Turnover Intention and Job Tenure of U. S. Fundraisers

Genevieve G. Shaker, Patrick M. Rooney, Sarah K. Nathan,
Jonathan J. Bergdoll, Eugene R. Tempel
Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, IUPUI

Abstract

Fundraisers secure financial resources that organizations need to achieve their missions. Raising money, particularly large gifts, can follow years of relationship building with individual donors. When fundraisers leave these efforts can be set back substantially, making fundraiser turnover particularly worrisome and worthy of exploration. This analysis addressed this issue using U.S. survey data (n=1,663) and examining three research questions. What are the job tenure and intent to leave of fundraisers? How is fundraiser job tenure affected by intent to leave? What relationships do job tenure and intent to leave have with fundraisers' individual attributes, position attributes, and organizational characteristics? We found that the study participants had current mean job tenures of 3.6 years (median = 2 years) and mean tenures across their fundraising jobs of 3.9 years (median = 3 years). Twenty percent intended to leave their organization and seven percent intended to leave fundraising within the next year. Of the tested variables, salary consistently had the largest effects and was the most significant. Older and more experienced fundraisers had longer tenures. The study provides nuanced information about fundraisers' job-related behaviors, includes careful attention to theory and related research, and includes specific ideas for organizational interventions for increasing fundraiser tenure.

Keywords: employee turnover, nonprofit job tenure, fundraisers, fundraising profession, employee intent to leave

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Final manuscript January 23, 2022.

Introduction

In the U.S. donated funds provided $471 billion to nonprofits in 2020 (Giving USA, 2021). Only program/service fees and support from the Federal government provided more resources, making philanthropic contributions essential for the functioning of the nonprofit sector (Pratt & Aanestad, 2020). Studies show that a large majority of gifts are made following a solicitation (Bryant, Jeon-Slaughter, Kang, & Tax 2003; Kelly, 1998; Yörük, 2012). Fundraisers generate philanthropic funds for nonprofits by identifying potential donors, cultivating relationships, creating fundraising appeals, soliciting gifts, and stewarding and renewing contributions; giving in turn, generates many positive intellectual, emotional, and physical benefits for donors (Konrath, 2016). Yet, fundraising has long been stigmatized because of perceptions that it constitutes financial transactions facilitated by people who apply pressure to acquire gifts and who quickly leave one job for another in search of personal advancement (Breeze, 2017; Meisenbach et al., 2018; Shaker et al., 2019). A long-standing debate also addresses whether fundraising has attained status as a "profession," intimating the field's continued quest for broad public understanding and respect. This context can have a chilling effect on people's desire to join the field, fundraisers' experiences within organizations, and their sentiments about the work and their career path.

There are approximately 101,000 professional fundraisers and 89,000 "public relations and fundraising managers" in the U.S., home of the most established fundraising "regime" in the world (Breeze & Scaife, 2015; Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), 2021a; 2021b). Most U.S. fundraisers are female, Caucasian, and hold the bachelor's degree or higher (AFP, 2021a). Fundraisers are paid an average annual salary of $85,657 (median $75,000) (AFP, 2021a). In the next decade the field is predicted to grow at a faster than average rate (13 percent and higher)

(BLS, 2021a; 2021b), but not seemingly fast enough to meet the demand from the nation's more than 1 million public charities (NCCS Team, 2020).

As important as fundraisers are in shoring up the nonprofit economy, it is not surprising that successful fundraisers have ample job opportunities and nonprofits report difficulties in recruiting and retaining qualified fundraisers (Burke, 2013; Stiffman, 2021). Fundraiser job tenure is described as excessively short and job turnover intent is perceived as unfortunately high. Organizations are perpetually seeking ideas and assistance because these phenomena can have costly negative effects (Adkins, 2013; Flandez, 2012; Joslyn, 2016; 2019; Hayes, 2021; Peters et al., 2002). Raising money, particularly large gifts, can follow years of relationship building by fundraisers with individual donors. When they leave these efforts can be substantially set back, making fundraiser turnover particularly worrisome. Some field reports and academic studies (i.e., Bell & Cornelius, 2013; Horstman, 2006; Joselyn, 2019; McConnell, 2014) provide key information, but do not fully reflect the level of industry concern and need for additional insight. More, not fewer, fundraisers are needed. For those already in the field, retention is critically important in the face of rising demands on nonprofits. More nuanced information about how long fundraisers stay in their organizations and whether they intend to leave could provide nonprofits with benchmarking information, planning tools, and resources for developing intervention strategies. It could also help fundraisers to put themselves in the broader context and open important employment conversations, while serving as a catalyst for future research.

To address these opportunities, this study examined factors differentiating fundraisers' job tenure and intent to leave their organizations and fundraising. We analyzed U.S. survey data (n=1,663) to explore three research questions. What are the job tenure and intent to leave of fundraisers?

How is fundraiser job tenure affected by intent to leave? What relationships do job tenure and intent to leave have with fundraisers' individual attributes (i.e., gender, race, educational attainment, age/fundraising experience), position attributes (i.e., position rank/management experience, salary/bonuses), and organizational characteristics (i.e., subsector, size)? The study was grounded in research and theory on job tenure and employee turnover. It used regression analysis and select t-tests to show behavioral differences.

The results provide foundational information on job tenure and turnover intent as considered through several measures over time. This study was distinguished from other research by the range of variables, simultaneous examination of tenure and turnover intent, careful attention to theory in both areas, and engagement with industry data and scholarly research. The results show a greater range in fundraisers' tenure and lower intention to leave their organizations and profession than commonly thought, making important contributions to general understandings of the field. Implications include that organizations should create regular opportunities to review and discuss compensation and career goals with fundraisers, develop specialized interventions and supports for younger and less experienced fundraisers, provide opportunities for more staff to hold varying levels of management responsibility. Moreover, larger organizations with more resources do not necessarily keep their fundraisers longer.

The paper begins with a review of the literature and theory on intent to leave, employee turnover, and job tenure before moving on to present hypotheses organized around individual, employment, and organizational characteristics in relation to job tenure and intent to leave. Sections on methods, results, discussion points, and implications follow.

