implement better governance. These findings support current research on nonprofits becoming market-like but also adds to it. In particular, it has become clearer that marketization is a situated process by which organizational context leads to non-generalizable variation in nonprofits' enactment of the behavioral and discursive elements of marketization. Some tools of marketization such as professionalization have been useful in preserving democratic discourses at CCD. This research poses implications for both research and practice of and in the nonprofit sector.

These findings are complex, and add to the literature on the neoliberalization of the nonprofit sector and present new implications for study and practice around how the meta-logics of neoliberalism play out on the local level. Nonprofit practitioners should consider critical junctures in organizations as key intervention points to ask why certain logics are adopted at the expense of others. Succession planning and the founder transition should be considered a critical juncture where new values are taken on without the awareness needed to ensure that the values of the organization do not change as new tools of managerialism are adopted. And alternative discourses to marketization can be useful tools in asking oneself a set of questions that might allow for the tensions between market and civic values to become more readily apparent in reducing cognitive dissonance, and allowing for a more balanced approach to nonprofit work. The practical implications and suggestions for nonprofit leaders are suggested throughout this chapter.

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Implications for future research include studying marketization as it is taken on or resisted at critical junctures of the organizational life cycle such as founder succession and rapid growth. Scholars might also point attention to how market tools are taken on but often without the accompanying market logics, as evidenced here. What does it mean if the tools are taken on without the values that accompany them? Is the nonprofit marketized under these circumstances? Even further, a better understanding of how some tools of the market such as professionalization and data management tools are actually aiding organizations in maintaining relationships and preserving civic relationships at the front lines of the organization. Attention must also be given to the pedagogical strategies in nonprofit management programs that may act to bring balance to the neoliberal notions of the professional. Finally, more attention should be given to the role of funders in the imperative to adopt more market like tools as compliance mechanisms and the dangers this poses for the long term work needed for the foundationally civically rooted work such as equity work. Being able to hold these tensions between market and civic values in the nonprofit and becoming more comfortable with ambiguity in the ways we discuss nonprofit work is in itself a resistance to neoliberalism that might bring a sense of balance to our work in the sector and help us redefine what it means to be a nonprofit.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol for Staff and Board

Marketization and Civic Expression in the Nonprofit Sector
Interview Guide: CCD Staff and Board
ID #: Interviewer: Erin Elliott
Date:
Place:

Thank you for participating in this conversation for an important study on the contemporary dynamics of community development organizations and civic identity. I would like to record our conversation so that I can pay attention to what you have to say rather than focus on taking extensive notes. I assure you that anything you share will remain confidential. Your name will
not be connected to the transcripts, notes, or reports. Do I have your permission to record this interview? This study regards if and how the nonprofit sector has become more business-like in process and structure, as well as the nature of civic participation and democratic values among nonprofit employees, board members, volunteers, and beneficiaries of services. There is some natural conflict between democratic values like equity, and market values like competition, and this research is concerned with how increasingly businesslike structures in nonprofits may impact or change democratic participation, or even create new avenues and opportunities for community participation and engagement. I would like to ask you some semi-structured questions about your organization as well as some questions about how you view your civic participation at work and in your community.

Consent Form:
Before we get started, please take a minute to read through and sign the consent form.
[After respondent signs consent form and if he/she has given permission, turn on the recording
device.]

Position and Background
First, I'd like to ask you a little about yourself and the role you play here at < *organization*>.
1. Demographics: What is your age and gender identity? Are you from this neighborhood/community/city? Do you have any specialized degrees?
2. Please briefly describe your role at < *organization*>, in terms of your responsibilities, daily routines, leadership position(s), and so on. How long have you been in this position here? Full-time/part-time?
3. How did you end up in this type of work? What previous experience/s encouraged it?

Role of Organization
4. What do you think the role of nonprofits is in society?
5. What is the role of community development organizations in society?

6. What is the mission of your specific organization?

Civic Participation
I'm trying to better understand how nonprofit workers explain and express their democratic values, and civic or political activities in society under changing nonprofit work conditions. The following questions ask about your civic and political participation in your personal life and at work.

Personal:

7. First, in general, how would you describe a "good" citizen?
8. How would you describe your own political or civic values?
9. In your personal life, how and how often do you address issues directly involving local, state, or national levels aimed at influencing government action? If so, how?
10. In your personal life, are you engaged in other social group or community activities?
11. When you hear about a political issue that concerns you, what is your typical response?
Can you give examples?

At work:

12. How would you describe an ideal nonprofit/community development worker?
13. How would you describe the values of your organization?
14. When you hear about a political issue that affects your organization, for example, loss of resources or new development plans, what is usually the organizational response?

Interactions with Beneficiaries/Community Members:

15. How would you describe those you serve? Why do they typically seek your services?
16. When you hear about a political issue that affects your beneficiaries, what is your response?
17. Do you personally ever act to influence public policy on behalf of clients? If so, how?
18. How does your organization approach community engagement efforts? Can you tell me about any particular projects or approaches?
19. Do you think your organization plays any role in empowering citizens to become active participants in any political processes? Can you explain?
20. Does your organization conduct any kind of community education? In what ways? Who influences/decides what types of educational services are offered?
21. Does your community have any input on what kinds of programs and services are offered in your organization and what those programs look like?
22. Can you walk me through a typical interaction with beneficiaries of your services from beginning to end? What are they required to do from beginning to end to receive services?
What is the intake process like? What kind of changes if any do you see in beneficiaries, or in their lives as a result?

Becoming Business Like
Research shows that over time, nonprofits are becoming more business-like in practice by becoming more professionalized and using business like tools in planning. The next questions relate to these themes.

23. What does the term 'business-like' mean to you when it is used in relation to nonprofits?
24. Many nonprofits have scaled up operations over the past few decades and are increasingly focused on operational efficiency and generating the revenues and financing to sustain the operations, do you see this trend in your organization? If so, how and in what ways?

Tools:

25. What role does data collection play in your work? What kind of data is collected?
26. Do you have any knowledge or experience with program evaluations or other forms of performance management? How is program evaluation incorporated into your work? Does it play a role in organizational decision making?
27. How are decisions made in your organization? Who do you consider to be the organizational leaders?

Funding:

28. Regarding the diversification of your resource funding streams and revenue:
a. Can you describe your organization's government contracts?
b. Can you describe your organization's philanthropic dollars and grants?
c. Can you describe your organization's solicited private donations?
d. Can you describe your organization's fee for service activities?
29. How are skills-oriented learning, in-house trainings, or other professional development opportunities for your staff incorporated? How often does this occur? What have you learned as a result?

To reiterate, I am trying to understand the conflicts apparent in how nonprofits compete in an increasingly market like or competitive environment, and how they are, or are not, able to maintain solidarity ties with community and align themselves with foundational democratic and community values. Given this, is there anything else that you think would be important for me to know?

Thank you very much for your time, may I be in touch with you if I have any follow up questions for you?

Appendix B: Interview Protocol for Residents

Marketization and Civic Expression in the Nonprofit Sector
Interview Guide: Residents

ID #:   **Interviewer: Erin Elliott**

Date: **Place:**

Thank you for participating in this conversation for an important study on the contemporary dynamics of community development organizations and civic identity. I would like to record our conversation so that I can pay attention to what you have to say rather than focus on taking extensive notes. I assure you that anything you share will remain confidential. Your name will not be connected to the transcripts, notes, or reports. Do I have your permission to record this interview?

This study regards if and how the nonprofit sector has become more business-like in process and structure, as well as the nature of civic participation and democratic values among nonprofit employees, board members, volunteers, community residents, and beneficiaries of services. There is some natural conflict between democratic values like equity, and market values like competition, and this research is concerned with how increasingly businesslike structures in nonprofits may impact or change democratic participation, or even create new avenues and opportunities for community participation and engagement. I would like to ask you some semi-structured questions about your organization as well as some questions about how you view your civic participation at work and in your community.