Literature and Hypotheses

Researchers began studying employee job patterns and turnover more than 100 years ago (Hom, Lee, Shaw, & Hausknecht, 2017). Academic scholarship on turnover and tenure initially took a practical and atheoretical approach by seeking to document the behaviors, ascertain employees' turnover likelihood, determine how hiring processes could predict tenure, document if attitudinal responses to work circumstances predicted turnover, and develop on-boarding processes to aid in employee retention (Hom et al., 2017). Examinations of job tenure are less common and tend to focus on individual demographics (i.e., age, gender, race, previous experience) (Bratsberg & Terrell, 1998; Hollister & Smith, 2014), organizational commitment and job performance (Wright & Bonett, 2002), and job satisfaction (Bedejan, Ferris, & Kacmar, 1992; Dobrow Riza, Ganzach, & Liu, 2018). Studies of departure intentions found influential factors from the workplace, labor market, home, community, and professional field (Price, 2001), assumed that job dissatisfaction was the key motivator, and, for a time, assumed that decisions to leave were rational (March & Simon, 1958). Some more modern models of turnover portray the phenomenon as resulting from "shocks" or unexpected events—in the workplace, in society, or in workers' personal lives—that stimulate departure (Holtom et al., 2008; Lee & Mitchell, 1994). Recently, turnover researchers have begun to explore why people stay in their jobs, the trajectory of the job search process, collective rates of turnover, and effects of turnover on organizational performance (Holtom et al., 2008; Hom et al., 2017).

Early models included job tenure as an individual level variable leading toward intent to remain or to leave (Holtom et al., 2008). Most of the research finds an inverse relationship between job tenure and turnover intention (e.g., Alexander, Lichtenstein, Oh, & Ullman, 1998; Blau & Khan, 1981; Farber, 1999; Hellemans & Closon, 2013; Ju & Li, 2019; Lewis, 1991; Lub et al., 2012;

McEnrue, 1988). Those in positions longer are less likely to plan to leave (or actually leave). One study of nonprofit human services workers provides some contradictory evidence: job tenure was not inversely related to turnover intention (but more experience in the human service field did have an inverse relationship with turnover intention) (Mor Barak, Nissley, & Levin, 2001).

The demographics of employee job tenure and turnover intention (and actual turnover) interest researchers and employers alike (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986; Hom et al., 2017). Research studies sometimes use individual characteristics to serve as part of the theoretical mechanism (Alexander et al., 1998; Knapp, Smith, & Sprinkel, 2017) or as control variables (Griffith & Hom, 2002). Turnover models also include job features as precursors to withdrawal conditions and job-related attitudes that factor into decision-making around leaving (Griffeth & Hom, 2002; Holtom et al., 2008). Organizational contextual descriptors, particularly organizational size, are among the second tier of variables that illustrate turnover intention and behavior (Holtom et al., 2008).

Research on fundraisers is significantly behind in documenting the antecedents and nuances of tenure and turnover intention. Prominent industry studies (Bell & Cornelius, 2013; Joselyn, 2019) report rates of organizational turnover intention as high as 50% among fundraisers. In *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* study (Joselyn, 2019), 3 out of 10 participants also planned to leave the field (or had already quit) within two years. The study also noted that 45% of the fundraisers had been in their jobs for less than two years, which could help explain common perceptions of fundraiser tenure as overly short (e.g., 18-24 months per job) (Adkins, 2013; Flandez, 2012). The Association of Fundraising Professionals (AFP) (2016; 2021a) and academic researchers (Duronio & Tempel, 1997; Horstman, 2006; McConnell, 2014), meanwhile, have found that fundraisers' current average job tenure ranges from 3.6 to 5.4 years, with additional variation by

fundraising experience and other factors. These studies have various shortcomings. Industry projects, for example, do not engage with theory, lack higher level statistical modeling, and/or limit the variables of interest. Most academic studies use small samples, are dated, and/or are available only as dissertations. There is often little effort to connect industry and scholarly findings.

Individual Attributes, Job Tenure, and Turnover Intent

Gender

Prior research found a longer average job tenure among male fundraisers than females (Duronio & Tempel, 1997; Horstman, 2006). Women's "shorter time on the job" aligns with some individual labor studies (e.g., Royalty, 1998) and with the BLS (2018) data about job tenure, but research also shows complex results about gender as related to changing social norms and differing family dynamics (Hollister & Smith, 2014).

Women hold two-thirds or more of fundraising positions (AFP, 2021a), yet evidence shows that they still face gender-related difficulties (Breeze & Dale, 2020). Men are more likely to hold the highest positions (AFP, 2019a) and when controlling for other differences female fundraisers make 10% less than men (AFP, 2019b). These facts suggest that women fundraisers may be more prone to seek new positions for advancement and financial reasons and that some organizations, recognizing this imbalance, may specifically recruit women for leadership roles. Haggerty's (2015) fundraiser research showed only a few gender-related differences as significant predictors of turnover intent. Meta-analyses disagree on whether gender is significant in turnover intent, with more recent reviews showing less of a relationship (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986; Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000).

Race

According to the BLS (2018), race/ethnicity-related variation in job tenure is difficult to characterize. Meta-analyses on turnover found no notable race effects in recent years when measuring white respondents and respondents of color but noted that specific racial/ethnic groups might behave differently; unacknowledged workplace factors may also have strong effects (Rubenstein et al., 2017; Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000).

People of color are in the distinct minority among fundraisers, with most recent data suggesting they account for less than 16% of the profession (AFP, 2021a). Minority employees may experience discrimination with consequential effects on their career decisions (Cause Effective, 2019; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). They also may be heavily recruited to meet organizational desires for a diverse workforce. When there are few diverse employees in a workplace, however, they are more likely to indicate intent to turnover (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Although the job patterns of diverse fundraisers are relatively undocumented (AFP, 2015; Cause Effective, 2019), recent attention shows many fundraisers of color have left a job due to bias or negative experiences (AFP, 2021b).

Educational Attainment

Theoretical explanations for the association between education and job turnover are multifaceted. Some evidence supports the notion that educational attainment generates mobility (and thus turnover) (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986) but others find this influence to be limited or moderated by factors such as the mean educational level of the employee group (Griffeth et al., 2000; Rubenstein et al., 2017). BLS (2013) data shows similar patterns between those with high school degrees and those with more education.

Among nonprofit employees, education was positively related to turnover intention in one study (Kim & Lee, 2007), but, in human services fields, educational attainment was not correlated with turnover intent (though it had a negative relationship with turnover behavior) (Mor Barak et al., 2001). Research on fundraisers has not examined job tenure or turnover intention as related to educational level.

Age and Fundraising Experience

Older employees stay in their jobs longer (BLS, 2018); some argue it is because they are more satisfied (Ng & Feldman, 2010). Multiple studies show a negative correlation between age and both anticipated and actual job turnover (Griffeth et al., 2000; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Rubenstein et al., 2017). Even among employees younger than 30, in a longitudinal study over 8 years, Royalty (1998) found that the likelihood of turnover decreased with age. A study about nonprofit employees found a negative correlation between age and turnover intention (Kim & Lee, 2007). Haggerty (2015) discovered that age significantly and negatively predicted turnover intention among all fundraisers but not for the male subgroup.

Longer job tenure in human services positions was not found to be significantly related to turnover intention or behavior in one meta-analysis, but more experience in the field was negatively correlated with both (Mor Barak et al., 2001). In the Duronio and Tempel (1997) study, fundraisers with ten or more years of experience stayed 2 years more than the less experienced. Fundraisers in another study with at least 10 years of experience served for 6.5 years, significantly longer than the 2.1 years of peers with less fundraising experience (Horstman, 2006).

The evidence on how gender, race, and educational attainment relate to fundraiser job tenure and intent to turnover is mixed, making directional predictions difficult. Age, meanwhile, is more clearly associated with longer job tenure and lower turnover intent as is years of fundraising experience.

> *Hypothesis 1a: Gender, race, and educational attainment will have relationships with job tenure and turnover intention.*

> *Hypothesis 1b: Age and years of fundraising experience will have positive relationships with job tenure and inverse relationships with turnover intention.*

Position Attributes, Job Tenure, and Turnover Intent

Position Rank and Management Responsibilities

Causal studies of turnover have hypothesized that those in professionalized jobs have higher levels of training, lower levels of routinization, and higher opportunity levels, all leading toward lower turnover intent (Price, 2002). Indeed, higher ranked personnel are less likely to turnover, according to a meta-analysis of the nursing profession over 20 years (Tai, Bame & Robinson, 1998) and the meta-analysis of human service employees (Mor Barak et al., 2001). Nonprofit employees given autonomy in their work (which could be associated with rank and management responsibility) exhibited greater job satisfaction, with an indirect and significant negative effect on turnover intention (Knapp, Smith, & Sprinkel, 2017). One mid-sized study of religious nonprofit fundraisers (Pinder, 2012) discovered differences in turnover intention among fundraising position ranks and specializations, with directors of development being most likely to be planning to leave. The Bell and Cornelius (2013) survey documented high levels of

turnover intention but only surveyed organizations' lead fundraisers, other fundraising staff types were not included.

Salary and Bonuses

Higher paid employees are less likely to intend to turnover, but the effect is not as strong as one might expect according to two meta-analyses (Griffeth et al., 2000; Rubenstein et al., 2017). Nonprofit employees are thought to be oriented toward their organizations' missions, perhaps making compensation less important (Akingbola & van den Berg, 2017). Theoretical examinations of turnover have found that workers in some sectors may be more motivated by satisfaction than pay (Singh & Loncar, 2010). But multiple human service and nonprofit studies have found that compensation concerns were a key factor in turnover decisions (Brown & Yoshioka, 2003; Kim & Lee, 2007; Seldon & Sowa, 2015). Fundraisers have reported similar concerns regarding equitable renumeration (Joslyn, 2019; Pinder, 2012), but one small study of fundraisers found salary and fairness of pay were not predictors of turnover intention (Horstman, 2006).

Some organizations offer retention and performance bonuses for fundraisers (Joslyn, 2019). Bonuses that convey favorable information about the employee job match have been found to negatively correlate with employee turnover (Ekinci, 2019). Compensation (and benefits) investments of various kinds by organizations lessened turnover in a variety of studies (Osterman, 1987; Park, Ofori-Dankwa, & Bishop, 1994; Powell, Montgomery, & Cosgrove, 1994); bonuses for fundraisers may be intended to serve this purpose but the outcomes are untested in the literature.

Collectively, the directionality and significance in evidence on position level and management responsibility is mixed for job tenure and turnover intent. Information about salary and bonuses suggests the likelihood of more clearly defined relationships.

> *Hypothesis 2a: Position rank and management responsibilities will have relationships with job tenure and turnover intention.*

> *Hypotheses 2b: Salary and bonuses will have positive relationships with job tenure and inverse relationships with turnover intention.*

Organization Characteristics, Job Tenure, and Turnover Intent

Subsector

Job turnover varies by industry and organizational type (BLS, 2018; Holtom et al., 2008). These differences may result from organizational characteristics and conditions of occupations (e.g., Castle & Engberg, 2006; Ingersoll, 2001; Strolin-Goltzman et al., 2008). The largest percentages of fundraisers are employed in education (28.5%), human services (31.6%), and healthcare organizations (16.8%) (AFP, 2021a). Fundraising may be especially well established in these kinds of organizations, potentially inclining fundraisers to stay longer. On the other hand, fundraisers in religious organizations may have a stronger "call" to the mission than in other types of nonprofits (Pinder, 2012). Haggerty (2015) found some subsector differences in the effects of fundraiser person fit and job satisfaction on turnover intent.

Size

Education-related nonprofits (17.3% of total revenue of public charities) and health organizations (59.2% of total revenue) tend to be the largest in the nonprofit sector and have the most assets (NCCS Team, 2020). Larger organizations (with more resources and employees) may be more sophisticated in their work practices, resulting in lower rates of voluntary turnover (Batt &

Colvin, 2011; Beltran-Martin, Roca-Puig, Escrig-Tena, & Bou-Llusar, 2008). The smallest budgeted organizations in the Bell and Cornelius (2013) study reported the highest turnover intentions, but in Haggerty's (2015) secondary analysis of that same data organizational size was not a significant predictor. Organization size has been a common variable in studies of turnover for some time (Holtom et al., 2008) but a recent meta-analysis found only a small effect (Rubenstein et al., 2017).

Past research suggests that there will be organizational effects, but directionality is unclear.

Hypothesis 3a: Organization subsector will have a relationship with job tenure and turnover intention.

Hypothesis 3b: Organization size (budget, staff) will have a relationship with job tenure and turnover intention.

Methodology

In late 2015, we surveyed members of three national fundraising associations and alumni of one fundraising professional education program. Nearly 36,000 emails were sent inviting fundraisers to participate in a project entitled "Professionals in Philanthropy: Fundraisers at Work," to discover "who fundraisers are, how they came to work in fundraising, what they actually do in their day-to-day work, and what they contribute to American society." The online surveys were completed by 1,826 individuals and 1,663 U.S. fundraisers finished the survey (with 1,476 usable responses for regressions), forming the sample for this paper. All held current fundraising roles; those who had left fundraising permanently were not represented, creating the possibility of survivorship bias. We sought to address this by considering multiple measures related to the fundraisers' job behavior over time. This study, like the other studies of fundraisers, had the

potential for response bias, in this case because of the positive framing of the study. No study of fundraisers is nationally representative, including this one. Thus, study results are informative and suggestive, not generalizable.

To strengthen the data set and counter response bias, we compared the sample to the Current Population Survey (CPS) and weighted the data. To calculate the weights, we combined the seven waves of the CPS (Flood, King, Ruggles, & Warren, 2017) with "fundraiser" as an occupation (2011-2017). Individuals who indicated they were part time, or whose salary indicated they were not professional fundraisers (<$10,000) were excluded, leaving 508 individuals. This sample served as the basis for a set of weights for income (11 brackets to match our survey question), racial background (White, Black, Hispanic, and Other, recorded mutually exclusively), and gender (male and female). The weights averaged a value of 1 with a minimum of 0.234 and a maximum of 5.015 (no observation counted as more than five, and no observation counted as less than approximately .25). The weighting helped ensure that the results more accurately reflected the closest approximation of a national population of fundraisers (i.e., the CPS data).

Analysis

To measure tenure and turnover intention, we began with descriptive statistics. Individual characteristics and position attributes included gender, race, educational attainment, age, fundraising experience, organization rank/position, management responsibilities, salary range, and whether bonuses were received. Organizational variables included subsector, budget size, and staff size. A correlation analyses is available from https://tinyurl.com/y4ljcfhc. We used regression models to explain tenure and intent to leave differences in consideration of the variables.

To provide insight into behavior overtime and in the future, we used multiple strategies. We replicated a descriptive framework used by Duronio and Tempel (1997) to do a comparison of the two datasets. The categories of fundraiser tenure behavior include: "stable" (five or more years in each job for those with 10+ years of experience; and three or more years on average for those with 3-9 years of experience), "marginal" (an average of 3-5 years for those with 10+ years of experience and more than one job for those with 3 years or less experience), and "transient" (an average of less than three years for those with 10+ years of experience and less than a 3-year average for those with 3-9 years of experience), and "unknown" (those with under three years total experience and only one job thus far) fundraisers. Because only results, not original data, are available from Duronio and Tempel, we could not adjust the approach and note that these categories and terminology were designed in a different period. The analyses also included fundraisers' total years of fundraising experience, years in their current fundraising job, and their average years per fundraising job. Finally, we considered intent to leave attitudes as well as tenure. We examined intent to leave the organization as well as intent to leave the fundraising occupation, noting that the two could have different antecedents. Fundraisers were asked: "Which of the following statements most clearly reflects your feelings about your future [with the organization/in fundraising] in the next year?" We operationalized "intent to leave fundraising" and "intent to leave organization" variables by coding with a "1" if the fundraiser intended to leave to any degree (4-5). If the fundraiser answered something else, including "unsure" and intent to stay (1-3), the response was coded with a "0".

We used Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) for analysis of continuous dependent variables (total years of fundraising experience; years in current job; average years in jobs). For regressions in which the dependent variables were binary or of relatively few options, we used forms of logit

regressions. Regressions for job tenure excluded variables for age and years of fundraising experience due to potential endogeneity problems: an older person (who has been working) and/or has more years of experience, will have more years of experience. In these cases, weighted t-tests were used. Age and years of fundraising experience were included in the intent to leave regressions, because endogeneity was not an issue. As a robustness check, the regressions were run with the unweighted data, generating similar results to those presented here.

Findings

Information relating to the first research question is presented in Table 1. The mean length of the fundraisers' current job was 3.6 years (median = 2 years) and the average of all job tenures was 3.9 years (median = 3 years). Relatively small percentages of fundraisers were looking to leave the organization (11%) or seriously considering leaving (9%) in the next year. The majority (67%) intended to stay at the organization or were unsure of their plans (14%). An even greater percentage of people intended to stay in fundraising (85%) for the next year. Only 2% were planning to leave fundraising and 5% were seriously considering it, with others feeling unsure (9%).

--Insert Table 1 here--

Regarding the second research question, those who intended to leave the organization had a significantly shorter current job tenure with respect to their average years in fundraising (-.415; $p<.05$; or about 5 months shorter tenure) (See Table 2). Fundraisers who intended to leave the organization did not have significantly different total years of fundraising experience or current job tenures. Those intending to leave the fundraising profession had over a half year shorter average tenure (-0.57; $p<.05$), but the results showed no significant differences in current job

tenure. These individuals did have fewer years of total experience in the field (-1.6; p<.1), but this only approached traditional levels of significance. Findings for the third research question are presented along with the hypotheses in the following sections.

--Insert Table 2 here--

> *H1a: Gender, race, and educational attainment will have relationships with job tenure and turnover intention.*

In the regressions (See Table 2), men averaged about one-third of a year longer in their fundraising jobs overall (on the margin) (0.35; p<.05). Application of the analysis strategy from Duronio and Tempel (1997) revealed a noteworthy gender difference among those with 10+ years of experience. About one-third (32.2%) of the men were defined as "stable" in their employment compared with one-fifth (21.2%) of the female fundraisers (see Table 3). The men with more than 10 years of experience were less likely than women to fall into the "transient" grouping. The transient gender gap was larger among those with less than ten years of experience (21.1% males vs. 26.6% females). There were no gender differences with the intent to leave variables (See Table 4).

--Insert Table 3, 4—

In the regression models, holding everything else constant and compared to White respondents, Hispanic fundraisers had three and a half fewer years of total fundraising experience (-3.5; p<.01), about one-year shorter current job tenure (-0.885; p<0.05) and average years in fundraising jobs (-1.08; p<.01). Black fundraisers and fundraisers who responded "Other" were not significantly different from their White counterparts regarding any of the measured tenure

variables. Other individuals were significantly more likely to intend to leave fundraising than White respondents (-1.2; p<.05).

Educational attainment was insignificant for all outcomes and all levels of education with one exception: those without a college degree had three more total years of fundraising experience (p<.05) but made up a very small proportion of the sample (3%). In the intent to leave regressions, those with the master's degree were more likely to intend to leave the profession (-.56; p<.05) and organization (-.4; p<.05).

> *H1b: Age and years of fundraising experience will have positive relationships with job tenure and inverse relationships with turnover intention.*

Fundraisers older than 46 (the sample mean and median age) had a current job average tenure of 5.1 years while the younger fundraisers' current job tenure was 2.3 years (p = 0) in weighted t-tests. Due to endogeneity concerns, we used weighted t-tests for differences between means rather than regressions for the age variable for job tenure, but this was not a concern for the intent regressions. Age had a small negative but highly significant effect on fundraisers' intent to leave the organization (-0.026; p<.01) but no effect on intent to leave fundraising.

Among those with 10 or more years of fundraising experience, current job tenure was much greater than among the less experienced fundraisers (again using t-tests to avoid endogeneity: 4.8 vs. 2.0; p = 0). Considering the results using the Duronio and Tempel (1997) descriptive framework showed 25.2% of the fundraisers with more than 10 years of experience and 9% of those with 3-9 years were "stable" in their employment. This compares with 11.3% of experienced fundraisers and 24.6% of earlier career fundraisers who were "transient." Years of experience did not significantly affect intent to leave in the regressions.

H2a: Position rank and management responsibilities will have relationships with job tenure and turnover intention.

President/vice-presidents had almost five more years of total fundraising experience than coordinator/others (4.9; p<.01). Conversely, and in comparison with coordinator/others, director/managers had almost two fewer years of total years of fundraising experience (-1.9; p<.05), and about one less year in their current job (-1.2; p<.01) and average job (-0.7; p<.05). Position rank had no significant effect on the intent to leave.

In the models, having management responsibilities was associated with just over a year more of total fundraising experience (1.2; p<.1), approaching significance only at traditional levels. Management responsibilities had a small positive effect on the current job (0.5; p<.05). Neither intent variable was significantly affected by having management responsibilities.

H2b: Salary and bonuses will have relationships with job tenure and turnover intention.

The log of imputed salary was associated with more than six more years of total experience (6.3; p<.01), almost two more years in the current job (1.7; p<.01), and over a year more average across their fundraising jobs (1.2; p<.01). Salary was not significantly associated with the intent to leave variables. The salary regression effects were the largest positive effects and the most significant across all explanatory variables.

Although salaried compensation mattered a great deal, surprisingly, bonuses did not, and lacked significant effects in any of the regressions.

Hypothesis 3a: Organization subsector will have a relationship with job tenure and turnover intent.

Several subsectors featured longer and shorter tenures than the reference subsector (arts/culture). Health (0.9; p<.05) and education (0.7; p<.05) fundraisers had worked longer than most others in the current job. Religion fundraisers had 1.5 more years in current job (p<.05) and a year more in the average job (1.0; p<.01). "Other" had almost three more years on the margin in the total fundraising experience (2.9; p<.05) and two more years in the margin in the current fundraising job (2; p<.01). Public benefit had one less year on average in the sector (-0.9; p<.05); international fundraisers had shorter tenure by every measurement. The various subsectors had no significant effect (at traditional levels of significance) on intent to leave the organization, but those in education and other were marginally more likely to intend to leave the profession, at levels approaching significance (p<.1).

> *Hypothesis 3b: Organization size (budget and staff) will have a relationship with job tenure and turnover intent.*

Budget size was negatively associated with total years (-0.85; p<.01), current job years (-.5; p<.05), and average years in fundraising jobs (-.4; p<.01). However, it was not significantly associated with the intent to leave variables. Staff size had mixed and mostly insignificant effects. Regarding current tenure, there was a small, negative effect of smaller (<16) staffs (-.06; p<.1), approaching significance at traditional levels, and a positive effect associated with larger staffs (>16) (0.8; p<.05). Also, larger staff size was negatively and significantly associated with the intent to leave the profession (-0.13; p<.05).

Discussion, Limitations, and Future Research

This study examined nuances of fundraisers' job tenure behavior and turnover intention with equivalent attention, taking a different approach than other practical and scholarly research. First,

it built on the literature and theory of employee turnover and extended those learnings to the fundraising occupation, making it a resource for future research. In a paper on the evolution of turnover analysis Holtom et al. (2008) charted a course for future research, suggesting attention to turnover during different employment phases and across time. The authors also request systematic linking of job type and level to turnover decisions. We took this advice, examining differences in current and career job tenures, looking at stability of the positions of early and later career fundraisers, and considering fundraising experience as a mechanism for career stage variation in turnover intent and job tenure. Future research assessing how and when turnover intent emerges and then translates into action would align with Holtom et al.'s (2008) interest in temporal aspects of turnover intent. We considered job level and management responsibility; subsequent analyses could study differences among types of fundraisers and their responsibilities. Future surveys should collect more organizational information, contextual information, and attitudinal data of fundraisers to examine "shocks" or events that cause fundraisers to leave (Lee & Mitchell, 1994), how they search for new jobs, and what happens to organizations when fundraisers leave (Hom et al., 2017).

Second, the study brings new information to debates about fundraiser tenure and turnover intention. The findings from our large, weighted sample are consonant with results from several previous, mostly academic, studies (AFP, 2016; Duronio & Tempel, 1997; Horstman, 2006; McConnell, 2014). When compared to the national median tenure of all workers' current jobs (4.3 years) (BLS, 2018), our fundraisers' median (2 years in current job, 3 years across all fundraising jobs) was indeed notably lower than the societal average. On the other hand, our findings on fundraisers' mean tenure (3.6 years in current job, 3.9 years across all fundraising jobs), provide some counterpoint to the narrative that all fundraisers stay just 18-24 months

(Adkins, 2013; Flandez, 2012; Joslyn, 2019). The most recent AFP study (2021a) also showed a notable increase in fundraisers' current mean tenure to 5.4 years (median = 3 years), suggesting the importance of continually revisiting these numbers.

In this study 20% of respondents planned to leave their organization and 7% intended to leave fundraising. Industry surveys report that 50% of fundraisers planned to leave their organizations, and 30-40% were considering leaving fundraising (Bell & Cornelius, 2013; Joslyn, 2019). Some of the large differences between our results and others may result from different sampling strategies and selection biases among studies. For example, Bell and Cornelius featured only lead development officers and Joslyn's study was narrowly focused on departure intentions where this study included development staff at all levels and examined career paths more broadly. Also, fundraisers in our study were asked about their intentions in the next year compared with 2 years in the two industry studies. Our fundraiser data are interesting considering information from the BLS indicating a turnover rate of 15.7% for nonprofit staff (Bares, 2017), and Nonprofit HR (2016) showing a 19% turnover rate among a representative sample of U.S. and Canadian organizations. Notably, and unlike others, we applied weights to align our sample with the BLS. Our intent to leave the organization findings are more consonant with these national turnover data and AFP reports (2021a) than industry findings (Bell & Cornelius, 2013; Joslyn, 2019). Although the BLS and Nonprofit HR data do not parse out fundraisers, making the comparison nonscientific, this suggests that a large percentage of the fundraisers in industry studies do not exit their jobs. Fundraisers may not behave as differently from their nonprofit colleagues as media reports suggest but receive disproportionate attention as part of a general reputational problem.

Third, our study explored the relationship between intent to turnover and job tenure and considered two dimensions of job experience through a variety of measures. A connection between turnover intent and tenure suggested career patterns of behavior with those intending to leave having generally shorter average tenures in their careers. Those who intended to leave the profession also had shorter tenures in their histories; perhaps fundraising was simply not the right profession, as discovered through some experience and/or experimentation. Indeed, Haggerty (2015) discovered that perceived person-job fit was significant in longer-term intent to leave the profession while perceived person-organization fit affected the shorter-term intent to leave the organization. We examined both the intent to leave and actual tenures, as well as the effects of intent to leave (the organization and/or the field) on actual tenures. The intent to leave provides a snapshot of perceptions at that moment in time, but job tenure is based on actual behaviors. Ultimately, in our study very few variables affected intent to leave fundraising or the current charity. Our work is a reminder that actual turnover, may look quite different than turnover intent reports; it should be subject to separate and different analyses in the future (Cohen, Blake, & Goodman, 2016; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Nicholson & West, 1988).

A nationally representative and randomly selected panel study of fundraisers—including those who leave their jobs and the profession—is needed to truly parse these dynamics and to counter the response and sample biases in most studies of fundraisers. Future research could examine those with the longest tenures, explore what happens to those who intend to leave but do not, and examine fundraisers who intend to stay using applicable theory (Ghosh, Satyawadi, Prasad Joshi, & Shadman, 2013). Executive directors or other organizational leaders, with support from their boards to engage in this important work, also could provide new research insights into their

structures of support for fundraising, expectations of fundraisers, and organizational retention efforts.

Fourth, and in relation to the second research question, some variables (i.e., salary/bonuses, racial background, gender, age/fundraising experience, management responsibilities/position rank, and organization budget/staff size) stand out in their strength or unexpectedness. This is important because the best-known research on fundraiser intent does not delve into the details or include higher level statistical analysis. Fundraisers' salaries had the largest empirical effects and were among the most statistically significant for each of the measures of job tenure but were not significant for intent to leave. This is a puzzle but aligns with other research showing weak effects of compensation on intent to leave (Griffeth et al., 2000; Rubenstein et al., 2017). Still, other research findings show that salary investments can affect retention (Osterman, 1987; Park, Ofori-Dankwa, & Bishop, 1994; Powell, Montgomery, & Cosgrove, 1994), which underscores the importance of studying more than turnover intent. Ironically, bonuses, a popular retention strategy (Joslyn, 2019), had no significant effect and appeared to even have negative consequences. This finding suggests the value of future examination of how bonuses are used in nonprofits and whether they have concomitant effects on retention or performance.

Hispanic/Latino fundraisers stood out from other fundraisers of color in having significantly shorter tenures than White fundraisers—leading us to agree that racial differences in job tenure are present, difficult to characterize (BLS, 2018), and require more attention.

In the tenure models, male fundraisers had about four months longer average tenures, but this was only weakly significant, and gender was insignificant on the other tenure-related measures. However, when we replicated the Duronio and Tempel (1997) approach, we found profound gender differences. Of those with 10+ years of experience, men were more likely to be "stable"

(32.3% vs. 21.2%), and less likely to be "transient" (9.3% vs. 12.6%). Women continue to carry more responsibility for household responsibilities, are more likely to make career sacrifices than men, and have difficulty reaching senior level positions in fundraising—these phenomena take a toll. More gender-specific examinations are warranted, using some of the theoretical approaches suggested by Holtom et al. (2008).

Older and more experienced study respondents stayed in their jobs longer than younger, less experienced fundraisers. Job stability, according to the descriptive framework, was higher among those with 10 or more years of experience, whereas those with less than 10 years' experience were most likely to be "transient," changing jobs more frequently. Age also had a negative and significant effect in the intent to leave the organization regression. These results align with established knowledge about age and experience (BLS, 2018; Griffeth et al., 2000; Duronio & Tempel, 1997; Haggerty, 2015; Horstman, 2006; Kim & Lee, 2007; Mor Barak et al., 2001; Rubenstein et al., 2017) and with the expectation that these would move together. Older and more experienced employees may be more risk averse and/or may be more adapted to the organizational culture.

The results about management responsibility and position type were less aligned. Management responsibilities (regardless of title/rank) related to longer current job tenures (.5 years longer) but were irrelevant in the intent to leave. The u-shaped relationship of rank and tenure, with coordinators, fundraising officers, presidents/vice presidents in their roles longer than directors/managers, provides an interesting contrast. As does the fact that the director/managers had significantly shorter tenure in all the regressions for job tenure. These results do not fully fit with research from nursing and human services in which higher ranked employees stayed longer (Mor Barak et al., 2001; Tai, Bame & Robinson, 1998) or with attention directed mostly on chief

development officers as being those most at risk of leaving (Bell & Cornelius, 2013). Our results suggest that other nuances in the nature of the responsibilities of the directors/managers—aside from management—are important to understand for job tenure and that interests beyond promotion are driving fundraisers' intent to leave.

There was more subsector variation in job tenure—mostly regarding the current job—than in intent to leave. Religion, health, and education organizations stand out for their longer job tenures, perhaps due to mission connection in religious organizations and established nature of fundraising in education and health. But findings in this area are complicated by several other results: human services, where the most fundraisers work, was not among the sectors with longer job tenures; education fundraisers were most likely to intend to leave their organizations; and the smallest budgeted charities had the longest fundraiser tenures. This last contrasts with research that found smaller organizations to have more issues with fundraisers' tenure and intent to leave (Batt & Colvin, 2011; Bell & Cornelius, 2013; Beltran-Martin et al., 2008; Joselyn, 2019). When controlling for everything else at organizations with a larger staff, however, fundraisers' current job tenure was almost a year longer and they were less likely to intend to leave fundraising. Being a part of a larger team likely provided important support structures and reflected an organizational commitment to fundraising.

Turning to variation in intent to leave, those in education and "other" organizations were more likely to intend to leave fundraising but none of the subsector types were significant in intent to leave the organization. This suggests that fundraiser intent to turnover is not a subsector issue but a broader concern that requires a better understanding of what fundraisers want or need to be content in their career.

Practical Implications

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Employee retention is a human resource imperative (Nonprofit HR, 2019) especially in fundraising where employee turnover can be particularly costly (Burke, 2013; Hall & Preston, 2010). Employers need more detailed and specific data about the behavior of employee groups—like addressing fundraisers' intention to stay as well as leave and about their job tenures across their careers—to develop evidence-based strategies (Cohen et al., 2016; Saridakis & Cooper, 2016).

This study provides new depth to information about fundraisers' job-related behaviors and suggests that specific organizational interventions could help increase fundraiser tenure. Organizations could review and update compensation practices, but we realize this is often more easily said than done. Because management responsibilities are significant in fundraisers' tenure, organizations could experiment with dispersing some managerial tasks among a greater proportion of their fundraisers. Age (specifically being over 46) and fundraising experience (of greater than 10 years) differentiated the fundraisers in their job tenure in a striking way. Organizations might consider the professional needs and expectations of these groups differently, creating "menus" of incentives that change over time. Meeting the expectations of younger fundraisers—or even understanding their priorities—seems a challenge that spans the sector, requiring systemic as well as organizational attention. Pairing experienced fundraisers with new fundraisers, ideally within an organization, but also through other avenues, also seems a logical way to help younger fundraisers acclimate to the field.

Our results also suggest that smaller organizations need not assume that their fundraisers will leave more quickly than those at large organizations. Innovative and different approaches are needed to match organizational cultures and capacities and organizational preparedness for hiring, training, and managing fundraisers could be an opportunity area. Professional

associations are well-positioned to help by serving as clearing houses for resources of all kinds from creating templates for informational interviews to developing sample onboarding materials and itineraries and hosting panels of fundraisers in various kinds of organizations and creating exit interview protocols for collecting information about what went right and wrong in a fundraiser's work experience. Organizations of all sizes would be prudent to have frank conversations with their fundraisers about professional goals, priorities, and desires and to be willing to take new approaches based on what they learn. Finally, the importance of mentors and supportive supervisors for all fundraisers, but especially fundraisers of color, cannot be overlooked (AFP, 2021b).

This study demonstrated that among our sample fundraisers' job tenure was longer and intent to leave was lower than commonly thought. This is promising and hopeful information but does not lessen the importance of continued attention to these fundamental organizational concerns.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Fundraiser Sample

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Median	Min	Max
Job tenure					
Number of fundraising jobs	3.45	1.38	4	0	5
Years in current fundraising job	3.61	4.15	2	0	35
Average years per fundraising job	4.00	2.91	3.2	0.5	31
Job length (all jobs pooled)	3.86	3.90	3	0	40
Intent to leave organization					
Presently looking and planning to leave	0.11				
Seriously considering leaving my organization	0.09				
Unsure about my plans	0.14				
As far as I can see, intend to stay at my organization	0.51				
It is very unlikely that I would ever consider leaving	0.15				
Intent to leave organization	0.20	0.40	0	0	1
Intent to leave fundraising					
Presently looking and planning to leave	0.02				
Seriously considering leaving fundraising	0.05				
Unsure about my plans	0.09				
As far as I can see, intend to stay in fundraising	0.52				
It is very unlikely that I would ever consider leaving	0.32				
Intent to leave fundraising	0.07	0.26	0	0	1
Hypothesis 1a: Gender, race, and educational attainment					
Male	0.36	0.48	0	0	1
White	0.80				
Hispanic/Latino	0.07				
Black	0.07				
Other	0.05				
No college degree	0.03				
Bachelors	0.47				
Masters	0.44				
Professional	0.05				
Hypothesis 1b: Age and years of fundraising experience					
Age	44.25	13.39	44	20	80
Total years in fundraising	13.42	9.44	11.5	0.5	53

Hypothesis 2a: Position rank and management responsibilities					
Coordinator/Other	0.11				
Fundraising officer	0.23				
Director/Manager	0.53				
President/VP	0.13				
Management responsibilities?	0.71	0.45	1	0	1
Hypotheses 2b: Salary and bonuses					
Imputed salary	$79,243	$42,629	$70,000	$12,500	$210,000
Log imputed salary	11.13	0.57	11.2	9.4	12.3
Received a bonus between 2010-2014?	0.30	0.46	0	0	1
Hypothesis 3a: Subsector					
Arts/Culture	7.5%				
Education	39.2%				
Environment/Animal welfare	4.0%				
Health/Medical	16.4%				
Human Services	16.9%				
Public Benefit	2.9%				
Religion	3.8%				
International	0.7%				
Other	8.6%				
Hypothesis 3b: Organization size					
Imputed organization budget (In millions)	$9.33	$8.26	$5.5	$0	$20
Log imputed organization budget	14.42	4.13	15.5	0.0	16.8
Don't know organization budget	0.07	0.25	0	0	1
Imputed number of paid staff	7.63	5.82	6	0	16
Paid staff over 16?	0.25	0.43	0	0	1
Don't know paid staff	0.00	0.06	0	0	1
N	1,471				

Note: values weighted by race/ethnicity, gender, and income.

Table 2: Fundraisers Job Tenure Regression Results

Variables	Total years of fundraising experience OLS	Years in current fundraising job OLS	Average years in fundraising jobs OLS
Intend to leave fundraising	-1.611*	-0.445	-0.567**
	(0.957)	(0.466)	(0.251)
Intend to leave organization	-0.406	-0.119	-0.415**
	(0.612)	(0.278)	(0.188)
Hypothesis 1a: Gender, race, and educational attainment			
Male	0.937	0.212	0.353*
	(0.681)	(0.242)	(0.185)
Racial Background (White: reference category)			
Hispanic/Latino	-3.534***	-0.885**	-1.083***
	(1.004)	(0.432)	(0.305)
Black	-1.293	-0.360	-0.241
	(0.930)	(0.472)	(0.361)
Other	-0.344	0.228	0.0282
	(1.029)	(0.556)	(0.387)
Education Level (Bachelor's: reference category)			
No college degree	3.078**	1.128	0.987
	(1.331)	(0.801)	(0.693)
Master's	-0.0109	0.244	0.00552
	(0.541)	(0.231)	(0.165)
Professional (e.g. JD, MD, PhD)	1.368	0.0658	0.710
	(1.234)	(0.526)	(0.432)
Hypothesis 2a: Position rank and management responsibilities			
Current Position (reduced to 4) (Coordinator/Other: Reference category)			
Fundraising Officer	-0.492	-0.695	-0.389
	(1.031)	(0.433)	(0.360)
Director/Manager	-1.864*	-1.215***	-0.743**
	(0.957)	(0.418)	(0.328)
President/Vice President	4.871***	0.687	0.713
	(1.851)	(0.652)	(0.453)
Management Responsibilities	1.178*	0.508**	0.200
	(0.623)	(0.241)	(0.184)
Hypotheses 2b: Salary and bonuses			
Log Imputed Salary	6.304***	1.707***	1.212***
	(1.162)	(0.287)	(0.219)
Received a bonus between 2010-2014?	-0.930*	-0.453*	-0.297*
	(0.490)	(0.238)	(0.176)

Hypothesis 3a: Subsector			
Subsector (Arts/Culture: reference category)			
Education	0.976	0.679**	0.334
	(0.951)	(0.344)	(0.310)
Environment/Animal welfare	0.751	0.797	0.750
	(1.253)	(0.614)	(0.591)
Health/Medical	2.069	0.923**	0.573
	(1.341)	(0.405)	(0.352)
Human Services	-0.0257	0.301	0.0766
	(0.968)	(0.352)	(0.316)
Public Benefit	0.322	-0.117	-0.861**
	(1.734)	(0.475)	(0.396)
Religion	2.869	1.531**	1.011*
	(1.915)	(0.736)	(0.614)
International	-3.269*	-1.236***	-0.987**
	(1.793)	(0.463)	(0.416)
Other	2.908**	1.956***	0.658
	(1.444)	(0.632)	(0.417)
Hypothesis 3b: Organization size			
Log Imputed Organization Budget	-0.865***	-0.482***	-0.384***
	(0.249)	(0.115)	(0.0841)
Dummy for Don't Know budget	-14.43***	-7.672***	-6.140***
	(4.138)	(1.887)	(1.396)
Imputed Number of Paid Staff	0.0345	-0.0603*	0.00222
	(0.0877)	(0.0353)	(0.0302)
Dummy for Paid Staff Over 16	-0.259	0.787**	-0.0584
	(0.984)	(0.382)	(0.336)
Dummy for Don't Know Paid Staff	1.084	-2.152	-1.153
	(5.003)	(1.319)	(0.926)
Constant	-44.69***	-7.987***	-3.515
	(13.02)	(2.952)	(2.451)
Observations	1,444	1,442	1,444
R-squared	0.306	0.153	0.176

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Data weighted using U.S. Current Population Survey (gender, race, income)

Table 3: Fundraisers Job Tenure by Years of Experience Using Duronio and Tempel (1997) Framework

	Current			Duronio/ Tempel		
	All	**Female**	**Male**	**All**	**Female**	**Male**
Stable						
10+ years of experience & 5+ years per job	25.2%	21.2%	32.3%	16.9%	10.8%	24.1%
3-9 years of experience & 3+ years per job	9.0%	8.9%	9.2%	20.5%	22.1%	18.6%
Subtotal	**34.2%**	**30.1%**	**41.6%**	**37.4%**	**32.9%**	**42.7%**
Marginal						
10+ years of experience & 3-5 years per job	21.5%	21.6%	21.3%	18.6%	14.4%	23.6%
Fewer than 3 years total & more than 1 job	3.6%	4.0%	2.9%	2.0%	2.6%	1.2%
Subtotal	**25.1%**	**25.6%**	**24.2%**	**20.6%**	**17.0%**	**24.8%**
Transient						
10+ years or experience & less than 3 years per job	11.3%	12.6%	9.2%	9.2%	10.8%	7.3%
3-9 years of experience & less than 3 years per job	24.6%	26.6%	21.1%	23.3%	27.7%	18.1%
Subtotal	**36.0%**	**39.2%**	**30.4%**	**32.5%**	**38.5%**	**25.4%**
Unknown						
Fewer than 3 years total & only one job	**4.7%**	**5.2%**	**4.0%**	**9.6%**	**11.7%**	**7.2%**
Total	**100.0%**	**100.1%**	**100.1%**	**100.1%**	**100.1%**	**100.1%**

Table 4: Fundraisers Intent to Leave Regression Results

Variables	Intent to leave fundraising (Binary) logit	Intent to leave organization (Binary) logit
Hypothesis 1a: Gender, race, and educational attainment		
Male	-0.263	-0.246
	(0.339)	(0.200)
Racial Background (White Omitted)		
Hispanic/Latino	-0.0728	0.557
	(0.666)	(0.373)
Black	0.0656	0.325
	(0.543)	(0.368)
Other	1.182**	0.656
	(0.462)	(0.399)
Education Level (Bachelors omitted)		
No college degree	-0.322	0.443
	(0.747)	(0.491)
Master's	-0.562**	-0.399**
	(0.266)	(0.175)
Professional (e.g., JD, MD, PhD)	0.0641	-0.102
	(0.577)	(0.400)
Hypothesis 1b: Age and fundraising experience		
Age	-0.0145	-0.0262***
	(0.0139)	(0.00868)
Total years of fundraising experience	-0.0177	0.0103
	(0.0204)	(0.0135)
Hypothesis 2a: Position and management responsibilities		
Current Position (reduced to 4) (Coordinator/Other Omitted)		
Fundraising Officer	0.106	0.122
	(0.493)	(0.326)
Director/Manager	0.101	-0.128
	(0.487)	(0.308)
President/Vice President	-0.0515	-0.274
	(0.598)	(0.380)
Management Responsibilities	-0.114	-0.0851
	(0.317)	(0.205)
Hypothesis 2b: Salary and bonuses		
Log Imputed Salary	-0.270	-0.167
	(0.364)	(0.190)
Received a bonus between 2010-2014?	-0.289	0.182
	(0.290)	(0.183)
Hypothesis 3a: Subsector		
Subsector (Arts/Culture Omitted)		
Education	1.171*	0.0455
	(0.654)	(0.357)

Environment/Animal welfare	0.987	0.141
	(0.782)	(0.511)
Health/Medical	0.177	-0.0924
	(0.665)	(0.368)
Human Services	0.179	0.0289
	(0.629)	(0.354)
Public Benefit	0.275	0.239
	(0.949)	(0.574)
Religion	0.751	-0.253
	(1.035)	(0.636)
International	N/A****	-1.053
		(1.062)
Other	1.121*	-0.365
	(0.663)	(0.443)
Hypothesis 3b: Organization size		
Log Imputed Organization Budget	0.0931	0.0614
	(0.147)	(0.0841)
Dummy for Don't Know budget	0.955	0.399
	(2.416)	(1.388)
Imputed Number of Paid Staff	-0.134**	-0.0389
	(0.0546)	(0.0324)
Dummy for Paid Staff Over 16	0.602	0.372
	(0.668)	(0.378)
Dummy for Don't Know Paid Staff	N/A****	N/A****
Constant	0.168	0.899
	(2.745)	(2.040)
Observations	1,427	1,438

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
****N/A: These variables dropped out of the regressions because of perfect multicollinearity.
Data weighted using U.S. Current Population Survey (gender, race, income)