Consent Form:
Before we get started, please take a minute to read through and sign the consent form. *[After respondent signs consent form and if he/she has given permission, turn on the recording device.]*

Position and Background

First, I'd like to ask you a little about yourself.

1. Demographics: What is your age and gender identity? Are you from this neighborhood/community/city? Do you have any specialized degrees? How did you end up in Portland?
2. Are you currently employed? Describe.
3. Do you have any formal role at *<organization>*, in terms of your responsibilities, daily routines, leadership position(s), and so on. How long have you been in this position here? Full-time/part-time?   Example: Residents Council, etc.
4. Can you explain your process of getting involved with *< organization>?* Intake? Housing? Meetings, Etc.? What were you required to do from beginning to end to receive services? What is the intake process like?
5. What kind of changes if any have you seen in your life as a result of obtaining <

organization>, services?

6. If you have children, are they involved in any < *organization>*, activities?
7. In what ways does < *organization>* supports its residents?

Role of Organization

8. What do you think the role of nonprofits is in society?
9. What do you think the mission of < *organization>* is?

Civic Participation

I'm trying to better understand how < *organization>*, residents explain and express their democratic values, and civic or political activities in society under changing community conditions. The following questions ask about your civic and political participation in your personal life and at work.

Personal:

10. First, in general, how would you describe a "good" or ideal citizen?
11. How would you describe a "good" or ideal community member?
12. What communities are you a part of?
13. How would you describe your own political or civic values?
14. In your personal life, how and how often do you address issues directly involving local, state, or national levels aimed at influencing government action? If so, how? City council, etc. Testifying.
15. In your personal life, are you engaged in other social group or community activities? Sports, groups, church, etc.
16. Can you map out your life and activities in the last week? What does a typical week look like for you?
17. When you hear about a political issue that concerns you, what is your typical response? Can you give examples?
18. Are you active on social media?
19. Have you done any volunteering in your community? With < *organization>*?
20. Have you ever attended any rallies or demonstrations?
21. Would you consider yourself a leader? In what ways? Where?
22. Have you ever worked with others to solve a problem in your community?
23. Do you read or watch the news on a regular basis? Where do you typically get information about what is going on in your community, city, nation, etc.?

Organization:

24. How would you describe < *organization>* residents? Why do they typically seek services?

25. Have you been involved in any community education provided by < *organization>*? Which ones? What might interest you in other educational programming offered by < *organization>*?
26. Do you think < *organization>* plays any role in empowering citizens to become

active participants in any political processes? Can you explain?

27. Do you feel you have an active voice in what kinds of services < *organization* > offers? How do you communicate with < *organization* > staff?

Becoming Business Like

Research shows that over time, nonprofits are becoming more business-like in practice by becoming more professionalized and using business like tools in planning. The next questions relate to these themes.

28. Do you have any experience in reading official < *organization* > documents? Which ones? Did you need any assistance in understanding these documents? How do you receive information from < *organization* > and what kind of information is it?

29. Who do you see as < *organization* > leaders?

30. Have you seen these leaders advocate for < *organization* > residents, how? Do you see < *organization* > residents advocating on their own behalf? If yes, how?

Is there anything else that you think would be important for me to know?

Thank you very much for your time, may I be in touch with you if I have any follow up questions for you?

Appendix C: Interview Protocol for External Stakeholder

Marketization and Civic Expression in the Nonprofit Sector
Interview Guide: Organizational Partners/Stakeholders

ID #:
Interviewer: Erin Elliott
Date:
Place:

Thank you for participating in this conversation for an important study on the contemporary dynamics of community development organizations and civic identity. I would like to record our conversation so that I can pay attention to what you have to say rather than focus on taking extensive notes. I assure you that anything you share will remain confidential. Your name will not be connected to the transcripts, notes, or reports. Do I have your permission to record this interview?

This study regards if and how the nonprofit sector has become more business-like in process and structure, as well as the nature of civic participation and democratic values among nonprofit employees, board members, volunteers, beneficiaries of services, and stakeholder organizations. There is some natural conflict between democratic values like equity, and market values like competition, and this research is concerned with how increasingly businesslike structures in nonprofits may impact or change democratic participation, or even create new avenues and opportunities for community participation and engagement. I would like to ask you some semi-structured questions about your organization as well as some questions about how you view your civic participation at work and in your community.

Consent Form: Before we get started, please take a minute to read through and sign the consent form.

Position and Background

First, I'd like to ask you a little about yourself and the role you play here at < organization>.

1. Demographics: What is your age and gender identity? Are you from this neighborhood/community/city? Do you have any specialized degrees?

2. Please briefly describe your role at <organization>, in terms of your responsibilities, daily routines, leadership position(s), and so on. How long have you been in this position here? Full-time/part-time?

3. What is your relationship with < *organization*>? Can you walk me through the work you partner on? What does this entail?

4. How did you end up in this type of work? What previous experience/s encouraged it?

5. When you think about the ecosystem within which < *organization*> works, what comes to mind? If you had to map where your organization and < *organization*> within it, what might that look like?

Role of Nonprofits

6. What do you think the role of nonprofits is in society?

7. What is the role of community development organizations in society?

8. What is the mission of your specific organization?

Civic Participation

9. How would you describe a "good" citizen?

10. Do you think your partnership with < *organization* > contributes to citizen empowerment? If so, in what ways? What does that look like?

11. When you hear about a political issue that concerns you, what is your typical response? Do you have any interaction with partner organizations on these matters? Can you give examples?

At work:

12. How would you describe an ideal nonprofit/community development worker?

13. How would you describe the values of your organization?

14. When you hear about a political issue that affects < *organization* >, for example, loss of resources or new development plans, would you respond in any way?

15. Do you think < *organization* >, plays any role in empowering citizens to become active participants in any political processes? Can you explain? Do you think your partnership enables this?

Becoming Business Like

 Research shows that over time, nonprofits are becoming more business-like in practice by becoming more professionalized and using business like tools in planning. The next questions relate to these themes.

 16. What does the term 'business-like' mean to you when it is used in relation to nonprofits? In regard to community development?

 17. Many nonprofits have scaled up operations over the past few decades and are increasingly focused on operational efficiency and generating the revenues and financing to sustain the operations, do you see this trend at < *organization* > or in the community development field? If so, how and in what ways?

18. Do you see yourself balancing business ways of thinking and more civic/community oriented ways of thinking in your work? If so, how? In what ways?

Tools:

19. What role does data collection play in your partnership? What kind of data is collected?

20. What kind of contracts exist between your organizations?

21. How does the management of contracts play out between your two organizations?

22. How are decisions made in this partnership?

23. Can you explain the nature of cooperation within this ecosystem of stakeholders? Can you explain any competition that you might have witnessed in this arena?

24. Can you tell me about any particularly interesting projects you are currently involved in related to community development?

To reiterate, I am trying to understand the conflicts apparent in how nonprofits compete in an increasingly market like or competitive environment, and how they are, or are not, able to maintain solidarity ties with community and align themselves with foundational democratic and community values. Given this, is there anything else that you think would be important for me to know?

Thank you very much for your time, may I be in touch with you if I have any follow up questions for you?

Appendix D: Consent Form

Investigating the Marketization of the Nonprofit Sector and Impacts on Civic Identity
Interview Consent Form

Introduction and Purpose

You are invited to participate in a research study led by Erin Elliott, a doctoral student at Portland State University. This project seeks to understand how community development and nonprofit organizations contend with a rapidly changing environment, specifically the pressure to professionalize and to be more business-like or market-like, and what effects this might have on nonprofit workers and community member's conceptions of civic expression. In total, there will be approximately 40 participants in this study. If you decide to participate in the study, you will be asked to participate in an interview and answer questions about your experiences working in your organization, as well as your civic participation at work and in your personal life. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions; the important thing is for you to share your experience and opinions. However, please only share personal information that you feel comfortable discussing. You may not receive any direct benefit from taking part in this study aside from reflecting on your experiences, but the study may help increase knowledge which may help others in the future.

Study Procedures

Your participation will consist of an individual interview. Individual interviews will involve speaking one-on-one with a me for approximately 60 minutes. Interviews will be recorded. Recordings will be transcribed into a secure database. None of your identifying information will be used in the database. The database will help me to analyze the discussions and identify themes. This will help us understand the features of your experience working at your organization, your thoughts on how the organization and the nature of its work has changed over time, and how and if this has impacted your civic life. You may choose not to participate in the future or end participation in the study at any time.

Possible Risks & Benefits

Some of the questions asked during the interview may be sensitive and make you feel uncomfortable. You can refuse to answer any question(s) asked during the interview. In addition, any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be linked to you or identify you will be kept confidential. You will be assigned a study identification (ID) number to help protect your privacy, but you will not need to use or remember your study ID (it is strictly for my internal management of information). When I transcribe the recording, I will not use your name; I will only use your study ID. The key that links your study ID to your name will be kept in a password protected data file in a Dropbox folder, and the access to which is limited to only study personnel. Typed summaries of the interviews will be kept in a password protected data file in a Dropbox

folder, and again the access will be limited to study personnel. Any data that could identify you, including the recordings, will be destroyed by me after a period of no longer than five years. The study records are private and only me and my faculty adviser has the right to look at the records. It is important, however, that the Portland State University Institutional Review Board (IRB – a committee that reviewed this research to protect your rights) be able to look at the study records. Your specific responses will be kept confidential. The notes and recordings will help me to accurately document the discussion, but no one other than me and my adviser will hear the recordings or see the written transcripts. Your organization will not be identified by name and neither will your job position or title to protect your confidentiality. If any of your interview comments are published in journals or reported at meetings, you

will not be identified by name. The name of the organization, nor your individual names of job titles will be made public, and all efforts will be made to reduce any identifying information, including the use of a study identification number as listed above. The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA) gives you certain rights to protect the privacy of your study information and records. Under HIPAA, you must give your permission before anyone uses or shares your information. When you sign this consent form, you agree to allow this.

General Information
Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to take part in this study, and you can choose not to answer any question, and you can leave the interview at any time. You do not give up any of your legal rights by signing this consent form and taking part in this study. If you have questions or concerns about your participation in this study, please contact Erin Elliott at elliott7@pdx.edu or my advisor Dr. Billie Sandberg at sandber2@pdx.edu. If you have concerns about your rights as a research subject, please contact the PSU Institutional Review Board, Office of Research Integrity, 1600 SW 4th Ave., Market Center Building, Ste. 620, Portland, OR 97201, or (503) 725-2227 or 1 (877) 480-4400. Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the above information and agree to take part in this study. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this form for your own records.

_____
Name of Participant (Please Print)

_____
Signature of Participant Date

_____
Name of Person Obtaining Consent (Please Print)

_____
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Appendix E: IRB Human Subjects Approval

Portland State
UNIVERSITY

Human Research Protection Program
1600 SW 4th Avenue, Suite 620
Portland, OR 97201
(503) 725-5484 psuirb@pdx.edu

Human Research Protection Program
Notice of Continuing IRB Approval

June 08, 2020

Dear Investigator,

The PSU Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed the following continuing review submission:

Investigator(s)	Billie Sandberg / Erin Elliott
HRPP #	163860
Title	Neoliberalism, Civic Identity, and Resistance: An Ethnographic Case Study of a Community Development Organization
Funding Agency / Kuali #	N/A
Expiration Date	06/08/2020
Review Category(ies)	Expedited: # 8 (c)

The IRB determined the continuation request satisfies the required provisions for protecting the rights and welfare of all subjects participating in research. This study approval has been renewed and must be conducted in accordance with the protocol submitted (HRPP Forms enclosed). Please note the following ongoing Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) requirements: