REVEALING PRIVILEGE:

EXAMINING MANIFESTATIONS OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN HEALTH AND HUMAN
SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

By

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DEDICATION

In memory of my Grandparents:
Woody and Lela Grady
Edward and Willie Cleo Collins
Upon whose shoulders I stand.

My Cousins:
Wanda Marie Pope
Maurice Smith
Anthony Collins
I miss you everyday.

And

My former boss

William Youree,
Without whose support and mentoring I would not have even applied.

For my parents
Lester Collins and Bessie Grady Collins
You have faith in me when I do not have faith in myself.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A large body of literature suggests that, in the United States, race, class, and gender have dramatic effects on one's civil rights, labor market position, social class, access to medical care, relationship formations, and identity development (Andersen & Collins, 2007; Feagin, 2006; Nkomo, 1992).  Furthermore, race, class, and gender have historically been directly or indirectly associated with social injustices.  Health and human service organizations are agencies that provide goods, services, and resources to those in need.  They offer programs and products to help correct some of the inequities caused by racial, class, and gender oppression.  Ironically, the efforts of some health and human service organizations have often yielded unintentional consequences.  Some scholars contend that the practice of service provision creates deleterious community effects such as alienation and exploitation (McKnight, 1995; Ture & Hamilton, 1967).  Furthermore, non-profit agencies can perpetuate the same oppressive structures they attempt to counteract.

Scholarship illustrates that racism, classism, and sexism are oppressive structures that undermine the effectiveness of service provision (Baines, 2008; George, Coleman, & Barnoff, 2007; McKnight, 1995; Ture & Hamilton, 1967).  Most studies focus on the negative costs of these dynamics rather than how they advantage persons and groups in power.  In this dissertation project, I examine some of the ways that external power processes tied to race, class, and gender affect health and human service agencies' organizational cultures, relationships, and ideologies.  Furthermore, I endeavor to investigate some of the ways that privilege manifests within these agencies.  Specifically, my research questions are: 1) how do race, class, and gender work separately and in concert to affect cultures, relationships, and ideologies in health and human service organizations?; 2) how does privilege manifest within these organizations as power processes and/or outcomes of power?; and, 3) how can Foucault's theory of power contribute to understanding the effects of race, class, and gender on organizational dynamics?  By

focusing on five mid-sized (i.e., 30-150 employees), non-profit organizations, I will examine the effects of societal power systems (i.e., race, class, and gender) on organizational privilege (i.e., knowledge, relationships, and resource distribution) and staff agency (i.e., participation in decision making, and control/empowerment).

In this chapter, I present a rationale for why changes in health and human services are necessary for their continued existence and effectiveness in communities. Additionally, I contend that considering the systemic, contextual nature of power is a necessary step when attempting to facilitate significant, lasting change in these agencies. Using Foucaultian power theory may provide a theoretical lens to systematically conceptualize organizational power. Moreover, I rely on literature to draw parallels between power and the processual nature of race, class, and gender to argue that the latter are examples of the former. Furthermore, I endeavor to examine organizational privilege (i.e., access to organizational benefits and advantages that help some employees and exclude others) as a product of external power processes that influence cultures, identities, practices, and procedures of health and human service organizations.

The Research Problem

Health and human service organizations promote growth and development in individuals and provide a variety of services to the community including, food, medical care, childcare, counseling, case management, education and training, housing, and advocacy. In addition to attending to basic needs of community members, nonprofit organizations can contribute in ways that may be overshadowed by their stated missions. They promote community development by: attracting private foundations and federal funding to their organizations; improving the work force through job training for community members; providing employment opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed; connecting businesses with the community by donating financial, political and human resources to the community for its betterment; and, engaging community members by providing opportunities for volunteerism and civic engagement (Alvarado, 2001). Most importantly, they can help determine the moral compass of a community while

enriching the lives of its members.  Greene (1994) argues that social programs, (i.e., programs that address societal inequities) reflect a society's values as well as help prioritize individual and community needs.  Essentially, health and human service agencies help to define and shape the character of communities and the quality of life of their members.

However, the creation of social services has undermined connections between some neighbors and eventually resulted in the demise of community.  Furthermore, services provided by agencies (i.e., grief counseling, food banks, support groups, and parenting classes) have replaced the function of neighbors and friends who used to support other neighbors in need  and caused community members to become isolated (McKnight, 1995).  Evans, Hanlin and Prilleltensky (2007) affirm this contention.  They write that  "although the praises of empowerment have been sung for quite a while now, a vast number of community residents feel detached, alienated, and out of control when it comes to receiving services or interacting with health, human, education,  and community service workers" (p. 330).  Second, even though health and human service agencies aim to empower individuals and foster independence through service provision, the more services they provide, the more services clients appear to need.  Moreover, the current process of service provision can dehumanize its participants and thereby maintain the status quo.  Ture and Hamilton (1967) further point to human service agencies as a means of maintaining white supremacy in communities.  They contend; "many of the social welfare agencies —public and private — frequently pretend to offer 'uplift' services; in reality, they end up creating a system that dehumanizes the individual and perpetuates his dependency" (Ture & Hamilton, 1967, p.18).  Current observers such as Foster-Fishman and Behrens (2007) and Prilleltensky (2005) continue to suggest that these approaches to service provision only serve to maintain existing systems of oppression and injustice in communities.

What has caused the chasm between the intentions and outcomes of some health and human service organizations?  Scholars who have studied health and human service organizations  point to a reliance on a service provision paradigm that:  1) assumes the sole solution to societal ills is to cure  "one person at a time"; 2) uses deficit-based approaches; 3) is reactive rather than proactive; 4) views clients as victims; 5) is expert driven; and, 6) has adopted the values and structures of capitalism that promote intra-

office and staff-client competition (Evans et al., 2007; Foster-Fishman & Behrens, 2007; Prilleltensky, 2005). Increasing numbers of scholars contend that if health and human service organizations wish to minimize the systems of domination associated with racism, sexism, and classism within the communities they serve, a paradigm shift is required from problem-focused, reactive practices to those that promote empowerment, diversity, and justice in communities as well as among individual members (Evans, 2005; Evans et al., 2007; Trickett, Watts, & Dina, 1994). Evans et al. (2007) contend that a transformative paradigm adds social justice, diversity, participation, collaboration, and interdependence as core values for community based non-profits. It views community members as active and necessary participants in the planning and directing of services for their well-being and encourages the search for community-based answers to problems. According to the transformative paradigm, well-being requires equal distribution of economic and political resources and practices that are democratic and egalitarian in nature. Furthermore, community collaborations drive decision-making and policy development. Finally, these agencies privilege actions that are collective, systemic, and social justice focused (Evans, 2005; Evans et al., 2007). Others have argued for a similar change in the "helping paradigm" of health and human service organizations. For example, Foster-Fishman and Behrens (2007) and Luke (Luke, 2005) each promote the use of ecological (i.e., holistic and systemic) approaches to service provision in communities.

Making changes to external procedures, such as practice and service provision, requires organizations to change internal policies, values, and culture to reflect the aforementioned values. Yet, certain kinds of organizational structures and aspects of organizational culture make upholding certain core values (i.e., social justice, empowerment, and egalitarianism) difficult for some health and human service organizations. For example, internal structures and organizational cultures that are disempowering can limit an organization's ability to enact values that empower the community. These structures can create pervasive forms of alienation, isolation, and powerlessness among workers. It is generally believed that workers' feelings and experiences manifest in relationships within organizations and in the community. Therefore, it is difficult for human service workers to promote community

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empowerment, freedom, and justice when they feel oppressed. If they are to promote these values, significant changes in organizational culture, structure, and practices are necessary that require attention to internal and power dynamics (i.e., internal processes that influence employees, relationships, and organizations) and external power processes (i.e., societal dynamics that influence ideologies, cultures, values, and practices to control employees, relationships, and itself) that influence transformation efforts within organizations.

Sustainable organizational change can be difficult. Yet, there are some means of implementing such change. Goodkin and Foster-Fishman (2002) suggest characteristics of organizations that implement sustainable change. These organizations: 1) maintain a social change orientation; 2) create a conscious philosophy or vision; 3) embrace a proactive strategy for achieving goals and overcoming barriers to change; 4) construct a supportive network; and, 5) consciously avoid dependency on funders who require them to engage in activities that are inconsistent with their social change mission and innovations. Learning organizations are potential contexts for developing the formerly discussed characteristics. Marsick (1998) describes core values and characteristics of *learning organizations* similar to those described by Goodkin and Foster-Fishman (2002). They may offer a template for making internal organizational change using similar values.

Perkins, Bess, Armistead, Christens, and Speer (2007) contend that nonprofit organizations are opportune spaces to become learning organizations— if they meet the requirements. They contend that agencies must directly attend to power. In their analysis of community-based non-profit organizations, they conclude that health and human service agencies must be prepared to analyze and change their practices. But these efforts alone are insufficient. Additionally, they must participate in the critical analysis of the organization's demonstrated goals and values and attend to power relationships implicit in decision making at each level. Furthermore, they must acknowledge the interdependent roles of participant stakeholders and organizations as part of a complex, community-wide system. Finally, organizations must develop methods that work toward transformative change. However, becoming an organization of this caliber requires substantial change. Organizational change research suggests second

order change that involves critically questioning the organization's assumptions, values, cultures, philosophies, relationships, and policies are necessary. Then organizations can develop strategies to reconstruct their cultures, policies, and practices (Bess, 2006; Perkins et al., 2007). Factors that facilitate or hinder second order change include: staff readiness (Janice M. Prochaska, 2000; Janice M.; Prochaska, Prochaska, & Levesque, 2001); organizational and staff identities (Bess, 2006); culture (G. A. Fine, 1984); and, power dynamics (from within organizations as well as those imposed by society) that influence organizational structures and individual agendas. Of particular interest in this dissertation is the role of internal and external power dynamics as transformative factors in the organizational change process. Specifically, I am interested in how those interactions between internal power dynamics and external power processes (i.e., race, class, and gender) influence organizations. More specifically, I am interested in how the internal power dynamics and external power processes reproduce and maintain privilege in organizations.

At their core, non-profit agencies are very similar to their for-profit counterparts. Ultimately, they are compilations of networks and relationships. Power processes inform cultures, values, and identities within relationships. Observations of organizational dynamics reveal the ways in which power manifests through mechanisms and vehicles within them. Therefore, organizations are opportune settings for investigating and understanding power. However, scholars who study organizational power often use the traditional power dichotomy (i.e., "power over" vs. "power with") as a foundation for their theories. For example, some theorists argue that the function of power in organizations is to control workers and promote the interests of organizations at workers' expense (Galbraith, 1984). In response, scholars who examine power in organizations contend that unilateral, hierarchical, disintegrative forms of power are the least effective forms. They advocate for organizational leaders to exercise their power collaboratively (Torbert, 1991).

If sustainable change is to occur in health and human service agencies, one must examine power in multiple modes and as it functions in different ways. However, power in organizations is typically examined as a means of force and as an individual or collective capacity. This is not surprising, because

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the constructs of power in organizations reflect how power is traditionally defined. Although popular theories of power have narrowed its understanding, some theorists argue that power is more complex. For the purposes of this study, I define power as the processes exercised within structures (i.e., cultures, relationships, and ideologies) to control individuals, groups, and organizations for the purposes of oppression and/or liberation. I derive this definition primarily from Foucault's (1975, 1980) conceptualization of power as a mechanism embedded within relationships designed to control. Examining alternative conceptualizations of power forwarded by scholars such as Foucault (1978, 1980) and others who derive their definitions from his (i.e., Collins, 2000; Prilleltensky, 2008) consider the mechanisms (i.e., modes) as well as vehicles (i.e., targets and locations) of power. Furthermore, alternative understandings of power allow for organizational power theories that treat both organizations and power as multi-dimensional contextual systems (Clegg, 1989; Clegg, Courpasson, & Phillips, 2006; Torbert, 1991).

*Systems Theory*

S*ystems theory* approaches may also be beneficial in analyzing organizational power. Systems theory is the study of the nature of complex biological, natural, and social processes (Khun, 1974). Specifically, it is a framework used to analyze and describe how complex systems such as organisms, organizations, and societies work together to produce a result. Organizations comprise multiple interacting, interdependent individuals, groups, and relationships that directly and indirectly influence employee development and organizational transformation. Moreover, they have distinct cultures, identities, and ideologies that manifest as organizational policies, visions, values, and procedures. They use the aforementioned manifestations to control employees, structures, modes of communication, decision-making, and resources to achieve specific goals. Furthermore, systems theory allows one to investigate interactions between an organization and a larger system called society. In particular, it allows one to consider how societal ideologies, values, and structures intentionally or covertly inform organizational subsystems. For example, "ecological systems thinking," a term coined by Bronfenbrenner (1979), mandates continual reflection on how larger systems (i.e., society) permeate the

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lower systems (i.e., organizations) (and vice versa) to promote or retard transformation. Essentially, systems thinking is a way to assess power contextually as well as organizationally. Hence, we can examine internal and external power processes at every level of an organization. Internal power dynamics involve those processes used within organizational structures (i.e. cultures, relationships, and ideologies) to control individuals, groups, and organizations for purposes of oppression and/or liberation. External power systems involve societal processes that inform and control the behaviors, thoughts, and values of individuals, groups, and organizations to maintain domination and/or privilege.

*Race, Class, and Gender*

Researchers who examine race, class, and gender as multi-leveled (i.e., individual, relational, and structural) and multi-functioning (i.e., to oppress or benefit) factors validate my contention that they are examples of power (Connell, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Feagin, 2006; hooks, 2000; Iceland, 2006; Ture & Hamilton, 1967). Construing them specifically as systems of power (Andersen & Collins, 2007) helps understand how they interact to create different effects as well as separate influences within organizations. Therefore, studies of race, class, and gender as instruments of power within organizations are essential to understanding organizational processes. Using systems theory, to examine race, class, and gender dynamics can illuminate how their manifestations in society affect organizations' cultures, values, relationships, staffs, and external practices. Moreover understanding how ideologies about race, class, and gender contribute to the creation of an organization's missions, agendas, identities, and structures is vital to sustainable transformation (Cox & Nkomo, 1990; Gherardi & Poggio, 2003; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999). They, among others, have become factors that inform societal structures, systems of control (i.e., rules and mores), hegemony, as well as relations at multiple levels and through multiple mediums (i.e., individual, collective and societal) (P. H. Collins, 2000; Prilleltensky, 2008).

Moreover, studies of race, class, and gender in organizations reveal their pervasiveness and the stronghold external power systems can have on an organization's culture and practices (Griffith, Childs, Eng, & Jeffries, 2007; Kolb, 2007; Wooten & James, 2004). In addition, the conclusions of such research suggest a need for structural and cultural changes within organizations as well as changes in the racial

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make-up of staff.  These kinds of changes require thorough knowledge of external power systems (especially oppressive ones), their historical influence, and their continued manifestations within organizations (Feagin & McKinney, 2003; Nkomo, 1992).  The fact that race, class, and gender may inadvertently inform the quality of internal organizational cultures as well as external (i.e., organization/community) relationships necessitates attention to them as external power dynamics.  Hence understanding external systems of power embedded in societal and organizational structures becomes especially important when examining health and human service agencies that extend resources to marginalized groups.  Some scholars have conceptualized them as contextual, multi-leveled, societal processes that control; how individuals identify themselves and others; how people relate; as well as societal norms, ideologies, and values (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; P. H. Collins, 2000, 2005; Connell, 2002; Feagin, 2006; hooks, 2000).  Although some researchers have analyzed race, class, and gender in organizations, they often consider them largely to be human attributes and marginal variables (Nkomo, 1992; Ostrander, 1999).  Yet because of these cursory investigations, researchers have criticized organizational studies for their inattention to the contextual, temporal, and dimensional effects race, class, and gender can have within organizations (Cox & Nkomo, 1990; Ostrander, 1999; Scott, 2005).  Furthermore, organizational studies pay little attention to the ways in which race, class, and gender processes are embedded within organizations to benefit the dominant culture through processes of privilege (Bond, 2007; Cox & Nkomo, 1990).

Organizations do not operate in a vacuum.  They comprise employees with pre-developed identities and ideas about their race, class, and gender (as well as other social features) that they use to construct work identities, conceptions about co-workers, and perceptions about the organization.  The meanings derived by individuals inform how they interact and act in relationships as well as the general climate and atmosphere of an organization.  Conversely, organizations directly and/or inadvertently translate societal cultures, ideologies, and values into their structures, policies, external services, and internal practices.  These established organizational factors influence distribution of resources (i.e., financial, support, and knowledge), decision-making processes, communication processes, employees'

feeling of agency, types of possible employee relationships, and relationship quality. Health and human

service organizations are often even more susceptible to societal values because they typically reflect the

values and priorities of societies (Martin & Kettner, 1996). Moreover, these agencies hold service, justice,

and empowerment as core values. Yet their practices can disempower community members and maintain

deleterious societal processes.

In her book, <u>Workplace Chemistry: Promoting Diversity through Organizational Change</u>, Bond

(2007) contends that societal growth and changes in organizations mandate that agencies pay attention to

diversity:

> Even though the topic of workplace diversity had been tremendously popular over the last decade, it is nonetheless important to consider why achieving effective diversity might be worth the investment of time and resources for today's organization. There are at least four aspects to guiding rationale: Organizations *cannot* avoid it. Organizations *should not* ignore it. Organizational *approach* matters. And besides, attending to diversity is, quite simply, the *right thing* to do. (p. 3)

She argues that as workplace demographics change, organizations must change to accommodate

employees' needs and values as well as its changing identities. Her words become especially true for

non-profit agencies because their missions mandate that they strive to meet the changing needs of diverse

community members. Research such as Bond's (2007) and other scholars' analyses (Samuels & Samuels,

2003; Wooten & James, 2004) are useful for three reasons. First, such studies reveal how organizational

structures reproduce and perpetuate discriminatory practices that stifle non-white employees' and

women's success and advancement within organizations. Second, they illuminate how organizations'

cultures, relational patterns, structures and policies (written and unwritten) propel white employees and

men forward. Finally, these scholars advocate for organizational change that incorporates diversity at

every level. These studies present models for organizational change that require multilevel

implementation, consider interdependencies, and assess the ways individuals and the environment

influence each other. Finally, these scholars consider how race, class, and gender, as instruments of

power, inform organizational cultures and relationships as well as individual employee dynamics.

Specifically, organizational transformation requires attention to the multiple outcomes of the formerly

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mention power processes that oppress some employees (i.e., discrimination) and benefit others (i.e., privilege).

Project Summary

Health and human service organizations that aim to integrate their core values of social justice, compassion, and empowerment within their practices (both external and internal) must account for how societal ideologies and values associated with race, class, and gender permeate their organizations' culture. Moreover, they must investigate and dismantle processes that bring about discrimination and privilege in the organization (Blum, 2008; M. Fine, Weis, Pruitt, & Burns, 2004; Harvey, 2000; A. G. Johnson, 2006). However, most studies of race, class, gender, and/or diversity tend to focus on the marginalized group (i.e., employees of color, women, poor, or working class). Furthermore, they target individual employee perspectives about discrimination, discriminatory acts, or prejudiced attitudes. Few studies investigate organizational privileges conveyed on members of the dominant culture (i.e., white, male, and/or middle class/elites).

This dissertation project examines effects of societal power processes (i.e., race, class, and gender) on organizational dynamics in health and human service organizations. Specifically, the study relies on qualitative and quantitative methods to examine the ways that privilege manifest in health and human service organizations and how employees' experience organizational resources, benefits, and advantages. The use of models that apply social positioning as a means of understanding ways employees make sense of their workspaces and themselves will enrich the study by providing a means to examine the vehicles (i.e., individual, relational, and collective) through which power is exercised. Investigating privilege, like power, is often difficult because of its insidious nature. Moreover, most individuals are reluctant to discuss how they receive life advantages because of the suffering and victimization of others. Therefore, people are unable or unwilling to identify or acknowledge benefits that they may receive because of their race, class, or gender. Thus asking individuals directly about whether and how they are privileged may yield few results. However, examining employees' perceptions of their work place (i.e.,

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access to organizational resources, relationships with co-workers, organizations' communication processes) could indicate in four ways.  First, researchers who investigate organizations and organizational change models contend that employees who feel agentic, appreciated, connected to co-workers, that they can develop skills, and connected to mission and goals of their workplace tend to stay longer and advance within the organizational structure.  Therefore, understanding how are positioned to experience these conditions can give some insight into organizational cultures may facilitate privilege.  Second, employees' beliefs about their work environments and relationships can influence whether and/or how they believe that they can engage in their respective organizations' policy-making, change efforts, and practices.  Third, employees' perceptions can influence how they contribute to the organization and the community, which can greatly affect potential organizational advancement.  Finally, examining employees perceptions may reveal how societal ideology about race, class, and gender inform how employees believe they engage in the organization, which could also bolster or limit their opportunities for upward mobility.

This project is based on the investigation of five mid-sized, community-based, non-profit organizations in a southeastern metropolitan area from August 2004 to December 2006.  The first organization (Healthy Cities) is a conglomeration of health care centers in lower income neighborhoods that provide healthcare, health education, outreach, and advocacy for people with limited or no insurance.  The second organization (MLK Center) is a faith-based social service agency that provides an array of services for residents with little or no income.  The third organization (*Island Center)* has served teenagers and families by providing crisis and residential services, youth leadership training, and counseling services.  The fourth agency (*Nazareth Center)* is a faith-based social service agency that provides childcare, youth services, adult education, senior services, and community outreach.  The final organization (*John Snow Foundation)* strives to advance the common good by focusing on providing funds for education, health, and improving community conditions.

This research project is predicated on three basic assumptions.  The first assumption is that privilege exists.  A large body of scholarship has been written about society's conveyance of various

"advantages, benefits, and courtesies" based on one's membership in the dominant race, class, and/or

gender (M. Fine et al., 2004; A. G. Johnson, 2006; Kendall, 2010; Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; McIntosh,

1988; Wise, 2010; Woods, 2010). These scholars acknowledge and describe their experiences and the

benefits of members of privileged groups, describe how privilege works in societies, and challenge those

who study social inequalities to illuminate it in their work and consider it when developing ways to

alleviate injustices. Moreover, scholars who study organizational cultures contend that they are greatly

influenced by societal power, politics, and norms including ideologies about race, class, and gender

(Clegg et al., 2006). The aim of this dissertation is to observe how societal ideologies, rules, and cultures

embed within the sample organizations' policies, and practices to benefit individuals and groups in the

organization. Second, individual members of dominant groups and such groups collectively can

knowingly and inadvertently receive and accrue social and organizational benefits and use them for their

professional advancement and personal development. Additionally, individual employees and groups in

an organization can intentionally or unintentionally maintain and perpetuate organizational privilege.

Finally, because societal values and ideologies can become so deeply embedded, organizations may

transmit benefits to members of dominant groups intentionally and unintentionally. Therefore, this study

does not assess individual employees' perspectives of or acknowledgement of their privilege. The

research goal is to illuminate the ways that privilege through co-worker's relationships, access to

resources, communication, and feelings of agency.

The use of social constructionist theorist such as Foucault (1980), Collins (2000), and

Prilleltensky (2008) provide a means for understanding how societal hegemony about race, class, and

gender embeds within organizational ideologies, relationships, and employee attitudes and actions.

Developmental constructionist theorists (Kegan, 1982, 1994; Torbert, 1991) afford an opportunity to

understand employees' perceptions of privilege. The current project has three purposes: 1) use Foucault's

(1975, 1980) theory of power to conceptualize race, class, and gender as processes that contribute to the

production and maintenance of privilege in health and human service organization; 2) provide a means to

observe the some of the ways that race, class, and gender embed in organizational practices, cultures, and

relationships to produce discrimination and privilege; and, 3) provide a means of observing some aspects of  privilege in organizations.  This study will advance the literature by examining how power can privilege some organizational members over others and potentially undermine effective service provision in health and human service organizations if employees feel disempowered based on race, class, and gender.  Using a case study design, I examine data from employee surveys, United States Census data, and archival data (i.e., brochures, financial information, websites, and employee data) from five organizations to analyze power as a systemic phenomenon.  The final objective is more practical.  It considers how health and human service agencies seeking sustainable transformation can take apart race-, gender-, and class- based privilege as well as discrimination in organizations to enhance the change process.  Findings also include suggestions regarding organizational policies and practices.

*Dissertation Format*

Chapter 2 provides a summary of current research with an emphasis on current means of measuring organizational power and observing how race, class, and/or gender affect organizational dynamics.  Moreover, I describe a theoretical framework, which combines Foucautian power theory, social constructivism/ developmental theory, and intersectionailty to examine how privilege can manifest in organizations.  Chapter 3 describes the broader research project (i.e., New SPECs); provides a brief summary of the sample organizations and the data; and presents a plan of analysis.  In Chapter 4, I provide an in-depth examination of the five sample organizations to understand how internal mechanisms such as budget size, expenditures, and employee demographics as well as external mechanisms such as mandates from accreditation and regulatory agencies may affect how employees believe that they communicate, interact, function, and/or access resources in their respective organizations.  Particular attention is given to the organizations' missions, programs and services, the racial and gender make-up of employees, and financial conditions of the five organizations from 2005 to 2009.  In addition, the chapter includes census data to compare and contrast the racial, gender, and socioeconomic statuses of employees to neighborhood residents to provide a frame of reference for understanding privilege continuously rather than dichotomously.  Next, Chapter 5 summarizes the results of analyses comparing employee responses

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by race, class (i.e., educational level), and gender to determine consistencies and inconsistencies in the kinds of relationships employees develop, their feelings of agency or control in their work, how they access resources, and how they communicate in the organization. Moreover, the chapter discusses some ways that organizations may inadvertently privilege members of the dominant group (i.e., White persons, the formally educated, and/or men), as well as the results such (i.e., legitimacy) and consequences (i.e., invisibility) of privilege. In chapter 6, organizational roles are compared to understand how roles and employee tenure influence their perceptions about factors that constitute privilege. Chapter 7 includes findings from a comparative analysis of survey data to assess employees' perceptions about organizational dynamics by race, gender, educational level (i.e., class), organizational role, and tenure (i.e., length of employment). Finally, chapter 8 summarizes and integrates the overall study findings within the framework of power and privilege.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Research

*Power and Organizational Studies*

Although power dynamics greatly influence whether and how organizations change, literature on organizations rarely focuses on power. Critics of organizational change research suggest that inattention to power undermines the ability required for sustainable organizational change (Coopey, 1995; Ferdinand, 2004; Gherardi & Nicolini, 2001; LaPalombara, 2001a, 2001b). In fact, Gherardi and Nicolini (2001) as well as Mojab and Gorman (2003) suggest that neglecting power in efforts to bring about organizational change has led to the creation of practices and cultures equally oppressive as the ones they replaced. Thus understanding power in health and human service organizations is imperative for designing and implementing internal change and providing community services. Yet studies of power in relationship to health and human service organizations tend to focus on external power sharing and patient/client collaborations (Bess, Perkins, Prilleltensky, & Collins, 2009; Borg, 2002; Drury & Reicher, 2005; Nelson, Ochocka, Griffin, & Lord, 1998; Ochocka, Janzen, & Nelson, 2002). There is a dearth of research examining *internal* power dynamics or *external* power processes (i.e., race, class, and gender) in such agencies. Barr (1989) analyzes the use of power within the health and human service arena. However, using a traditional framework, Barr understood the use of power to be largely one-dimensional. Furthermore, Ashcraft (2001) examines modes of communication and organizational structures as means of power in a local feminist agency. Her study reveals the difficulty and complexity of substantial organizational change and the effects of power dynamics on communication. Yet, by limiting power to structure and communication, she does not account for other power dynamics that may influence relationships in the organization's structure. Thus her analysis limits the understanding of how power can

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hinder and facilitate organizational change in health and human service agencies.  Despite the paucity of

scholarship, it is important to examine power dynamics in these agencies.

Theorists have divergent definitions for power. For example, Weber [1921(1978)] defines power

as a means of controlling one's context to achieve desired goals irrespective of resistance.  Many scholars

have re-appropriated Weber's definition. "Power over"[1] theorists define power as one's ability to control

others' behaviors (Dahl, 1957), others' ability to make decisions (Bachrach & Baraatz, 1970), or

ideologies (Lukes, 2005).  Conversely, "power with" theorists have acknowledged and often criticized the

"power over" model.  They define power as the ability to come together and delegate control (Arendt,

1969; Parsons, 1963) or collaborate to generate change (Craig & Craig, 1979).  However, there are some

commonalities in observations and approaches to analyzing it in organizations.

Studies of organizational power suggest four broad themes.  First, investigations endowed the

organization's leader with power, the ability to use it, and the ability to share it (Clement, 1994; Conger &

Kanungo, 1988; Grimes, 1978; Kennedy, 1996; Popper & Mayseless, 2003; Rooke & Torbert, 2005;

Senge, 2006).  Second, studies tend to examine manifestations of power based on a single dimension such

as employees' agency (Balsamo, 1999; Davison & Martinsons, 2002; Frey, 1993; Geisler, 2005),

leadership style (Rooke & Torbert, 2005; Senge, 2006), or communication (Cantoni, 1993; Conger &

Kanungo, 1988; Kennedy, 1996; Keyton, Ford, & Smith, 2008; Krackhardt & Hanson, 1993; Morrison &

Miliken, 2000).  Third, power has been understood and interpreted based on the power over/power with

dichotomy.  Even when studies used Foucautltian theory as a framework, the final analysis tended to be

one-dimensional or categorized power dynamics using a dichotomy.  Finally, studies about power in

organizations culminated in a call for change from traditionally held power to collaborative or shared

power (Agashae & Bratton, 2001; Ashcraft, 2001; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Kleiner, 2003; Maranto,

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[1] In Boulding's (1989) book <u>Three Faces of Power,</u> he uses the term "power over" to categorize a group of
theorists who define power in terms of coercion and the term "power with" in terms of theorists who define
power as collaborative.

[2] Refer to Appendix A for more detailed descriptions of Clegg's (1989) episodic, dispositional, and
facilitative power.

[3] Garvin (2000) defines a learning organization as; "an organization skilled at creating, acquiring,

1994; Marsick, 1998; Mele, 2003; Sanderlands, 1994). The following assumptions underlie these themes: power holders are at the top of the hierarchy; power is only visible in a single organizational level and/or dichotomously; and, one form of power is intrinsically better than another.

*Power Location in Staff Leadership*

Two problems arise when assuming that power is only located in leadership. First, this assumption does not address informal organizational structures and cannot account for informal leaders (Kleiner, 2003). Krackhardt and Hanson (1993) argue that assuming that power is situated in higher positions within a formal organizational structure is problematic because it does not account for informal relationship structures that can be facilitative or detrimental to the organization. Furthermore, formally assigned roles or responsibilities may not be as relevant as other employees' characteristics (e.g., age, tenure, perceived trustworthiness, knowledge of organizational history, or compassion and approachability). These informal structures contradict traditional understandings about how power is exercised in organizations (Kleiner, 2003). Second, assuming that leaders are sole power holders ignores the unobserved power of lower level staff members and neglects their actual control. Leaders make the decisions, but staff members ultimately implement those decisions to the benefit or detriment of the organization. This ability endows them with a significant amount of control (Kanungo, 1992). Leaders' knowledge of the staff members' readiness for change is imperative because staff readiness is fundamental to the success or failure of efforts to bring about organizational change (Janice M.; Prochaska et al., 2001).

*One Form of Power is Better*

Researchers who call for change tend to privilege one form of power over another—substituting the "power over" model with a better "power with" alternative. This assumption suggests that "power with" is intrinsically better than "power over" without fully considering the needs and demands of specific organizations. Several studies show why such change can be problematic. Some collectivist (Ashcraft, 2001) or unstructured  (Freeman, [1970(1996)]), organizations have been shown to be equally oppressive and subvert the democratic process as well. Freeman [1970(1996)] describes two negative

effects of unstructured organizations: 1) a natural elite group uses popularity to create false consensus during group decision making and 2) the elite group is not accountable to the larger group and may start to impose their agenda to the detriment of the organization. Similarly, Rifkin and Fulop (1997) criticize learning organization practices for their use of "shared vision" principles that negatively influence group decisions. They contend that the vision is often and agenda promoted and advance by leaders in a space where those who agree with leaders are heard and other voices are ignored. Therefore, using shared vision principles may silence workers who did not participate in the construction of the vision or who expressed during the discussion processes.

Agashae & Bratton, (2001) argue that the use teamwork models tend to silence voices and marginalize diversity. Although they promote teams mode for organizations to learn and gain new mastery, it often negates multiple voices because the "team naturally speaks louder and more authoritatively than any one individual voice" (p. 140). Furthermore, teamwork inadvertently promotes a strong element of conforming in which self-discipline and naturally, self-censorship will occur. Thus rather than promoting socially just values such as diversity, collaboration and dissent, they are often subverted by the process (Agashae & Bratton, 2001). Moreover, although, leaders who implement alternative power models intend to challenge traditional power structures and promote justice in their organizations, they often maintain the status quo. Most managers do not challenge the structures and systems that maintain discrimination and privilege in organizations. For example, the *faces* (i.e., race, class, and/or) of the leaders may reflect traditional organizations. Moreover, though leaders' faces my be representative of historically, marginalized groups, use of traditional leadership styles may served to oppress and silence women and minorities in organizations (Rifkin & Fulop, 1997).

*Compartmentalized Power: Dichotomous Definitions*

Observing power as a single dimension makes it difficult to understand power in terms of theory and practice. This approach can yield misleading results because it narrows definitions and measurement. Other power dynamics are overlooked or misinterpreted. Understanding power as a process requires thinking about it systemically and exploring it at multiple levels. For example, while investigating the

cultural, historical, and socio-structural implications of power and acquiescence in rural Appalachia, Gaventa (1982) concludes that observing power in multiple dimensions is imperative to understanding it. The many facets of power require more comprehensive consideration. Next, the assumption that power can only be categorized dichotomously fails to account for its versatility in relationships. Boulding (1989) argues that ultimately power is an integrative process. Wartenburg (1990) chronicles the transformation of power and concludes by describing a relationship (i.e., parental relationships) in which the structure and quality are transformed as the result of temporal, spatial, contextual, and developmental factors. Similar dynamics were observed in organizational relationships. Therefore, a "power-over" dynamic initially informs the relationship. Yet as time passes, the nature of the relationship and experiences of members reflects a "power with" dynamic. However, a power dichotomy does not account for these kinds transformations.

A myriad of problems arise when scholars and practitioners accept the above assumptions without scrutiny (L. V. Collins, 2009). For example, the assumption that power exists in singular forms may cause them to overlook, ignore, or misinterpret other power processes. Furthermore, all forms of power, if left unexamined, can become oppressive. Moreover, most organizations do not examine or leverage informal power structures within organizations toward change efforts. Finally, external processes that inform an organization's culture and power dynamics are not considered. Understanding power as a process requires thinking about it systemically and exploring it at multiple levels. Examining only one aspect of power may not provide an accurate understanding of the dynamic. Hence, there is a need to re-conceptualize traditional ways of conceiving and measuring power. Scholars have urged theorists and practitioners to consider external structures that influence organizational power such as social positioning as well as how the dominant culture inform power processes. Similarly, health and human service agencies are susceptible to the effects of organizational power dynamics if organizations leave them unattended. Hence providing a comprehensive way to consider power in non-profit agencies is also important.

Power is best understood in ways that attend to the patterns within interactions as well as the interactions themselves (P. H. Collins, 2000; Foucault, 1980; Fryer, 2008; Smail, 2001). Examinations of organizational power in multiple dimensions suggest that formal and informal power manifests in a series of contradictory patterns, processes, and behaviors within each of these organizations. Sometimes power is overt and can be directly evident and measured (i.e., leadership style). Other times it is covert and may not be construed as power. Theorists who have tried to capture the dimensionality of power such as Torbert's (1991) transformational power, Prilleltensky's (2008) psycho-political validity, Collins's (2000) mechanisms of power, and Boulding's (1989) integrative power can form the framework for developing new ways of considering power. Accounting for power as a process requires a re-conceptualization of power as a system instead of an individual capability (Angelique, 2008).

Race, Class, and Gender in Organizational Studies

Race, class, and gender are profoundly influential in the ways health and human services organizations are structured, form identities, make decisions about service delivery, and prioritize work. Similarly, organizational power dynamics greatly influence its cultures, identities, and ideology. Interestingly, the paucity of studies on race, class, and gender parallel those about power in organizations. However, the empirical research examining race, class, and gender is sparse. In existing studies, one-dimensional approaches to investigate them pervade organizational research and limit our understandings about how they influence organizational dynamics. Scholars who study the three factors in organizations typically focus on them as individual characteristics. This means that they concentrate on attitudes, prejudices, and behaviors, or observe them at single levels, or as single functions and outcomes (i.e., racism, classism, and/or sexism). In addition, Euro-centric, masculine dominated, middle-class values provide a foundation for approaches to studying race, class, and gender. These values restrict how they are observed. These approaches also marginalize groups that may diverge from the aforementioned norm because implicit in these approaches is the assumption that non-White, non-male, non-elite groups are deviant. These studies can be problematic for two reasons. First, they attribute diverse groups' limited

advancement capabilities to individual or group deficits.  Second, using these approaches may cause

researchers to overlook or disregard findings that may benefit organizational studies and interventions

(Nkomo, 1992).  The following review of literature will illustrate the points discussed above and the

implications for studying race, class, and gender in organizations.

Some scholars criticize organizational studies because the most common approach to examining

race, class, and gender in such groups is to treat them as demographic variables or calculate totals to

determine discrepancies.  Although demographic studies are necessary to reveal the make-up of

organizations and the disparities that may exist, they are usually insufficient for explaining discriminatory

practices.  Furthermore, they do not attend to how race, class, and gender dynamics influence

organizations (Nkomo, 1992; Ostrander, 1999; Rospenda, Richman, & Nawyn, 1998).  Examinations

must go further than collecting numerical information or profiles of organizations (Nkomo, 1992).  Other

researchers have conducted more in-depth investigations of race, class, and gender in organizations.  For

example, Scott (2005) and Ostrander (1999) use case studies to determine causes of discrimination in

organizations.

Other scholars have compared behavioral patterns  (C. Johnson, Funk, & Clay-Warner, 1998),

feelings (Hoffman, 1985), identity development (Trickett et al., 1994), or roles  (Kolb, 2007)  of

employees of color, women, or working class/poor employees in White, male, middle class workplaces.

Moreover, some studies examine employees' discriminatory behaviors  (Rospenda et al., 1998) or

attitudes  (Bertram, Hall, Fine, & Weis, 2000; Naughton, 1988).  For example, Rospenda, Richman and

Nawyn (1998) compare how men and women are affected by sexual harassment in the workplace.

Finally, studies of race, class, and gender in organizational studies have highlighted and evaluated

organizations' efforts to redress or end discriminatory practices (Basham, Donner, Killough, &

Merkmeister-Rozas, 1997; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999; Wooten & James, 2004).  Although some scholars

conduct more extensive investigations of race, class, and gender in organizational studies, they tend to

only examine a single aspect within the organization.  Their analyses do not account for internal

organizational dynamics that may or may not be race, class, or gender based that facilitate or hinder

mobility (i.e., developing social capital and organizational networks)(Corsun & Costen, 2001; Ibarra, 1995). Hence, these studies illustrate how well meaning research can actually hamper understandings about how race, class, and gender may affect organizational cultures, relationships, or employees.

The formerly mentioned investigations are valuable because they examine race, class, and gender in organizations in some way. However, they are informed by some questionable assumptions. First, the research is based on the assumption that external cultures are the only source that influences employees' thinking and behaviors regarding race, class, and gender in the organization. Most fail to examine ways that organizational structures and cultures work separately and in concert with society to influence staff or ways that organizations facilitate discrimination. Furthermore, observations of race, class, and gender in organizations are compartmentalized. For example, a study of classism in a homeless shelter is an investigation of structural factors that perpetuate and maintain classist attitudes and practices as well as employee and customer behavior (Shpungin & Lyubansky, 2006). Yet the researchers compartmentalized their discussions of the two processes (i.e., structural classism and individual classism) and their effects. Therefore, scholars may overlook interactions across levels.

Some researchers who examine discriminatory behavior and ways to intervene attribute discriminatory behavior to individual actions and beliefs. For example, Wooten and James' (2004) study of workplace discrimination critiques organizational studies' overreliance on the misdeeds of individual employees as the primary reason for work place discrimination. They argue that efforts to address employees are important. However, efforts to examine and attend to structural reasons for discrimination are equally essential. Similar to Bond (2007), they contend that interventions must address organizations' structures and policies, employee dispositions, and actions. Interestingly, some scholars attribute domineering practices in organizations to structural and cultural issues. In an examination of narratives of women and men working in male dominated positions, Gherardi and Poggio (2003) found that organizational structures are responsible for perpetuating gender-based domination. They contend that gender is a set of social practices assigned by the organization. Although understanding ways

discrimination works within organizations as well as their multiple sources and consequences, it is equally important to understand how and why some people benefit from discrimination.

Second, they rarely consider opportunities in which organizations or employees *benefit* (purposefully or inadvertently) from discriminatory structures. Embedded within discrimination research is the assumption that members of the dominant culture (i.e., White, middle-class, and male) benefit. Yet few researchers explicitly investigate how people benefit or what they gain from maintaining oppressive cultures. Some scholars contend that studies involving race, class, and gender at one level of an organization are often insufficient and limited to cursory observations (Cox & Nkomo, 1990; hooks, 2000; Ostrander, 1999). An analysis of over two hundred studies from twenty journals to determine how scholars investigate race in organizational research, revealed that much of the research on the subject is narrowly focused, removed from its context, and does not account for historical events when examining changes over time (Cox & Nkomo, 1990). Consequently, examinations of race, class, and gender yield findings that may inform the development of interventions that address one aspect of the organization but leave original problematic power structures intact (Hoobler, 2005; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999; Wooten & James, 2004). For example, an investigation of diversity management research shows that, although diversity management efforts reveal the need for managers to become culturally competent, these efforts are often ineffectual (Linnehan & Konrad, 1999). Such inefficiencies in approaches have been attributed to a focus on changing employee behavior to the exclusion of organizational values and structures. Furthermore, a study of diversity programs corroborates these findings by demonstrating that attempts to eradicate employee's prejudicial attitudes caused them to become more entrenched in their positions (Hoobler, 2005). The findings reveal a gap between organizational structures, values, and cultures and the *intentions* to honor diversity. Linnehan and Konrad (1999) associate the chasm between intent and structure to the inattention to power, privilege, and historic inequalities. Specifically, they do not attend to the ways that some employees benefit from maintaining prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices. Furthermore, they do not address structural or institutional factors that maintain and perpetuate

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discrimination and privilege in organizations.  They present a model of diversity management that raises

awareness of organizational structures that perpetuate inequality and privilege.

Although there is variance in researchers' investigations of race, class, and gender in

organizational studies, there are some common themes and approaches.  First, examinations are often

one-dimensional, uni-modal, and focused on oppressive consequences (i.e., racism, classism, and sexism).

Studies that focus on single levels (i.e., staff versus structure), single modes (i.e., discrimination), and

single interventions for discrimination (i.e., diversity programs) limit how race, class, and gender manifest

in and inform organizational dynamics.  Critics of organizational research contend that to completely

research the influences of race, class, and gender, approaches must observe them at individual and

structural levels (Basham et al., 1997; Bond, 2007; Hoobler, 2005; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999; Wooten &

James, 2004).  Furthermore, approaches to end discrimination and discriminatory policies must be

implemented at every level of the organization (Wooten & James, 2004).  Finally, some scholars argue

that reconstruction of race, class, and gender as concepts is necessary to study them effectively in

organizations (Cox & Nkomo, 1990; Gherardi & Poggio, 2003; Nkomo, 1992).  For example, Gherardi

and Poggio (2003) assert that gender must be re-conceptualized as a set of organizationally reinforced and

assigned performances.  They also argue that organizations' employees must articulate, make known, and

deconstruct masculine-based hegemonies that inform organizational structure and culture.  Scholars such

as Nkomo (2000) have a similar argument for studying race.  Where a definition of race that accounts for

its systemic and contextual nature is necessary.

The second theme in the literature involves the use of a traditional, Eurocentric, middle-class,

male worldview as a foundation for race, gender, and/or class studies (Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Nkomo,

1992; Ostrander, 1999; Scott, 2005).  Because the dominant perspective is pervasive in all aspects of

research including how researchers design projects, conceptualize variables, decide and enact

methodology, collect and analyze data, and draw conclusions, it is not surprising that the study of race,

class, and gender in organizations can yield results that maintain current oppressive racist, classist, and

sexist structures.  Ashcraft and Allen (2003) contend that embedded in the field of organizational studies

(organizational communications specifically) is the preservation of "normative power of organized Whiteness" (p. 5). There are implications for maintaining dominant structures. Research regarding race, gender, and class functions under the assumption that White, male, "White collar" workers and workplaces constitute universal settings. Therefore, approaches to their study tend to regard all other organizational function in the following two ways: 1) they suggest values of normalcy on the part of the dominant culture and 2) they directly or indirectly deem all other cultures deviant. Eurocentric studies also privilege positivist methods of empirical study.

Scholars such as Nkomo (1992) criticize current approaches in organizational studies because researchers tend to ignore or dismiss the results of single case studies involving differently raced, classed, and gendered organizations. She attributes their dismissal of these studies to misconceptions about the findings being non-generalizable. Rejecting such studies means that potentially important findings and conclusions that would advance the field of organizational studies are ignored. Alternatively, similar to power, characteristics of race, class, and gender become dichotomized (i.e., dominant vs. marginalized cultures) and negative values are assigned to traditional archetypes while positive, justice-oriented virtues are attributed to alternative models in their entirety. The former value-based attributions can result in scholars, researchers, and practitioners mandating changes that completely reject traditional organizational models and accept unconventional prototypes without questioning their methods, cultures, and behaviors. Those who study organizations that attempt to embody alternative structures, values, and practices caution these organizations about the possible snare that coincides with the above actions (Ashcraft, 2001; Freeman, [1970(1996)]). Because if left unexamined, the alternative processes may lead to practices that are equally problematic.

Integrating perspectives from critical theory, power theory, and liberation theory into existing frameworks to study race, class, and gender relations may result in more complete understanding of the workings of race, class, and gender in organizational research. Nkomo (1992) provides critical race theory, power-conflict approaches (Reich, 1981), and racial formation theory (Omi and Winnant, 1986) as alternative frameworks for reconfiguring approaches to studying race. Additionally, Andersen and

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Collins (2007) offer a model to study the impacts of society's structures on individuals as well as how individuals construct identities and interact within organizations to benefit or disempower others. Furthermore, using systems of power (Andersen & Collins, 2007), the matrix of domination (Collins, 2000), and ecological systems approaches (Bond, 2007; Bronfenbrenner, 1979) as models allows multilevel investigations of non-profit agencies and the multiple levels at which they affect the community. In addition, reconfiguring race, class, and gender in organizations allows for study of these concepts as processes that inform the organization at multiple levels. Consequently, they become variables that are central to organizational research. Moreover, reconfiguring race, gender, and class as power systems mandates the use of ecological approaches to study organizations. Finally, by examining *beneficial* outcomes (i.e. privilege) as well as *detrimental* consequences (i.e., discrimination), we can establish race, class, and gender as instruments of power (Andersen & Collins, 2007).

Theoretical Framework

Foucault's (1975, 1980) theory of power provides a way to conceptualize race, class, and gender as processes that contribute to the production and maintenance of privilege in health and human service organizations. He describes power as a complex, multi-dimensional, multi-leveled process embedded within relationships for a single purpose—control. For Foucault (1975), power is a process by which societies can create structures (i.e. culture, knowledge, truth) to shape ideology, determine morality, and control the behavior of its citizens. Power is dynamic, malleable, and most importantly, relational. He contends that power is not something that an individual holds alone. Individuals, groups, or societies can only access and exercise power within relationships. Moreover, power is contextual and shifts within a relationship based on the social positioning and the perspectives of those involved. Thus investigating the processes within these interactions becomes necessary in order to understand how power and its' outcomes work.

Other scholars (Collins, 2000; Prilleltensky, 2008) have used Foucault's power theory to construct concrete methods of control (i.e., mechanisms) and mediums through which power moves (i.e.,

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vehicles) to make power processes visible in the larger culture.  For example, Collins (2000) analyzes

*mechanisms of power* that societies use to circulate power.  She describes four societal systems in which

power is embedded —structural (i.e., social institutions), disciplinary (i.e., rules and procedures),

interpersonal (i.e., relationships), and hegemonic (i.e., ideology, culture, consciousness).  Understanding

how all four mechanisms work separately and in concert is important.  However, Collins (2000) contends

that the hegemonic domain of power is the most important societal mechanism because it connects the

other domains.  Examining the hegemonic domain is critical because it develops consciousness and

identities that influence how individuals and collectives create knowledge and maneuver within the other

power mechanisms.  She argues that accessing and reconstructing ideologies and cultures can result in

individual and collective empowerment as well as oppression.  Similarly, Prilleltensky and Nelson's

(2002) examination of power offers opportunities to understand multiple forms of control (i.e.,

oppression, resistance, and/or liberation).  They define power as "the capacity and opportunity to fulfill or

obstruct personal, relational, and collective well being" (p. 7).  Their analysis defines *vehicles of power* as

ways that power embeds in individuals, relationships, and collectives to further specific agendas.

Power theorists who have used Foucaultian theory as a foundation for their research offer

opportunities to study power holistically (Collins, 2000; Prilleltensky, 2008; Prilleltensky and Nelson,

2002).  They reveal the contradictory nature of power as well as its' complex processes and simple, multi-

modal purpose.  Using their analyses as frameworks, power becomes a process by which individuals and

collectives (i.e., vehicles) create and utilize multiple methods (i.e., mechanisms) to achieve different

forms of control.  Foucault's definition informs scholars who focus on liberation (Prilleltensky, 2008;

Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002), empowerment (Collins 2000), and ultimately societal transformation.

More important for this study, their configurations of power provide a concrete means of understanding

power dynamics, including privilege, in smaller settings such as health and human service organizations.

*Organizational Theories of Power*

Scholars who examine organizations contend that studying power is vital to understanding these

collectives.  In, <u>Power and Organization</u>, Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips (2006) write; "power is

inscribed in the core of organizational achievements…organization requires power. Power is to organization as oxygen is to breathing" (p.3). They constructed models similar to those developed by Collins (2000), Prilleltensky, and Nelson (2002) to understand and observe it. For example, Clegg et al (2006) examine relational, structural, cultural, and ideological mechanisms within organizations to control its labor force, inter-organizational relationships, and the organization. Clegg (1989) and Clegg et al (2006) view organizational power as a multi-domain, contextual process that is embedded in an organization through different modalities or "circuits of power" (Clegg, et. al., 2006, pg. 241). They describe the modalities of power as episodic (i.e., relationships), dispositional (i.e., policies and practices), and facilitative (i.e., structures, identities, and cultures).[2] Clegg's (1989) circuits of organizational power illustrate the interactions of organizational mechanisms and vehicles—similar to Prilleltensky's (2008) discussion of psychological and political dimensions of power used to contain employees.

In contrast, Torbert (1991) expands the purpose of power as collaborative action to include organizational transformation. He specifically focuses on the ways that individuals (leaders in particular) hold and understand organizational power. His conceptualization of transformative power is important because it provides leaders with a template for enacting a kind of power that is consistent with Prilleltensky's (2008) power postulates. Torbert (1991) also examines power at multiple dimensions within organizational relationships. Moreover, he acknowledges the multiple functions and purposes of organizational power (i.e., the power to coerce, the power to collaborate, and the power to transform). Clegg's (1989) and Torbert's (1991) theories of organizational power are the embodiment of Foucault's (1980) theory of power in organizations. They conceptualize organizational power in terms of structure and individual location. In addition, they construct concrete ways to observe organizational power within these collectives. Furthermore, they reveal power's systemic nature.

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[2] Refer to Appendix A for more detailed descriptions of Clegg's (1989) episodic, dispositional, and facilitative power.

Systems theory is a potential means to understand organizational power dynamics. Systems are any set of interrelated or interacting components that affect one another within an environment and form a larger whole that is qualitatively and intrinsically different from its parts. According to this body of theories, one can best understand power as a complex system that consists of patterns and interactions. By its nature, it is a process that contains multiple elements and domains that lead to a specific outcome—control. Examining power as a system allows for investigating multiple elements and patterns that comprise it and its effects on other systems. Organizations are assemblages of individuals, relationships, and groups working together toward a common goal. Like power, they are complex systems. Organizations are *open systems* because their environments influence them and vice versa. Therefore, organizations are complex, open systems. Examining organizations as open systems allows one to consider external factors that inform their inner workings. Power processes (both internal and external) manifest in every aspect of agencies including identities, functioning, structure, and culture (Clegg, 1989; Clegg et al., 2006). A comprehensive study of organizational power requires observing multiple mechanisms, multiple conduits, multiple modes, and in multiple dimensions. In addition, it mandates considering external power processes that inform internal organizational dynamics. Although data limitations prevent such a study here, I am able to examine several internal and external power processes in health and human service organizations in order to assess employees' perceptions about some forms of privilege.

*Power, Race, Class, and Gender and Their Relationship in Organizations*

Although popular understandings of race, class, and gender suggest that they are categories based on phenotypic or cultural characteristics (i.e., race), biological functioning (i.e., sex), or social and economic positioning (i.e., class), scholars also reveal the ways that they can be instruments of power. Furthermore, their formulation of race, class, and gender parallel models of Foucaultian power presented by Collins (2000) and Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002). For example, Omi and Winant (1985) assert that race is a social construction with categories that vacillate in order to maintain the domination of persons of color. Researchers who study race/racism multi-dimensionally investigate the multiple levels at which

it is exercised to control (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Feagin, 2006a; Ture & Hamilton, 1967). They describe how race informs cultural dynamics, inter-/intra-racial relationships, individual identities, and ideas about other people. Similarly, Connell (2002) constructs gender as a process that informs interactions between individuals and groups based on rules, practices, relationship roles (i.e., public and private), ideas, and individual identities. She uses Foucaultian power theory to examine the multiple levels at which gender manifests (Prilleltensky, 2008) and the mechanisms utilized to enact it (Collins, 2000). Moreover, scholars such as Bourdieu (1998), Patillo-McCoy (1999), hooks (2000), Marx (1970, 1978) and Iceland (2006) have characterized class similarly. Embedded in their work is the idea that class is relational, subtle, and fluid. They contend that power manifests at societal, relational, and individual levels (Prilleltensky, 2008) and they describe ways that class works to inform ideologies, relationships, and culture to control societal members (Collins, 2000). Researchers who examine race, class, and gender reveal the ways they are used as mediums to control individual and group behaviors and ideologies. Hence, race, class, and gender are correlated with power.

Andersen and Collins (2007) have specifically analyzed race, class, and gender as *systems of power*-- institutionalized processes that differentially advantage and/or disadvantage individuals and groups. They argue that making social positioning (i.e., one's place in the social structure) a focal point allows them to examine all people who participate, intentionally or subliminally, in societies' power processes (i.e., efforts to control). Thus scholars examine vehicles (Prilleltensky, 2008) and mechanisms (Collins, 2000) of power that are visible in society and in organizations. Hence, considering how external power systems such as race, class, and gender manifest in organizations' cultures and practices is important to understand organizational power. Using social positioning as a perspective for understanding how employees maneuver within an organization, construct identities, develop perceptions about others, and establish relationships will also contribute to analyzing external power within health and human service agencies. In addition, analyzing race, class, and gender through the lens of social positioning and power systems allows researchers to investigate them both as separate dynamics as well as interactive effects at multiple level (refer to the Intersectionality section later in this proposal). Lastly,

examining race, class, and gender as power systems is significant because it introduces two outcomes of these external power processes—discrimination and privilege. When scholars discuss these three factors in relationship to power, they are often confined to racism, classism, and sexism. Although understanding these constructs and their oppressive consequences is important, it is not enough to examine negative motivations or consequences. It is also important to examine processes designed to benefit or allow access to individual and group advantages (i.e., privilege) within an organization based on factors such as race, class, and gender.

*Privilege and Power*

Individuals who benefit from historic systems of oppression such as racism, classism, or sexism are often loath to acknowledge their privilege. Some persons may not perceive their privilege positions. Dialogue on the subject evokes strong emotions such as guilt, shame, anger, resentment, and sadness in White persons as well as persons of color. Moreover, the ambiguous definition of privilege and its gradual, subtle process can make it difficult for members of privileged groups (White, middle/upper class, and/or male) to understand how these processes work to give them advantages (Johnson, 2006). Scholars who examine racial, class, and gender privilege contend that the combination of emotions about the topic and the lack of conversation about privilege and its insidiousness often help maintain privilege's invisibility and perpetuates processes of privilege and oppression within society (Fine, Weis, Pruitt, & Burns, 2004; Johnson, 2006; Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; McIntosh, 2010; Wise, 2010). Johnson (2006) argues that those persons who desire a racially-, class-, and gender just society must begin to uncover and understand how privilege is maintained and perpetuated through structures and processes embedded within U. S. culture. In Power, Privilege, and Difference, he writes; "privilege has become one of those loaded words we need to reclaim so that we can name and illuminate the truth. Denying that privilege exists is a serious barrier to change"(p. 21).

Understanding the workings of organizations becomes increasingly important in health and human service organizations that serve marginalized communities because their espoused values of justice and care should be reflected in their internal processes. Therefore, defining and analyzing

privilege in health and human organizations becomes especially essential. *For the purposes of the current study, I define privilege as unearned provision of access to resources to some people that may benefit them, but usually come at the expense of others.* I derive this definition primarily from the work of scholars who study privilege in relationship to power (Blum, 2008; Harvey, 2000; Serrano-Garcia, 1994) and social justice (Bond, 1999; Fine et al., 2004; Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; McIntosh, 1988, 2010; Wise, 2010; Woods, 2010).

In her foundational work, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Cultural Knapsack", McIntosh (1988) defines White privilege as the systematic, unearned, and intentional "overempowerment" of White people so that they control contexts, cultures, and individuals (i.e., groups) to perpetuate domination. She and other scholars who investigate race- and gender- based privilege catalyzed discussions about how societal structures affect how individuals experience *benefits* of racism and sexism. Since then, scholars who examine privilege as it relates to race, class, and gender analyze mechanisms in society that produce it, maintain it, and its implications for individuals, relationships, and society. Deconstructions of privilege have illustrated a relationship between it and power as described by Collins (2000) and Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002). For example, Collins (2010), Crosby and Blake-Beard (2004), and Wise (2010) use historical examples and demographic data to illustrate how privilege and domination have been systematically embedded within cultural norms, ideologies, and laws to control individuals and groups. Johnson (2006) and Harvey (2000) describe how privilege operates relationally and it is often conferred on dominant group members (i.e., wealthy, White, men) through individual members and collectives in society. Harvey (2000) specifically conceptualizes social privilege as a mechanism of *relationship power* and offers a concrete explanation for how privilege is constructed in societies. R*elationship power* is the ability to affect others' well-being within various relationships. It can directly and indirectly manifest at multiple levels within relationships.

*Privilege as Social Power*

The distinction of three kinds of relationship power—consequential, support, and interactive-- illustrates how privilege works in relationships (Harvey, 2000). Consequential power refers to the

amount of control one exercises when his/her behavior toward persons in a specific relationship evokes negative or positive results from influential *third parties*. It works invisibly to privilege men in marital relationships because, in most instances, men have more access to tangible and intangible resources (i.e., money, security, and higher social positioning) deemed important and valuable by society for living a fulfilled life. Support power processes are the ways third parties fortify a person's position of power within a relationship. Individuals and groups only have power and privilege conferred to them by others. Johnson (2006) and McIntosh (1988, 2010) refer to this type of power as *conferred dominance*. Finally, interactive power involves the amount of control one person may have or may be able to exhibit within a relationship. It is often characterized by the ability to: begin or end a relationship; modify it; determine how communication takes place within and about it; determine whose voice is legitimate; and, determine accountability (Harvey, 2000).

Privilege is the culmination of the interactions between the three forms of relationship power to decide: (1) who is taken seriously, (2) who receives attention, and (3) who is accountable to whom and for what. It grants a presumption of authority and social permission to act on that presumption without having concerns about being challenged (Johnson, 2006). Similar to scholars who examine power, Harvey (2000) argues that attempts to address or redress oppression and privilege require multi-leveled approaches that pay attention to relational as well as structural factors;

> Oppression cannot be tackled if we cannot approach it as a mutual endeavor. If we are to reduce oppression, we need more adequate concepts of power, and analysis of hidden power, in our relationships and in social structures on the larger scale. We need perceptual skills to spot both patterns and specific incidents of power misuse and then work with rigorous honesty to curtail all the many generally accepted slides into inappropriate use of power. It requires better insights into the role of social prestige and an active resistance to its confounding effect on oppressive marginalization, and it requires more adequate concept of a person's moral status before the routes to a moral subordination can be explored. (p. 187)

Because oppression and privilege are different, sides of the same coin—power—efforts to reduce unearned privilege require a comprehensive understanding of the nature and workings of privilege to construct holistic interventions.

*Invisibility of Privilege*

Privilege is often hidden within societies and organizations and its invisibility strengthens the power that it creates and maintains. That which is invisible cannot be addressed, combated, or redressed; therefore, privilege often perpetuates, re-creates, and regenerates itself in societies, organizations, and relationships (P. H. Collins, 2010; A. G. Johnson, 2006; Wildman & Davis, 2005). Privilege is often rendered invisible to individuals upon whom it is conveyed through several processes—language, normalization, and meritocracy. U.S. society masks privilege by creating seemingly benign racial, class, or gender categories. However, by constructing dichotomous, discrete categories (i.e., White/non-White, or male/female), society limits how individuals talk and think about their realities as well as those of others (P. H. Collins, 2010; Wildman & Davis, 2005). Moreover, the categories and their sub-groups have been endowed with specific positive or negative characteristics that evoke specific images and pre-conceived ideas about themselves and others in society. For example, positive attributes such as purity, integrity, normal, and strength are often associated with Whiteness in U.S. society (Feagin, 2010; Wildman & Davis, 2005). Moreover, the vocabulary that has been constructed to discuss race, class, and gender (i.e., racism, sexism, and classism) focuses on discrimination and obfuscates how U.S. society's power systems reproduce privilege (Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; Wildman & Davis, 2005). Discussions of race, class, gender, and discrimination are often focused on individual attributes, behaviors, perceptions, and personalities. These conceptualizations of the formerly mentioned, masks embedded power systems at work that spread oppression and more importantly, privilege.

Race, class, and gender have been factors that influence how societies convey privilege. Scholars who examine the topic also illuminate how mechanisms are embedded within society to create hegemony about privilege by normalizing the dominant group (White, middle-class, men). They become the standard by which all other groups are measured (A. G. Johnson, 2006; Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; Wildman & Davis, 2005). Therefore, the characteristics of dominant groups typically become the expected characteristics of society. Moreover, they construct ideologies that endow dominant groups (i.e., White, middle to upper class, and male) with all of the societal virtues such as objectivity, normality, truth, knowledge, merit, motivation, individuality, and trustworthiness and marginalized groups with all

of its weaknesses (M. Fine et al., 2004).  Thus members of privileged groups benefit from their affiliation with dominant groups.  Yet their affiliated power and the advantages they receive are never identified as such.  In fact, the privilege is often transformed into and presented as merit.

Society conveys privilege on individuals because of their membership in dominant social groups—not because of individual merit.  The idea that individuals who behave in accordance with socially accepted norms will advance and receive rewards—meritocracy-- is pervasive in the United States.  Therefore, advancements of members of dominant groups' social, professional, and economic are attributed to their individual acts.  Johnson (2006) argues that this kind of *individualistic thinking* allows privileged people to believe that they receive benefits for one of two reasons:  (1) that the advantages are not benefits they are common to all or (2) individuals are entitled to such advantages because they have earned them.  In contrast, oppressed people are often blamed for their own oppression by their oppressors--who are often privileged.  Moreover, individualistic thinking or merit-based thinking combined with language and normalization conceal privilege in societies.

Investigating unearned privileges becomes more invisible in organizations where they are conflated and often combined with earned benefits and advantages as discussed in the previous section.  Discussing privilege becomes especially difficult in organizational settings, where employees are endowed with special benefits based on position in the organization (i.e., organizational role), length of employment (i.e., tenure) or work quality.  However, Clegg, et al (2006) contend that organizations are political by nature and are influenced by power processes embedded within societies such as race, class, and gender.  Therefore, the products of these two processes (i.e., discrimination and privilege) influence policies and practices that inform how organizations are structured and how employees are evaluated.  Members of privileged groups receive access to more advantages and benefits within the organization without often understanding or examining how their privileged status affects their organizational position or how it may accentuate their positive contributions and de-emphasize their mistakes and misdeeds.  Bond's (1999) work regarding diversity and organizations specifically describes the way norms and values from the dominant culture become rooted within organizational policy and practices.  As a result,

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members of the dominant culture (i.e., White males) receive benefits by virtue of having access to skill sets and social capital that allow them to access organizational resources and thrive within the organization to the exclusion of socially marginalized groups such as women and persons of color. Furthermore, organizational members may not perceive or understand how organizational cultures prohibit, limit, or deprive employees of color, working class/poor people, or women access to organizational privileges.

*Costs of Privilege*

The continual cycle of individualistic thinking and blame allows privileged individuals to deny their privilege and their participation in the oppression of others. Moreover, it can foster a process of internalized blaming for oppressed groups. Systems of privilege can produce inappropriate, elevated feelings of entitlement in individuals and groups with privileged positions. McIntosh (2010) calls this dynamic, "systemic overempowerment" (p. 21). It authorizes the dominant group to control, abuse, and exploit others to further their own agenda. Because members of dominant groups are given such entitlements, they can also change the rules to maintain their privileged positions. By systematically and systemically overempowering some groups, society gives the privileged the authority to construct inaccurate, negative identities (i.e., stereotypes) about oppressed groups to bolster their own privilege. These false identities and ideologies become embedded and codified within cultures (Rothenberg, 2005).

Collins (2010) discusses structurally embedded mechanisms that sanction the arbitrary use of controlling and stereotypical images of diverse groups to elevate and/or suppress society members. For example, masculine characteristics such as rationality, efficiency, ambition, leadership, independence, and strength are often valued and coveted within U.S. culture. However, the value of such traits is often mitigated based on who holds them. Men of color and women who exhibit the formerly mentioned characteristics are often viewed as irresponsible, dangerous, cold, and/or harmful to society. They are often penalized for possessing the same characteristics that garner rewards and advantages for White men. Bond (1999) as well as Samuels and Samuels (2003) have examined the practical ways privilege is embedded within organizations to normalize "White male" traits and devalue others--making non-

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dominant groups vulnerable to abuses.  Furthermore, they found that the consequences of challenging

such misdirected authority usually resulted in exploitation and violence.

Maintaining systems of privilege within societies has multiple, deleterious implications for

organizations and societies.  Johnson (2006) contends that privilege and oppression are inextricably

linked.  He argues that the conveyance of privilege to one group is *always* at the expense of others and

*always* exacts a cost.  One cost is the disproportionate access to tangible (i.e., jobs, education, housing,

and money) and intangible resources (i.e., social networks, safety, high self-esteem, feelings of self-

determination, and feelings of empowerment) that promote growth, prosperity, and well being to

underprivileged groups (Crosby & Blake-Beard, 2004; Fine et al., 2004; Kendall, 2010; Larew, 2010;

Samuels & Samuels, 2003; Wise, 2010; Woods, 2010).  Another cost of privilege is the psychological,

physical and emotional toll that maintaining White, male, and class privilege takes on historical

marginalized groups (Feagin & McKinney, 2003; Franklin, 2006).

Overempowering dominant groups insures that groups of color, women, and working class/poor

people will be limited in their ability to gain employment in organizations and to advance within them.  In

addition, Johnson (2006) refers to "the path of least resistance" (p. 78) to describe how systems of

privilege allow privileged groups to acquire employment and advance easier--whether they are qualified

or not.  He asserts that employers tend to hire, mentor, and promote people who are most like them

because of ease.  Blum's (2008) research provides a psychological rationale that validates Johnson's

(2006) description.  For him, "non-injustice related privileges" refer to the benefits one acquires by being

part of a majority group because the society is informed by majority culture;

> In theory at least, there can be racial instances of non-injustice-related privilege for
> example, related to a majority/minority dynamic.  Consider the informal culture of
> workplaces and professions.  These cultures tend to have a partly ethno-cultural character
> that members of some ethnic or racial groups find them more comfortable than do others
> (p. 312).

He argues that unlike injustice-related privileges, non-injustice-related privileges are

inadvertently conveyed.  Social psychologists refer to the former as "in group" advantages.  However, the

matrices of domination and privilege provide a model to examine privilege in organizations (Andersen &

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Collins, 2007; Disch, 2000). They enable the analysis of race, class, and gender as power processes embedded within organizations that influence internal processes and result in unequal access and distribution of tangible and intangible advantages. In this project, I will attempt to identify and describe some of the ways privilege manifests in health and human service organizations. These dichotomous and often contradictory processes only serve to maintain structures of domination, subordination, and privilege (Collins, 2010).

Conceptualizations of Organizational Power and Privilege

In my Masters thesis, I used the work of Foucault (1980), Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002), and Torbert (1991) to study power in health and human service organizations. My findings revealed six domains in which organizational power manifests—relationships, communication, leadership, knowledge, agency, and resistance (Collins, 2009). "Relationships" referred to ways in which staff members interact with each other, how they are positioned in the organization, and the perceived quality of those interactions. The relationship dimension was constructed by observing the configuration and staff positioning (i.e., structure), perceived relationship quality, and work environment (i.e., habitus) within the organization. "Communication" involved information allocation as well as how and with whom information sharing occurs. The communication dimension included information movement or process, intention of distribution or purpose, and the nature of information throughout the organization. "Knowledge" involved staff perceptions of opportunities to access, create, and distribute knowledge within the organization. The knowledge dimension included learning opportunities, perceived experts (i.e. creators or generators) and availability of knowledge to staff.

"Leadership" referred to leaders' management styles, understanding of power, and inclusion or exclusion of staff in decision-making. The leadership dimension involved leaders' approaches to management and interactions with staff. "Agency" referred to staff member's capacity to act in ways that influence the organization or perceptions of staff action. The agency dimension comprised observations of staff involvement in decision-making, sense of control in the organization, and feelings of efficacy or

empowerment. Lastly, resistance/dissent examined the ways in which an organization's members manage conflict or differing opinions and perspectives. Figure 1 illustrates a conceptualization of Foucaultian power within organizations. In the current project, I focus on perceptions about privilege in three of the six domains: agency, knowledge, and relationships. Although not a part of the original set of domains, I examine resources, broadly defined, as a fourth area of query. Figure 2 shows organizational power and levels at which it can be observed.

Using wide-ranging conceptualization of power allows for an investigation some of the ways that societal power factors (i.e., race, class, and gender) affect privilege-based advantages (i.e., organizational role or company tenure). Role and tenure influence resource distribution (Samuels & Samuels, 2003), access to knowledge (Bond, 1999, 2007; Serrano-Garcia, 1994; Serrano-Garcia & Bond, 1994); relationship quality (Bond, 1999, 2007), and employees' perception of agency and vice versa. Figure 3 summarizes the ways that external power processes (i.e., race, class, and gender) and/or organizational type influence multiple aspects of privilege—internal factors (i.e., roles and tenure) and benefits (i.e., agency, learning opportunities, resources, leadership, communication, resistance/dissent and relationships). Moreover, intersectionality and the constructive-developmental approach provide important mechanisms to study how societies confer privilege on individuals based on race, class, and gender and   the consequences of this conveyance on marginalized (i.e., non-privileged) employees in health and human service organizations.

**Figure 2.1.  Examining Organizational Power through a Foucaultian Lens:**
**A Conceptualization**
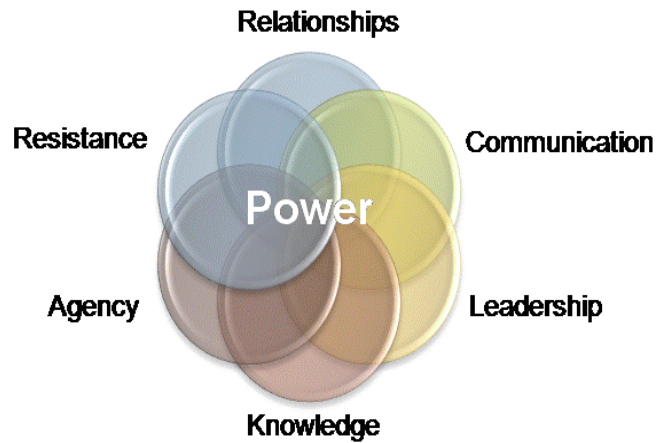


Note:  Intersectionality is not a new concept.  Collins (2000) as well as  Delgado and Stefancic (2001) specifically discuss it as a way to analyze race, class, and gender.  The figure above represents one approach to examine organizational power using intersectionality as a mode of analysis.

**Figure 2.2 Examining and Observing Organizational Power through a Foucaultian Lens**
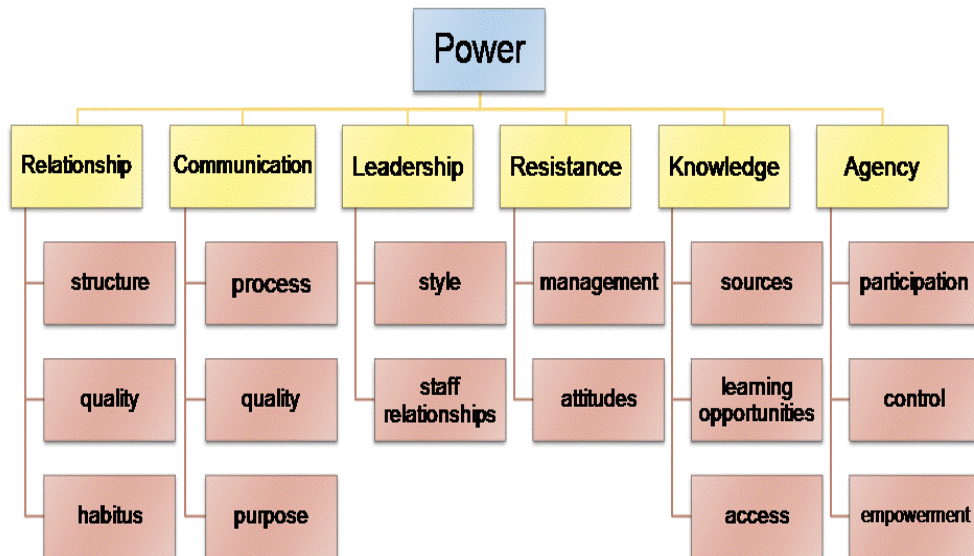
**Figure 2.3. The Workings of Race, Class, Gender, and Privilege in Organizations**
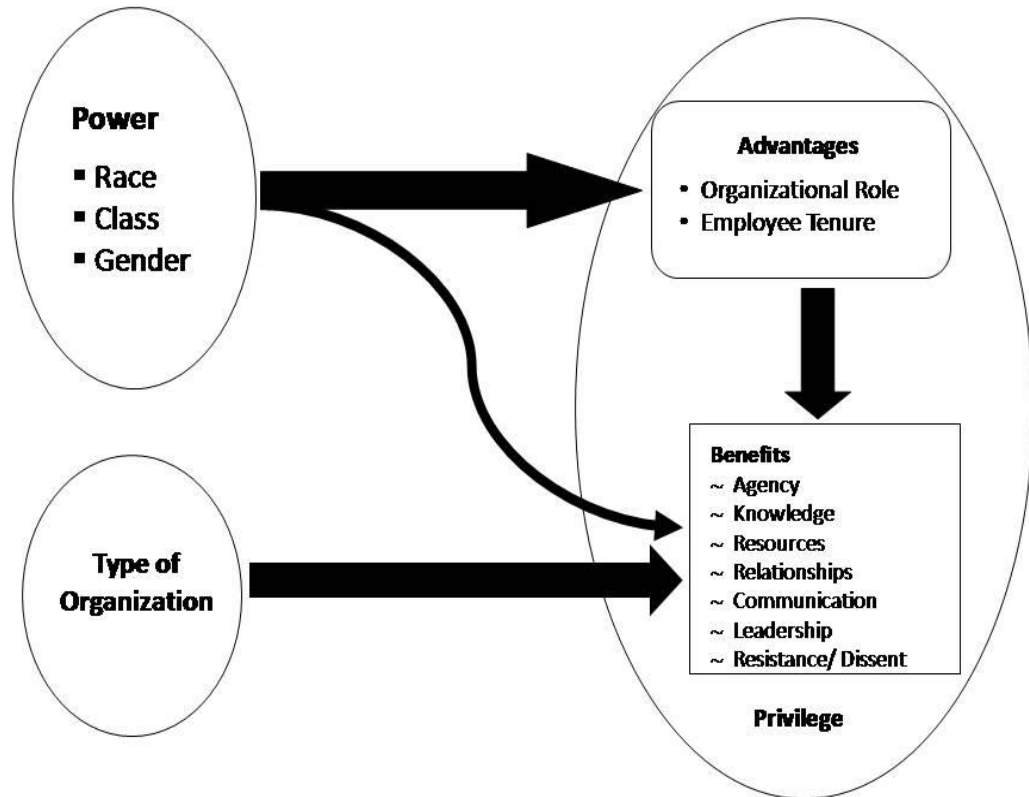


*Note*: In this schematic, race, class, and gender are mediums of power that produce organizational privilege. Advantages are products of privilege made possible through processes embedded and affected by race, class, and gender. Benefits are the actual products received by employees within the organization. I concede the possibility that the relationships between advantage and benefits that result in privilege may be more interactive than causal. My study considers how advantages acquired through organizational advantages as a result of race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about benefits that result from privilege.

*Intersectionality*

Intersectionality is a theoretical framework that examines how categories of discrimination (Collins, 2000, 2010) or privilege (Disch, 2000) interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contributing to systematic social inequality. Although there are benefits to studying race, class, and gender separately within organizations, some researchers contend that there are unique effects apparent in the relationship between them. Scholars such as Andersen and Collins (2007); Collins (2000); Delgado and Stefancic (2001); and, hooks (1984, 2000) contend that studying *intersectionality*—how people's assigned identities collide and work simultaneously—provides a richer understanding about how societies create practices and institutions to control their members. For example, Andersen and Collins (2007) argue that studying intersectionality allows one to investigate the positive and negative consequences of race, class, and gender simultaneously within all of their categories. Intersectionality also adds depth to theories about societal domination and privilege. Collins (2000) presents a model that analyzes the intersections of race, class, and gender at several dimensions (i.e., individual, group, and societal), using multiple mechanisms (i.e., rules, ideologies, and practices), and for multiple purposes (i.e., to disempower or privilege). She refers to this model as the *matrix of domination*. Perhaps the *matrix of domination* can become a part of a template for developing a theory to simultaneously investigate race, class, and gender dynamics in organizations.

*The Constructive-Developmental Approach*

While intersectionality is a means of understanding how societies convey identities upon individuals regarding race, class, and gender, the *constructive-developmental approach* to understanding human development will allow for examining the ways that individuals receive their assignments and construct meanings about them, others, and the world. *Constructive-developmental approaches* are theoretical methods that focus on how people, as organic systems, grow and build increasingly complex ways of constituting their experiences (Kegan, 1982, 1994). They consider the growth or transformation of how individuals "make meaning" (p. 199) about their lives. Specifically understanding the ways that people take in experiences as raced, classed, and gendered beings influences how they process, regulate,

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make decisions and act on/react to experiences.  Essentially, informs how they construct their identities, attribute characteristics to others, and behave in relationships.  This approach can be especially useful in understanding power dynamics in organizational cultures (Kegan, 1994; Moore, 1996) and leadership styles (Lichtenstein, Smith, & Torbert, 1995; Rooke & Torbert, 2005).  For example, Rooke and Torbert (2005) have used this approach to develop seven stages of "action logic"—a process by which leaders interpret their surroundings and react when their power and/or safety are being challenged --that managers use in organizations.  Kegan (1994) specifically describes the "subject object" method as an example of a constructive developmental approach to understand how people make meaning in larger systems (i.e., relationships, families, and organizations/work).  He suggests that investigating employees' meaning making processes becomes especially important because meaning making partially derives from our membership in various sub-groups of the human family (i.e., social class, race/ethnicity, gender, and culture).  These subgroups endow us with their own ways of coding data and making meaning. Individuals use these principles to construct their realities and form expectations of others.  Using this approach to understand how people make meaning  of their membership in "various sub-groups of the human family"  (Kegan, 1994, p. 205) will help understand their perceptions about how they experience discrimination or privilege in organizations.

Although Figure 1 represents organizational power, it also illustrates the possible use of intersectionality to examine how *power* interacts at multiple levels and often simultaneously within organizations.  For the purposes of this study, power is defined as the processes by which organizations attempt to control individuals and groups, and the processes by which individuals and groups strive to influence those same organizations.  Additionally, I consider how the affects of race, class, and gender are potentially embedded within organizational mechanisms (i.e., policies, structures, practices, and identities) to privilege some employees and disadvantage others based on their social positioning (Andersen & Collins, 2007).  I will use Foucaultian power theory combined with Anderson and Collins conceptualization of race, class and gender to understand how employees  in health and human service organizations are positioned to receive benefits and advance in their respective organizations.

Specifically, this study investigates employees' perceptions their access to tangible and intangible benefits associated with privilege such as: their involvement in organizational decision-making or being able to control their work and workspace (i.e., agency); access to learning opportunities or sources of learning (i.e., knowledge); and, access to organizational settings that facilitate empowering interactions between workers (i.e., relationships). Privilege is conceptualized as the extent to which an employee may be positioned to advance within his/her respective organization. Lastly, I examine perceptions about access to organizational resources. Power dynamics become most visible when organizational imbalance or dissonance occurs naturally or by design. When the organization's balance is threatened, its members will exercise power in ways that restore or maintain balance (Senge, 2006; Torbert, 1991). Similarly, when issues regarding race, class, and gender in organizations are discussed, disparate power distribution and abuses of power become apparent and disequilibrium typically occurs. When studying the interactions of power, race, class, and gender in organizations, discrimination, and privilege are often outcomes of the processes. I consider seven areas where discrimination and privilege are often apparent— agency, leadership, communication, relationships, knowledge, dissent /resistance and resource distribution. I discuss the research process below.

Research Questions: Privilege in Seven Domains

The proposed research project is a mixed methods examination of employees' perceptions about their access to intangible and tangible forms of organizational privilege. The qualitative portion of the analysis will include an open coding process (detailed later in the Methods section) to identify common themes regarding employees' perceptions of their privilege in the organizations. In addition, data from open-ended questions will be coded by race, gender, and class (identified as educational level) to assess whether responses vary by these three features. Findings will consist of broad themes and representative quotes as well as comparison of themes across dynamics such as organizational types, role, and respondent profiles. The quantitative portion of the analysis will be determined by the results of the qualitative analysis. However, I am interested in making some broad bivarite comparison of employee

profiles based on race, class, and gender. Questions about race, class, gender and organizational privilege for the second phase include: (1) is there a correlation between employees' race, gender, and organizational role; (2) is there a correlation between race, class, and organizational role; (3) is there a correlation between gender, class, and organizational role; and, (4) do race, class, and/or gender influence employees' tenure with the organization? The next section includes the overall research questions and a summary of the seven domains in which privilege and/or discrimination can occur.

*Overarching Questions:*

1. How do race, class, and gender as processes of power affect employees' perceptions about their access to tangible and intangible products (i.e., privilege) in health and human service organizations?

2. What are employee narratives about privilege in health and human service organizations? What specific themes emerge?

3. Will employees narratives about privilege vary based on factors such as organizational type, race, class, and gender separately; or role or employee tenure?

*Resources***:**

Question 1: *How do power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about their ability to access organizational resources?*

Although resources were not part of the original power dimension (Figure 1), scholars contend that access to resources--items that facilitate employees' abilities to advance in their position, work effectively, or provide deliverables-- whether, tangible (i.e., money, jobs, education, healthcare, and housing) or intangible (i.e., relational, social, spiritual, and emotional) are inextricably related to power and privilege in organizations (Bond, 1999, 2007; Flyvbjerg, 1991; Larew, 2010; McIntosh, 1988, 2010; Samuels & Samuels, 2003; Woods, 2010). Thus, in many ways, "resources" provide a broad descriptive umbrella for other power domains such as knowledge (i.e., learning opportunities) and/or relationships. Moreover, examining resource distribution in organizations helps identity employee benefits as well as feelings of deprivation (Collins, 1997; Johnson, 2006). Bond (1999) specifically describes the way norms and values from the dominant culture become rooted within organizational policies and practices. As a result, members of the dominant culture (i.e., White males) receive benefits by virtue of having access to

skill sets and social capital that allow them to access organizational resources and thrive within the organization to the exclusion of socially marginalized groups (i.e., women and persons of color). Therefore, organizational culture is usually more amenable to White men in higher positions of authority than their counterparts.  Furthermore, organizational culture typically facilitates longer tenure for them as well.  Institutions that intentionally make resources accessible to marginalized groups will facilitate their professional and emotional well-being as well as their advancement in the organization and ultimately improve overall organizational culture and productivity (Basham, Donner, Killough, & Merkmeister-Rozas, 1997; Bond, 2007; Griffith, Childs, Eng, & Jeffries, 2007; Serrano-Garcia & Bond, 1994).

*Knowledge:*

Question 2: *How do power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about their ability to access learning opportunities within the organization?*

Bond  (1999) as well as Griffith, Childs, Eng and Jeffries (2007) attribute alienation and isolation of marginalized groups to organizational processes that maintain and perpetuate privilege and discrimination.  Like Blum (2008), they challenge organizations that endeavor to support diversity and embody justice to create policies and procedures that foster environments that accommodate multiple ways of knowing and experiences.  When examining knowledge in the literature, several themes become apparent that include a critique of traditional models of knowledge creation, distribution, and flow. Foucaultian theory assumes that knowledge creation and power are inextricably linked-- knowledge connotes power.  More specifically such studies examine power and knowledge in the context of learning organizations[3] (Agashae & Bratton, 2001; Garvin, 2000; Marsick, 1998).  Thus, organizations and their employees become the arbiters of knowledge and therefore power.  Marsick (1998) argues that employees are responsible for how knowledge is generated and distributed.  Learning organizations provide democratic, creative, collaborative, interactive environments in which staff become generators as well as recipients of knowledge.  Scholars who study race, class, and gender in organizations conclude that

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[3] Garvin (2000) defines a learning organization as; "an organization skilled at creating, acquiring, interpreting, transferring and retaining knowledge, and at purposefully modifying its behavior to reflect new knowledge and insights" (p.14).

employees' working in learning environments experience feelings of appreciation and exhibit positive

organizational attachment (i.e., commitment to the organization and long tenure) (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly,

1992; Wooten & James, 2004). Researchers who investigate race, class, gender, and discrimination

contend that organizational leaders must initiate practices that embody the values of learning

organizations (Bond, 2007). Examining privilege offers an opportunity to move toward this goal

(Samuels & Samuels, 2003; Wooten & James, 2004).

*Agency:*

Question 3:  *How do power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about their perceptions of their agency within the organization?*

Investigations of agency and power in organizations are often divided into two themes—

empowerment/control and participation in decision-making. Geisler (2005) specifically examines agency

as employee empowerment or the degree to which employees are able to be autonomous in their roles.

Others such as Devadoss and Muth (1984), Jackie (2003), and Maranto (1994) define agency as employee

participation. Furthermore, scholars who examine race, class, and gender in organizational studies

emphasize the importance of the inclusion of employees' of color and women's voices when creating

organizational policies and procedures (Shpungin & Lyubansky, 2006). Promoting processes of inclusion

and connection create organizations that foster justice, protect workers from discrimination, and empower

marginalized staff (Ashcraft, 2001; Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Ostrander, 1999; Poster, 1995).

*Relationships:*

Question 4:  *How do power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about their relationships within the organization?*

Studies of power in organizational relationships typically assess and criticize relationship quality

among employees and challenge leaders to construct environments that are democratic and conducive to

worker empowerment (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; G. A. Fine, 1984; Kanungo, 1992; Mele, 2003).

Kanungo (1992) and Mele (2003) criticize traditional organizational structures that result in feelings of

alienation among workers and poor relationship quality. They argue that maintaining relationship quality

and empowering workers is the moral obligation of organizations' power holders-- leadership. Similarly,

scholars, who study race, class, and gender in organizations, contend that empowering relationships facilitate organizational mobility and increase employee tenure (S. Collins, 1997; Hoffman, 1985; Ibarra, 1995).

*Leadership*

Question 5: *How do power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about the organizations' leaders and/or leadership style?*

Scholars of organizational leadership literature often assign leaders the role of "power holder" within the organization and suggest new models and responsibilities for them. They challenge leaders to share and extend power (Clement, 1994; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Grimes, 1978; Popper & Mayseless, 2003; Rooke & Torbert, ; Rooke & Torbert, 2005; Senge, 2006). For example, Conger and Kanungo (1988) describe a leadership style and strategies to create liberating environments. Empowering leadership practices include: 1) expressing confidence in subordinates and providing timely honest feedback; 2) providing descriptions of roles and expectations; 3) fostering opportunities to participate in decision making in meaningful ways; 4) setting clear, realistic, "inspirational and meaningful" goals; 5) creating reward systems that emphasize innovative performance and place greater value on behaviors that reflect a greater sense of self-efficacy; 6) creating tasks that are varied, relevant and achievable; and, 7) providing autonomy and relief from bureaucratic control as much as possible. In contrast, Sanderlands (1994) examines leadership as a process during which many people exercise power in multiple ways with multiple outcomes. Similar to empowering leadership styles and practices, this influence is multi-directional rather than unilateral. In the literature in race, class, and gender with regard to leadership scholars challenge organizations' management to provide opportunities for entry and advancement as well as diverse work environments.

*Communication:*

Question 6: *How do power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about communication within the organization?*

When considering communication and power in organizations, two themes recur that are linked to flow and style. Whether investigating communication flow (Cantoni, 1993; Krackhardt & Hanson, 1993; Morrison & Miliken, 2000) or style (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Kennedy, 1996; Keyton et al., 2008) 2008), researchers argue for a shift from the traditional to collaborative approaches in which power sharing is clear. Morrison and Miliken (2000) assert that the halted flow of information in organizations contributes to the creation of organizational silence, "a collective phenomenon in which: employees withhold their opinions and concerns" (p. 707). They found that organizational silence leads to isolation and alienation of employees; managers eventually make erroneous decisions based on limited staff information. Furthermore, Ashcraft (2001) introduces a style of communication, which focus on matters of style and flow. She suggests that ethical communication is a style that addresses intra-organizational power imbalances. Although formal structures remain the same, by requiring open communication, encouraging members to raise opposing views, and naming power tensions (i.e., plays, struggles, abuses) when they occur, egalitarian relationships within the organization can develop.

*Resistance/Dissent*

*Question 7: How do power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender influence employees' perceptions about their ability to express resistance or dissent within the organization?*

Literature suggests that at the heart of power is the ability to curtail (Lukes, 2005), control (Bachrach & Baraatz, 1970; Dahl, 1957), or manage (Arendt, 1969) dissent. However, Torbert (1991) and Craig and Craig (1979) espouse a different view. They consider dissent necessary for transformation and a method to generate power. Yet, empirical studies of resistance and dissent are sparse. However, scholars who study organizational dissent and resistance conclude that it is a vital part of organizational growth, development, and change (Ashcraft, 2001; Shahinpoor & Matt, 2007; Stanley, 1981; Torbert, 1991). For example, Ashcraft (2001) describes the concept, "organized dissonance," where dominant assumptions about power, rationality, and organizational structure are challenged. She suggests that

organized dissonance is "the strategic union of forms of presumed hostile concepts and strategies to capture irony" (p.1310). She concludes that organized dissonance promotes staff development, egalitarian modes of power, equality, and justice. Similarly, Stanley (1981) emphasizes the ramifications of curtailing dissent in organizations; "Lack of dissent can lead to managerial miscalculations and major strategic and tactical errors" (p. 13). These tactical errors can lead to deleterious effects for the agency. He concludes that although it may be tempting to limit conflicting viewpoints, especially when decisions are time sensitive, it is important to encourage and acknowledge all assessments of organizational problems and approaches. To my knowledge, there is a dearth of literature examining dissent and resistance in relationship to race, class, and gender in organizational studies. Thus, determining whether and how dissent and privilege are connected is an exploratory endeavor in this study. This analysis endeavors to assess whether and how the aforementioned seven domains of privilege manifest in health and human service organizations.

CHAPTER 3


DATA AND METHODOLOGY


This project, informed by Foucaultian theory, examines power processes (both internal and external) that influence behaviors, practices, internal cultures, employee relationships, and organizational identities of health and human service agencies.  Of particular interest in this study is whether and how societal power systems (i.e., race, class, and gender) affect employees' perceptions about how they are able to access tangible and intangible products that may facilitate their mobility within the organization (i.e., organizational privilege[i]).


New SPECs Project

"New SPECs" was a three-year action research project involving five community-based health and human service agencies in a medium sized, southeastern, metropolitan area.  The project was a collaboration between a research team from a local university, a local funding organization, and the five organizations, with a three-fold purpose.  The first objective focused on community change to enlist such agencies in the promotion of justice and well-being in underserved urban settings.  This endeavor was based on the belief that a paradigmatic shift in approaches to human service is needed.  Such approaches should emphasize *Strengths* rather than deficits, focus on *Prevention* rather than intervention, strive to *Empower* rather than inadvertently oppress, and evoke *Change i*n community conditions as well as individual change.  Hence, SPEC is the acronym created to describe the intended principles and values embedded within the paradigm.  The second goal of New SPECs focused on organizational change in two dimensions— staff and culture change.

New SPECs sought to record both change (i.e., community and organizational) processes as they occurred to capture similarities and differences within and between the organizations and their respective communities.  Thus research team members functioned as participants in the process by working within

the organizations as assistants to and facilitators of the change process as well as researchers who designed and determined data collection methods, collected data, analyzed the data, and communicated findings to the organizations. Data collection methods included: 1) a survey of organizational members; 2) in-depth interviews of key organizational informants; 3) focus groups with organizational teams; 4) focus groups with community members; 5) observations during meetings, events, trainings, workshops, and forums; and, 6) collections and content analysis of organizational artifacts, formal reports, meeting minutes, internal organizational memos, and emails. This study focuses on survey and interview data elicited from each organization's staff regarding organizational culture, processes, practices, and individual feelings of empowerment within the five organizations.

<div align="center">Data Sites</div>

The survey participants were employed at one of the five sample organizations. A brief synopsis of each agency is provided here; a detailed profile and analysis are presented in Chapter 5. The following five organizations are included in this project: John Snow Foundation, MLK Center, Island Center, Healthy Cities, and Nazareth Center. All but one of the agencies, the John Snow Foundation, provides direct services to meet community members' basic needs. *John Snow Foundation* strives to advance the common good by providing funds for education, health, and to improve community conditions. The national John Snow Foundation began in Denver, Colorado in 1887 when a local community leader, with the assistance of a priest, a rabbi and two ministers, founded a local society that coordinated local human service delivery and conducted a single fundraising campaign for 22 local nonprofit agencies. In 1922, the idea of coordinating fundraising here in the sample city gained support during and after World War I. Four men decided to continue this successful concept to support local health and human services. Over time, local efforts continued to draw steady donations and in the 1940s local support grew as companies began to allow once-a-year solicitations of employees in the workplace. In 1974, these local efforts joined with similar organizations nationwide to become the John Snow Foundation. This year the John

Snow Foundation provided funding to serve over 300,000 individuals in the community.  The local John Snow foundation employs over 100 people and provides grant funding for the four other agencies.

The second organization, *MLK Center,* is a faith-based charity organization dedicated to providing basic services to persons in need and programs to promote education and human development. In 1894, a women's group in a local church started the ministry now known as MLK Center.  The Center is located in a public housing community.  With a staff of over 60 people, MLK Center operates food bank and meal service as well as youth programs including: preschool, after-school, summer youth education, and recreation programs.  As a result of its varied programs, it is "a lifeline" for residents in the neighborhood and surrounding areas.  Moreover, MLK Center is committed to empowering adults in poverty to transform their lives through work, education, employment, and fellowship.  Among other services, MLK Center provides GED preparation, job placement, and job training.

The third organization, *Island Center,* has served teenagers, ages 12 to 21 years old, and their families for over 40 years.  The staff works in collaboration with young people to overcome serious challenges that prevent them from becoming healthy adults such as homelessness, violence, depression, low self-esteem, and disconnection.  The agency began in 1969 as a drop-in center for young people in crisis.  Since then, it has provided community-based counseling programs for runaways, homeless teens, and teens experiencing drug and alcohol-related problems.  With 40 employees, Island Center provides crisis and residential services, youth leadership training, and counseling services.  Island Center programs provide life-changing, intensive opportunities to more than 1,900 youth and their families each year. *Healthy Cities*, the fourth organization, a private, non-profit network of primary care clinics and health programs, was founded in 1976.  It is committed to building a society that guarantees that everyone, without regard to their income or insurance, has quality healthcare that meets their individual needs. Through its six neighborhood clinics, three school clinics and a mobile clinic, it has grown to be the "family doctor" for over 20,000 children and adults.  With over 70 staff members, Healthy Cities offers comprehensive health services including prenatal care, pregnancy prevention, maternal/infant care, mental health services, dentistry, health education, and outreach to at-risk teens.  Finally, *Nazareth Center*

is a faith-based social service agency that has promoted self-reliance and healthy life choices of community members.  Founded in 1894, the centers were dedicated to young mothers and their children. Their goal was to impact the lives of 30,000 immigrant and poverty level African Americans in the cities in which they are located.  Throughout the years, three centers were combined into one multi-service agency with facilities in northern and southern regions of the city and the downtown core as well as a rural youth camp.  With over 50 employees, Nazareth Center provides childcare, youth services, adult education, senior services, and community outreach.  Nazareth Center offers comprehensive services that help over 6,000 people annually.

<div align="center">Case Study Design</div>

The primary goal (organizational change) and method (action research [4]) of the New SPECs project make participating organizations the optimal settings to examine power and privilege.  A case study is a single in-depth investigation of a single individual, group or event(Babbie, 2005).  Case study design and action research are compatible because both are dynamic and reflective processes.  In addition, they both attempt to capture the context of research and explain phenomena.  By focusing on a single phenomenon, such as privilege, the researcher using a case study is able to capture the various nuances, patterns, and less apparent elements that other research designs may overlook (Berg, 2009).  Furthermore, similar to action research, a case study design may be optimal for examining social justice issues (i.e., race, class, gender, inequality, and privilege) because case studies mandate an in-depth, comprehensive investigation of phenomena and individuals.  Yin (2003a, 2003b) argues that a case study design is appropriate for investigators who wish to:  1) define research topics broadly; 2) cover contextual and complex conditions, not isolated variables; and, 3) rely on triangulated data that reflects multiple and not

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[4] Action research is a collective, self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants (i.e., scholars, and community members) to improve a social condition or situation in which they are directly involved.  It is highly collaborative, reflective, and participatory and all participants are contributors to the research (Berg, 2009).

single sources of evidence. Because power and privilege are complex concepts, we must understand and observe them at multiple levels. The intent of a case study design is to measure outcomes and the processes as well as consider variables within their contexts. Case study research seeks out both dynamics that are common and those that are particular about the case but, the product typically emphasizes the uncommon aspects of each case. Thus, a case study design is appropriate to examine organizational power in health and human service organizations. The case study in this analysis includes data from the following sources; surveys, organizational artifacts, and census data. The qualitative and quantitative sources are described in the next sections.

Data

Surveys

Survey data were collected between the fall and winter of 2006. Fifty-four (N=54) employees from the five agencies described above completed questionnaires using pen and paper or online. The mixed-format survey consisted of 101 questions using a six point, Likert-type scale, multiple-choice questions, and open-ended questions[ii]. The questionnaire was designed to measure both external as well as internal organizational practices, processes, and culture based on three content areas: 1) perceptions about individual and organizational practices in relation to the four SPEC domains (as described in the New SPECs section); 2) perceptions about dimensions of learning organizations[5]; and, 3) perceptions about empowerment. The current study focuses on employees' perceptions about; their agency within the organization and community; resource distribution; inter-organizational relationships; and, opportunities to access organizational knowledge.

Open-ended questions were designed to garner knowledge about employees' perceptions about the ways organizational culture facilitates or hinders their ability to implement SPEC principles at work

[5] The last section of the survey was adapted from the Dimensions of Learning Organizations Questionnaire developed by Yang, Watkins, and Marsick (2004). The questionnaire measures organizational culture to assess the degree to which they exude organizational learning principles. They use the following seven dimensions for assessment: continuous learning, inquiry and dialogue, empowerment, team learning, embedded system, system connection and strategic leadership.

and in the community.  My analysis will attempt to uncover response themes that describe perceptions about privilege as defined earlier sections.  The following four questions were posed.

1.  Describe briefly how you seek out and utilize the strengths of clients, community members, and/or employees and coworkers, including personal concerns and external barriers that may prevent using a strengths-based approach.

2.  Describe briefly some of the ways in which you are able to use your strengths in the organization, including personal concerns and external barriers that may prevent using a strengths-based approach.

3.  Please provide below some examples of how your organization practices primary prevention including personal concerns and external barriers that may prevent using a prevention-based approach.

4.  Please provide below some examples of how your organization gives clients and community members a say in decisions including personal concerns and external barriers that may prevent using an empowerment-based approach.

Although these questions do not directly refer to the domains under study or privilege, if respondents believe privilege (or challenges associated with it) exists in their respective organizations based on race, class, and gender, such comments are expected to emerge in their responses.

Questions regarding respondents' race, class (broadly defined here as education level), gender, organizational role, and tenure (i.e., length of time in the organization) were constructed as multiple-choice questions.  The respondents varied in race (Black = 26, White = 22 and Other = 6) and gender (males=10, females= 44).  On average, respondents educational background ranged from a high school diploma or GED (n= 12) to post-graduate degrees such as Masters, MD or Doctoral degrees (n= 21).  Respondents' average level of education was Bachelor's or Associate's degree (n=21).  Respondents occupied a range of organizational roles including direct service staff (n= 16), support staff (n= 10), middle management (n= 13), and upper management staff (n= 12).  The organizational role for three respondents was unavailable.  Mean tenure of employees range in the organizations was 4 years.  However the greatest number of respondents reported working for 10 years. The modal category is provided here because the secondary data include tenure in pre-determined categories.  Respondents' tenure with the organizations varied in range including 3 months (n= 6), 6 months (n=0 ), 9 months

(n=6), 1 year (n=7), 2 years (n=4), 3 years (n= 6), 5 years (n=7), 10 years (n=10), 15 years (n=6), 20 or

more years (n= 3).  Frequency tables describing the demographic data are produced in the tables below.

**Frequency Tables of Demographic Data for New SPECs Data**

**Table 3.1:  Gender**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Male | 10 | 18.5 |
| Female | 44 | 81.5 |
| Total | 54 | 100.0 |

Key:  New SPECs data (N=54)

**Table 3.2:  Race**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Black | 26 | 48.1 |
| White | 22 | 40.7 |
| Other | 6 | 11.1 |
| Total | 54 | 100.0 |

Key:   Black=African American: White= Caucasian;
Other= Other: New SPECs data (N=54)

**Table 3.3:  Education Level**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| High school/GED | 12 | 22.2 |
| Associates/Bachelor | 21 | 38.9 |
| Masters or Higher | 21 | 38.9 |
| Total | 54 | 100.0 |

Key:    Education Level:  Diploma= High School and
        GED; Associates, Bachelors' Degrees= AA, BS,
        BA: Masters' levels or Doctoral degrees= MS,
        MA, MSW, or higher.  New SPECs data (N=54)

**Table 3.4:  Organizational Position**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Direct Services Staff | 16 | 31.4 |
| Support Staff | 10 | 19.6 |
| Middle Management | 13 | 25.5 |
| Upper Management | 12 | 23.5 |
| Total | 51 | 100.0 |

Key:    Direct Services Staff= frontline staff: Support
        Staff= secretarial and maintenance:  Middle
        management= program directors, support
        directors and directors or maintenance: Upper
        Management = Executive Directors, CEOs,
        CFOs, COOs. New SPECs data (N=54)

**Table 3.5.  Employee Tenure**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| 3 months | 6 | 11.3 |
| 9 mos | 1 | 1.9 |
| 1 year | 7 | 13.2 |
| 2 years | 4 | 7.5 |
| 3 years | 6 | 11.3 |
| 4 years | 3 | 5.7 |
| 5 years | 7 | 13.2 |
| 10 years | 10 | 18.9 |
| 15 years | 6 | 11.3 |
| 20 years or more | 3 | 5.7 |
| Total | 53 | 100.0 |

Key:  New SPECs data (N=54)

*Organizational Artifacts and Census Data*

Artifacts between 2004 and 2006 were collected from the five organizations. They include annual reports, program and agency brochures, employee demographic information, information about organizational policies and practices, and data from websites. Census data provide general information about each organizations' service population. Collecting unobtrusive data such as these will be useful in constructing the contexts in which employee perspectives about privilege can be understood and analyzed more accurately. Furthermore, examining organizational materials adds complexity to investigating how privilege may be informed by factors other than those examined in this study. For example, I wondered whether budget size or types of services offered may influence how employees experience advantages and benefits; or if they attribute barriers and/or facilitating factors to internal or external factors.

Plan of Analysis

This mixed methods study is designed to understand whether and how employees' race, class, and gender influence their perceptions about organizational culture as well as their ability to access possible organizational advantages (i.e., roles and tenure) and benefits (i.e., feelings about empowerment and control, involvement in decision-making, organizational relationships, leadership, ability to dissent, communication efforts, and resources). The use of mixed methods— an approach that combines qualitative and quantitative data collection and analyses— is appropriate for this study for two reasons. First, it will provide various lenses through which the data can be viewed. Second, analysis of qualitative data will provide insight into employees' perceptions about the organizations' as well organizational dynamics that support or hinder their abilities to be effective in their positions. The use of grounded theory methods will help inform the direction of the quantitative analysis. Analysis of quantitative data will allow for the examination of possible correlations between race, class, as well as gender and privilege at several levels. The factor analysis will also enable me to explore possible correlations between employees' profiles and perceptions.

Qualitative Data Analysis

*Grounded Theory*

The Grounded theory method consists of a systematic, flexible guideline for collecting and analyzing data to construct theory that is grounded in the data. Data form the foundation of theory and the analyses of these data generate concepts. Grounded theorists collect data to develop theoretical analyses from the beginning of the project (Charmaz, 2009). This work results in an analytic interpretation of participants' worlds and of the processes constituting how these worlds are constructed (Charmaz, 2005). Similar to action research and case studies, grounded theory may be beneficial for understanding power and privilege in organizations because it gives priority to studied phenomenon and process rather than the actual setting and outcomes. Scholars suggest that social justice is an area in which researchers can apply grounded theory methods. It involves building increasingly abstract ideas about research participants' meanings, actions, and worlds by seeking specific data to complete, hone, and test the emerging conceptual categories. It is an inductive approach to the study of social life that attempts to generate theory from constantly comparing unfolding observations. The use of grounded theory allows the derivation of theories from by an analysis of patterns, themes, and common categories discovered in observational data (Babbie, 2005). Essentially, grounded theory studies are the result of wrestling with data, categorizing it, comparing it, engaging in "theoretical sampling," [6] and integrating analysis. The entire research process is interactive. Researchers bring past interactions and current interests into research, and they interact with the empirical materials and emerging ideas (Charmaz, 2005, 2009; A. Strauss & Corbin, 1998; A. L. Strauss, 1987).

Additionally, scholars suggest that a major strength of grounded theory methods is that they provide tools for analyzing processes. These tools show potential for studying social justice issues because they encourage researchers to remain close to the communities that they study and to develop an integrated set of theories from their data that not only synthesize and interpret findings but also show

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[6] Charmaz (2009) refers to theoretical as a means of "seeking pertinent data to develop emerging theory. The purpose of theoretical sampling is to elaborate and refine the categories constituting your theory" (p. 96).

processual relationships (Charmaz, 2005). Furthermore, the critical standpoint embedded within social justice studies, in combination grounded theory analysis, can extend and sharpen the scope of investigation. Grounded theory methods can expand how we study individual and collective action as well as make social justice analysis more precise. By focusing on data gathering, researchers can find new information to examine questions concerning equality, fairness, and rights. Grounded theory studies can also reveal inequalities at multiple levels (i.e., relational, individual, and organizational). In addition, they can be used to undergird agendas for future action, practice, and policies in the analysis by making explicit connections between theory, current conditions, and consequences of major actions. Researchers must define how, when and to what extent participants construct and enact power, privilege, and inequality (Charmaz, 2005). Grounded theory analysis methods can provide a means for constructing clear definitions and observing them.

Responses to open ended questions are analyzed using grounded theory as described by Charmaz (2009). Coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data using grounded theory analysis. Through coding one can define what is happening in the data and begin to understand what it means. Grounded theory coding entails two steps. Initial coding involves a close reading of the employees' responses to open ended survey questions to garner possible theoretical directions indicated by the readings of the data. In this study, the initial units of analyses are themes that arise from employees' responses to four questions regarding barriers to and concerns about initiating SPEC values at their workplaces. Responses about barriers and concerns may be indicators of employees' ability or inability to access resources in the organizations. Therefore, employees do not have to state that they feel deprived in order for their responses to reflect the extent to which they experience privilege. After the initial coding, a second phase of coding is a more focused process to develop categories that are more refined. Axial and theoretical coding will allow for comparisons of employee perspectives based on organization, race, class (i.e., education level), gender, organizational role, and/or tenure. The grounded theory analysis also attempts to identify possible response differences based on factors such as respondents' race, gender, class, organizational role, and length of time working in the

organization to illuminate the potential relationship between these variables and privilege. Specifically, the data were initially reviewed to find common themes within employees' responses. Responses were then compared based on employees' race, educational level, and gender, in chapter 5, and on organizational role, position, and tenure in chapter 6. The literature was used in two ways. First, I used theory and findings in the race, class, gender and organizational studies to explain possible commonalities in responses based on categories as well as to refine categories. Second, I privilege and organizational studies literature to understand possible implications for employee mobility (individually and collectively) stated in the literature based on employees' responses

*Content Analysis*

Organizational artifacts and secondary data are analyzed using content analysis. Content analysis involves transforming raw data into categories based on some conceptual scheme. Coding may include manifest (i.e., concrete terms) and latent (i.e., underlying themes) content and both qualitative and quantitative techniques are appropriate for interpreting content analysis data. Babbie (2005) argues that the greatest advantage to content analysis is its economy in terms of money and time. A single person could undertake a content analysis project and complete it expeditiously. By blending manifest and latent coding analysis strategies, information about the organizations' resources, culture and identity will be determined.

Quantitative Analyses: Univariate, Bivariate, Factor Analysis, and Exploratory Processes

The dependent variables in this study are a series of scales that evaluate employees' perceptions about their agency, learning opportunities, resources, and relationships within health and human service organizations. The independent variables include demographic indicators such as respondent's race, gender, educational level, role in the organizations, and tenure. The use of univariate analysis (i.e., frequencies) provides a general description of the data. Crosstabulations confirm acceptable frequency counts and observe bivariate relationships between select independent variables. Pearson's Chi square

will be generated for each crosstabulation to determine whether the independent variables are broadly correlated. Two by two analyses of relationships between the following will include: (1) race and gender; (2) race and educational level; (3) gender and education level; (4) race and organizational role; (5) gender and organizational role; (6) race and employee tenure; and, (7) gender and employee tenure. This initial step will uncover possible broad demographic patterns in the data.

*Factor Analysis*

Factor analysis an approach that is used to analyze relationships among several variables and to explain these variables in terms of their common underlying dimensions. It involves condensing the information contained in a number of original variables into a smaller set of constructs. Therefore, factor analysis could be used to verify your conceptualization of a construct. Constructing the dependent variables to capture forms of privilege required several steps. First, I used a grounded theory approach, as defined by Charmaz (2001), to find initial themes within the survey questions. During the process, I consulted literature regarding power, race, class, gender, privilege, and organizations (emphasizing health and human service organizations). To ensure face and construct validity, I completed an iterative process of reviewing questions to understand their meanings and grouped those that elicited similar information. Nine preliminary groups emerged—control/empowerment, participation in decision-making, relationship quality, relationship habitus, learning opportunities, learning sources, time, organizational support, and preparation and skill. A factor analysis of each group of variables was then conducted to test content validity for each potential factor. Questions that yielded low factor loads were removed in order to make constructs more precise. To test reliability, Cronbach Alpha was generated for each factor. Factors with low values ($\alpha < .70$) were removed from consideration. The analysis suggested that several preliminary factors should be collapsed. Four factors remained that gauge empowerment, participation in decision-making, relationships (including quality and habitus), and organizational resources. The factors will be the dependent variables during multivariate tests.

*Exploratory Analysis:  Regression Modeling*

Although sample size precludes considering a variety of independent variables, I am interested in performing multiple regression modeling to assess the potential simultaneous effects of race, class, and gender on the following six dependent variables: time employed, organizational position, and the four factors that gauge perceptions about privilege.  Because the four factors and time employed are dependent variables that reflect a continuous range of values, linear regression modeling will be used.  Because the dependent variable that identifies organizational position will include a finite number of occupational groups (i.e., 3 categories), multinomial logit modeling will be used to determine the probability of being employed in a given occupation (Long, 1997; Long & Freese, 2001).  Each model would include three independent dummy variables that identify race, (i.e., White), gender (i.e., male), and class (i.e., college educated).  In each step, the dependent variable will be regressed on the independent variables of inquiry. Six models will be developed.  Readers should note that the accepted rule of thumb when performing regression modeling is to insure that the data include about ten (10) cases for every independent variable included.  Based on the three independent variables in these models, my sample of 54 cases exceeds this broad criterion.  Although this analysis is largely exploratory, the sample is also large enough to meet the statistical guidelines for power (i.e., for example, a database should have at least 84 cases for 6 independent variable for sufficient power to have confidence in the modeling results at $\alpha$=.05, power of 0.80, and efficiency, $f^2 = .15$) (Green, 1991; Knoke, Bohrnstedt, & Mee, 2002).  Results from the quantitative and qualitative tests will provide an examination of some of the dynamics that influence privilege in health and human service organization.

## Establishing Trustworthiness (Researcher Accountability)

Guba and Lincoln (1985) describe four characteristics of trustworthiness in data collection, analysis, and reporting of qualitative research. They are credibility, confirmability, dependability, and transferability.  Credibility refers to efforts the researcher makes to assure that the data are believable.  By interacting with agency members for an extended period (i.e., 2 years), the researchers assured credibility.

Different investigators collected survey data, various kinds of data such as organizational artifacts, census data, as well as survey data and observation were collected from several sources within the five organizations.  Therefore, triangulation of data, the investigation, as well as the data collection methods and analysis (i.e., qualitative and quantitative) helped insure credibility.  Confirmability refers to whether the data were collected and analyzed in such a way that anyone examining the same data could reasonably come to similar conclusions.  Dependability involves the extent to which all data have been accounted for and all avenues that may provide explanation have been explored.  Triangulation of data and sources as mentioned above is also a means of assuring dependability as well as confirmability.  Transferability refers to the extent to which the study can be replicated to achieve similar findings.  By providing thick descriptions of the methods of analysis, and questions used in analysis dependability and transferability are insured here.  Establishing trustworthiness is important for this study because accounting for the aforementioned factors helps insure the validity and reliability of the data collection process and subsequent analysis.

CHAPTER 4


FINDINGS:  ORGANIZATIONAL PROFILES


The nonprofit sector in the U.S. is large, diverse, and growing.  In 2007, 313,000 organizations

with tax-exempt status (i.e., 501 c 3) filed with the Internal Revenue Service[7].  This number does not

include those organizations that were not required to file reports because they did not meet the "minimum

reporting requirements" (Alvarado, 2001, p. 1).  Of the 300,000 recognized organizations in the U.S.,

fifty-six percent can be considered health and human service organizations.  They provide a myriad of

services to community members.  The IRS defines health and human service organizations as follows:

> Organizations in several classifications performing a broad range of services focused on
> specific needs within the community [including]: housing and shelter programs; job
> training and placement services; public safety, disaster preparedness, and relief services;
> recreation and sports programs; crime prevention and legal services; and multipurpose
> organizations which provide a broad range of social or human services to individuals and
> families (Arnsberger, 2007).

Health and human service organizations promote growth and development in individuals and

provide a variety of services to the community including, medical care, childcare, counseling, case

management, education and training, and advocacy.  In addition to attending to basic needs of community

members, nonprofit organizations can contribute in ways that may be overshadowed by their stated

missions.  They can:  attract private foundations and federal funding to their organizations; improve the

work force through job training for community members; provide employment opportunities for the

unemployed and underemployed; connect businesses with the community by donating financial, political

and human resources to the community for its betterment; and, engage community members by providing

opportunities for volunteerism and civic engagement (Alvarado, 2001).  Most importantly, they can help

determine the moral compass of a community while enriching the lives of its members.  Greene (1994)

argues that social programs (i.e. programs that address societal inequities) reflect a society's values as

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[7] Data from report titled Snapshot of Charities & Other Tax-Exempt Organizations Statistics, from
Statistics of Income division of Internal Revenue Service.

well as help prioritize individual and community needs.  Therefore, health and human service agencies

can help to define and shape the character of communities and the quality of life of their members.

Additionally, community-based agencies are usually highly resourced members of the community from

an economic and material standpoint.  In 2007, they reported total assets of over $2.7 trillion and $1.4

billion in revenues[8].

The missions of such agencies usually compel them to use resources to serve community

members by providing access to basic needs and skills that promote well being and self-reliance.

Essentially, their missions make these organizations opportune social change agents (Alvarado, 2001).

However, if non-profit agencies are going to promote social justice, diversity, participation, caring,

collaboration, and interdependence as core values in the community, their internal cultures and practices

must promote these values among staff.  Developing liberating cultures and practices requires significant

changes in the identities, policies, procedures, and possibly structures of organizations.  An important part

of their transformative process will require thoughtful, comprehensive research steeped in a framework

that can uncover the subtle productions of power (i.e., privilege) as well as its overt effects (i.e.,

discrimination and oppression).   Moreover, examining organizational profiles can provide a context for

understanding employees' perceptions about privilege and their experiences in the organizations.  This

chapter provides an in-depth examination of the five sample organizations.  Using archival data and

artifacts [i.e., demographic reports, brochures, tax returns (Form 990), organizations' budgets, audited

financial reports, and annual reports] from the sample organizations, websites, and census data, I provide

a context in which one can situate and understand employee' perspectives.  A comprehensive

investigation of the five sample organization reveals several common features.  The missions and visions

of all five organizations reflect their commitment to individual empowerment, community well-being, and

social justice.  Their dedication of more than half of their total revenues to programs as well as the kinds

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[8]  Data taken from Table 3 titled, Form 990 Returns of 501(c)(3)-(9) Organizations: Balance Sheet and Income Statement Items, by Code Section, Tax Year 2007, Statistics of Income Division of the Internal Revenue Service.

of services they provide suggest attempts to redress social inequalities. Finally, most (four of the five) of the organizations' physical locations, in historically marginalized neighborhoods, appear to reinforce their responsibility to making resources accessible to society's most vulnerable members.

John Snow Foundation

The John Snow Foundation[9] is a part of a nationwide coalition of charitable organizations that pool efforts in fundraising and technical support. Their purpose is to identify and resolve pressing community issues, as well as make measurable changes in the communities through partnerships with social service organizations, schools, government agencies, businesses, organized labor, financial institutions, community development corporations, voluntary and neighborhood associations, and the faith community. Sponsoring and coordinating fund raising activities for local public and private businesses as well as managing and designating funds to health and human service organizations have been the John Snow Foundation's primary functions for over one hundred and twenty years. The National John Snow Foundation was established in 1886 Denver Colorado as a coordinated, local human service delivery and single fundraising effort for local nonprofit agencies. After World War I, a group of men decided to continue to support local health and human services in the location of the sample organizations. In 1974, the local fundraising foundation joined with similar organizations nationwide to become the local branch of John Snow Foundation. Since then, the county-based John Snow Foundations have raised as much as 11 million dollars annually to fund programs and services for the community's most vulnerable members. The Foundation serves the community by: 1) assessing and identifying community needs; 2) gathering and distributing charitable resources such as money, volunteers, and knowledge to leverage them for results; and, 3) collaborating with community-based agencies to redress social inequalities in the areas of education, health, financial stability, and neighborhood development.

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[9] To maintain anonymity, the names for all organizations and their respective program titles have been changed to pseudonyms.

*Programs*

The local John Snow Foundation funds 132 programs and projects in 62 local agencies throughout its service area. Over the past 10 years, the Foundation has invested approximately $ 225.7 in the community. They advance the community through five projects—the annual campaign and program investment, AccessLine, Literacy for Success, Family Service Sites (FSS), and the Coalition for Fiscal Autonomy (CFA). The annual campaign and program investment project raises funds through campaigns in over 600 companies from individual donors and through grants. Monies designated by individual employees are distributed to specific agencies. The Foundation then invests the undesignated funds in health and human service programs by using a group of trained volunteers who review grant applications and monitor outcomes. The funds are invested in four focus areas of community development— education, health, neighborhoods, and financial stability. Next, *AccessLine* is a telephone service designed to connect callers to specific agencies that provide necessary assistance. Professionals answer calls 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and 365 days a year. Moreover, it serves as the entry point for individuals who need free tax preparation services. *Literacy for Success* is the foundation's literacy initiative that prepares at-risk, low-income children to be successful in school.

The Foundation supports seven community-based, FSSs. They serve neighborhood residents by coordinating services and offering community members access to a myriad of services including food, childcare and after-school programs, job training, senior services, case management, and public assistance. In addition, school-based FSSs serve students at six public schools. They are staffed with trained professional to coordinate socio-emotional and basic needs services for students. Lastly, the CFA helps working families and individuals become financially stable by accessing information about eligibility for tax deductions, financial education, and information savings products. In addition, John Snow Foundation staffs volunteers in 18 community-based sites to provide free tax preparation for households that meet certain income requirements.

*John Snow Foundation's Employees*

Between 2005 and 2008, John Snow Foundation has employed approximately 49 persons to manage designated funds, raise money, and coordinate health and human service organizations who received funds. In addition, the Foundation recruits and utilizes volunteers from local businesses and the community to implement their mission. Volunteers function at multiple levels in many capacities within the organization including assessing community needs, reviewing applications, monitoring and tracking funds, and participating in planning the operational and financial direction of the organization as board members. Although specific demographic information about John Snow's Foundation's employees was requested, it was unavailable for this study.

*Financial Information*

John Snow's fund development planning is relatively straightforward and illustrates an attempt to serve the community without competing with the organizations that they fund. Annual budgets from 2005-2008 illustrate that the foundation projects that their traditional campaign efforts (i.e., annual employee giving campaigns and employee pledges) would generate the organization's largest revenues ($17,410, 500). Because the foundation relies on revenue from local employees' pledges, they account for unfulfilled pledges—approximately 5 percent or $700,000. Moreover, the organization projects that $7,849,511 will come from other public systems of support (i.e., corporations, private foundations, as well as state, local, and federal government). Table 4.1 shows detailed averages for projected revenue sources.

**Table 4.1 Average Projected Revenue Sources for John Snow Foundation**

| Projected Revenue Sources | Amount ($) |
|---|---|
| Traditional campaign | 17,410,500 |
| Provision for uncollectible pledges | -787,300 |
| Traditional campaign (net) | 16,623,200 |
| Other public support | 7,849,511 |
| Investment income, fees, and other miscellaneous income | 786,550 |
| Total public support and revenue | 34,223,861 |

Source: Budgets for John Snow Foundation fiscal years: 1) 2005-2006, 2) 2006-2007, and 3) 2007-2008. The amounts shown are average amounts from three the fiscal years of the New SPECs research project. Averages were calculated and summarized by the writer.

Although the foundation budgeted to raise over $34 million, annual income reports to the Internal Revenue Service illustrate that they average revenues for fiscal years 2005-2008 was $26,860,540, a $7 million short fall. Yet the shortfall does not appear to have affected their community efforts. On average, they spent 86 percent ($22,187,073) of their total revenues on programs and services that include their investment initiatives, AccessLine and Family Service Sites as budgeted. The foundation spends $ 1,184,721 on management and administration costs and $2,373,953 on fund development and fundraising efforts. Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., rent, supplies, automobiles, events, and tangible components of programs). In addition, the Foundation committed and spent approximately $80,000 of additional funds on training and conferences to for their employees towards professional development. Table 4.2 details specific information about actual revenues and operating expenses and Figure 4.1 illustrates the division of revenues and costs for programs and services for the Foundation. Their commitment to ameliorating community inequities is evident in the allocation of revenues. Of the $22 million, the John Snow Foundation spends on programs, approximately 77 percent ($ 15 million) account for outcome-based investments such as grants, and designations to community based agencies to deliver programs and services. Community building initiatives such as the Coalition for Fiscal Autonomy, "Literacy for Success," and the AccessLine initiative comprise 4 percent of program expenditures. Service delivery

such as HIV/AIDS initiatives and Family Service Sites comprise 19 percent of the foundation's program expenses.

**Figure 4.1 Average Program Expenses for John Snow Foundation (2005-2008)**
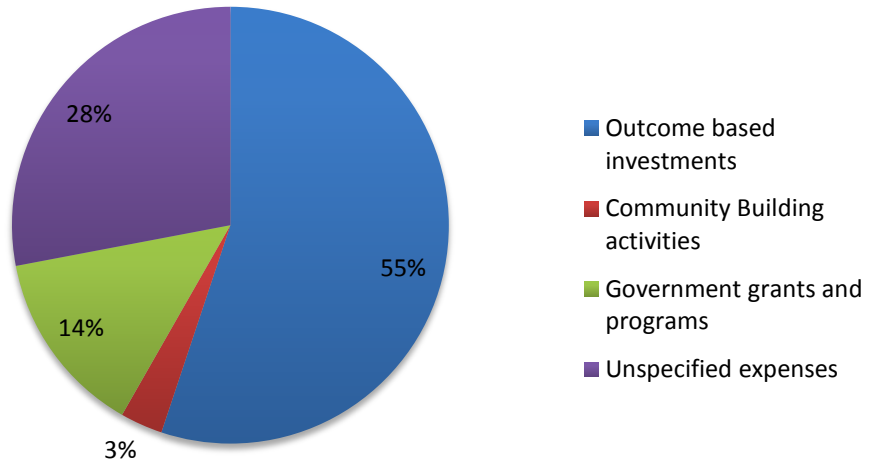


Source: Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. The percentages above reflect the average amount of program expenditures for the four years.

**Table 4.2 Average Reported Revenues and Expenses for John Snow Foundation 2005-2008**

| Expenditures | Amount ($) |
|---|---|
| Programs | 22,187,073 |
|     Outcome Based Investments | 12,229,469 |
|     Community Building Initiatives | 697,230 |
|     Government Grants and Programs | 3,050,370 |
|     Unspecified Expenses | 6,210,002 |
| Management | 1,184,721 |
| Fund Development | 2,373,953 |
| Other | 179,895 |
| **Total Cost** | **25,858,172** |
| **Total Revenue** | **26,860,540** |
|     Net (**Deficit**) | 1,002,368 |

Source: Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. The totals above reflect the average amount of revenues and expenditures for the four years. Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., rent, salaries, supplies, automobiles, events, and tangible components of programs).

*Community Profile*

According to 2000 census data, John Snow Foundation's offices are located in a mixed neighborhood that contains a residential and business district. The area has been growing and becoming a setting for office complexes for approximately ten years. However, census data show that it is also a very strong residential area as well with approximately 5,203 residents (refer to Table 4.3). Although there is some racial and ethnic diversity, the majority of the residents, 93 percent, are persons of color (i.e., African America, Latino/Hispanic, Native American, and Asian). Approximately 57.3 percent of the residents are female and 28.9 percent are under 18 years of age. Of the approximately 2,065 households, females (63.7 %) head the majority. The average family size is 3.19 persons; the average household size is 2.12 persons compared to metropolitan area figures of 2.29 and 2.96 persons, respectively. The figures suggest that the majority of families living in this area are single mothers or single parents. Furthermore, bureau definitions of those eligible for fulltime employment (3,944) show that 6.6 percent are

unemployed and 52.5 percent are not in the labor market. The average income for a household is $27,549 compared to the city's average $51,557. Scholars who study living wage[10] campaigns suggest that individuals in Davidson County, Tennessee, require $33,191 (two individuals) to meet basic needs (i.e., housing, food, clothing, transportation, and utilities). Therefore, although persons who live in this area are earning close to a living wage, they are struggling to support their families and themselves. Thirty-two percent of individuals and 29.9 percent of families live below poverty compared to the cities overall level of 10.2 percent for individuals and families. Furthermore, incomes below the annual living wage hinders individuals ability to acquire personal assets such as property (63 percent of individuals are renters), savings accounts, stocks and bonds that may provide a means for their children to sustain themselves during crises (i.e., health, loss of income/ employment, and/or financial crisis). Thus services that the John Snow Foundation funds such as health, education, and financial autonomy are efforts to equalize social inequalities.

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[10] Living wage is the minimum hourly wage necessary for individuals to meet basic needs, including housing, clothing, and food for an extended period or a lifetime. Glassmeier (2010) contends that the living wage in Davidson Count, Tennessee, for 2 to 3 individuals is approximately $17.00 per hour.

**Table 4.3 Demographic Data for Area Surrounding John Snow Foundation**

| Demographics | Total Number | % |
|---|---|---|
| **Total Population** | 5,203 | |
| Female | 2,983 | 57.3 |
| Male | 2,220 | 42.7 |
| Under 18 years | 1,505 | 28.9 |
| Caucasian/ White | 306 | 5.9 |
| Black or African American | 4,786 | 92 |
| Asian | 10 | 0.2 |
| Native American | 26 | 0.5 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 14 | 0.3 |
| **Total *Households and Families*** | 2,065 | |
| Average family size | 3.19 | |
| Average household size | 2.42 | |
| Female headed households | 1316 | 63.7 |
| Male headed households | 749 | 36.3 |
| **Income and Poverty** | | |
| Total Eligible Employees | 3,944 | |
| Employed | 1,613 | 40.9 |
| Unemployed | 259 | 6.6 |
| Not in labor market | 2,072 | 52.5 |
| Home owners | 799 | 38.7 |
| Renters | 1,266 | 61.3 |
| Average Income | | |
| Mean | 27,549 | |
| Median | 18,803 | |
| Below poverty | | |
| Individual | 1,631 | 31.9 |
| Family | 368 | 29.9 |

Source: Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data; Geographic
Area: Census Tract 137, Davidson County, Tennessee

MLK Center

MLK Center was founded in 1894 when a retired teacher organized women in her church to work with the cities' citizens who were most in need. In 1948, the group began operating at its current site in a public hosing community in eastern part of the city. Throughout their history, MLK Center has worked to address immediate and long-term needs to help the most vulnerable families in the city realize their potential. MLK Center's primary target service population is families who live in the public housing community that surround their location. The organization tries to ameliorate devastating community conditions (i.e., extreme poverty, high crime rates, and low performing schools) that neighborhood families face by removing barriers through a comprehensive array of services, including educational programs covering Pre-kindergarten to post-secondary years, job training for adults, and services for senior citizens.

*Programs*

MLK's program department is divided into three components—youth development, young children and family services, and community outreach. Youth development programs consist of two services, FLOURISH and The Reading Attainment Project (RAP). FLOURISH is a comprehensive youth program for elementary, middle, and high school students (ages 7 to 18 years old). Through FLOURISH, participants acquire academic, social, and life planning skills. Although FLOURISH's focus is school age participants, it offers services year-round. During the school year, the program focuses on after-school activities such as tutoring and character building for 15 hours per week at two locations in the neighborhood. During the summer, they offer activities including a summer enrichment camp and job readiness programs. RAP serves elementary, middle, and high school students by providing trained tutors to work with students to develop reading skills using the basic components of reading: phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency, vocabulary, and comprehension. The young children and family services component has two initiatives, the *Early Learning Center* and the *Bonded Parenting Initiative,* that serve children from birth to four years old and their parents. The *Early Learning Center* provides childcare for approximately 78 children between 6 weeks and 4 years old. The Center houses six classrooms, three of

which are funded by the local government specifically for children living in poverty.  They purport to provide a safe and nurturing place where children learn, develop, and start a continued cycle of success in school and life.  Through the *Bonded Parenting Initiative*, MLK Center offers parents the education and resources necessary to raise healthy families.  The nine-week curriculum contains:  parenting skills and lessons in childhood development; information about health and nutrition for children and parents, medical and safety training; information for building stronger community support systems; and, mentoring.  Community outreach programs include services for seniors, the *Emergency Food Bank*, case management services, transportation services, emergency counseling, and financial assistance.

*MLK Employees*

Although, employee demographic information was requested from the agency, access to this data was prohibited.  Therefore, no demographic information about MLK's staff beyond those data reported on the survey questionnaire was available for analysis.

*Financial Profile*

MLK Center's fund development program is diverse and ensures that the organization receives funding from a myriad of sources.  For example, MLK's annual budgets from 2005-2008 illustrate that, on average, the largest projected revenue source will be individual donors.  Similar to the John Snow Foundation, a regular flow of individual donations appears to be a stable revenue stream for MLK Center. Although individuals cannot provide large sums of money, smaller amounts of money given consistently over time could yield a similar or larger result.  Monies from private foundations and corporations comprise 21 percent of MLK's total projected revenue.  In addition, the organization projects that grants and designations from national fundraising networks (i.e., United Way) will accounts for approximately 15 percent of their total revenue.  Other sources of projected revenue include government grants (11%), special events and fundraisers (5%), private grants (4%), and revenues from childcare services (3%)[11]. Table 4.4 shows averages for projected revenue sources.

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[11] Data taken from annual budgets fiscal years 2005-2008.

**Table 4.4 Average Projected Revenues for MLK Center (2005-2008)**

| Projected Revenue Sources | Amount ($) |
|---|---|
| Churches | 193,875 |
| Individuals | 562,124 |
| Foundations | 385,657 |
| Corporations | 151,325 |
| Special Events | 119,575 |
| United Way Designations | 38,000 |
| United Way Program Grants | 331,705 |
| Government Grants | 284,729 |
| Earned Government Revenue | 290,532 |
| Child Care Revenue | 40,947 |
| Private Grants | 92,011 |
| Miscellaneous Revenue | 22,650 |
| TOTAL REVENUES | 2,513,131 |

Source: MLK Center's budgets for fiscal years: 1) 2005-2006, 2)2006-2007, and 3) 2007-2008. Figures shown are average amounts from the three fiscal years of the New SPECs research project. I computed raw data into averages for the purposes of this project.

Though the MLK Center budgeted to raise over $2.5 million, annual income reports to the Internal Revenue Service illustrate that their average revenues for fiscal years 2005-2008 was $2,822,979--an approximate $200,000 overage. Overages such as these offer MLK opportunities to increase their staff and expand their programs. Alternatively, the excess monies can be saved and used to supplement years when the organization experiences shortfalls. On average, MLK Center has spent 60 percent ($2,151,813) of their total revenues serving the community through their programs and services. Table 4.5 details specific information about MLK's operating revenues expenses. They spend 7 percent ($239,364) on management and administration costs and 11 percent ($409,818) on fund development and fundraising efforts. Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., rent, supplies, automobiles, events, employees' salaries, utilities, necessary equipment, employee benefits, and training and continuing education). Their commitment to empowering individuals becomes apparent when observing MLK Center's program expenses. Of the $

2.1 million that the center spends on programs, approximately 45 percent ($964,279) of those

expenditures are child development and family programs and services such as the Early Learning Center

and Bonded Parenting Initiative.  Youth service such as FLOURISH and RAP account for 37 percent ($

390,871) of program expenses.  MLK Center spends $ 796,663 on community outreach efforts including

senior services, case management, food banks, and financial assistance for community residents (refer to

Table 4.5 and Figure 4.2).

**Figure 4.2 MLK Center Average Program Expenses (2005-2008)**
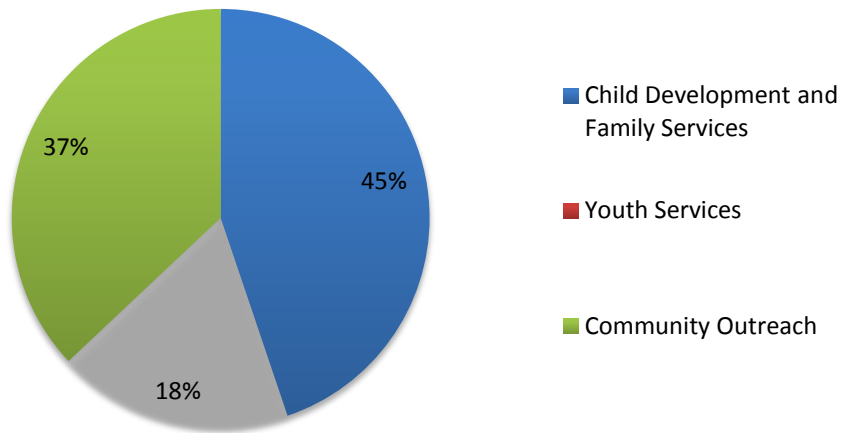


Source:  Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and
2008.  The percentages above reflect the average amount of program expenditures for the four
years.

**Table 4.5 Average Expenses and Revenues for MLK Center (2005-2008)**

| Expenditures | Amount ($) | % |
|---|---|---|
| Programs | 2,151,813.75 | 60 |
|    Child Development and Family Services | 964,278.75 | |
|    Youth Services | 390,871.25 | |
|    Community Outreach | 796,663.75 | |
| Management | 239,364.00 | 7 |
| Fund Development | 409,817.50 | 11 |
| Other | 805,958.00 | 23 |
| **Total Revenue** | **2,822,979.75** | |
| **Total Cost** | **2,796,191.75** | |
| Net (Deficit) | 26,788 | |

Source: Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. The totals above reflect the average amount of revenues and expenditures for the four years. Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., rent, salaries and benefits, supplies, automobiles, events, and tangible components of programs).

*Community Context*

MLK Center's targeted service population is children, youth, and families living in and around the oldest, largest, and poorest public housing development on the east side of the city. Table 4.6 shows specific demographic information for the community's residents. MLK Center is located in the center of a neighborhood with approximately 3,657 residents. The majority of the residents are African American or Black (79%), 60 percent are female, and 46 percent are under 18 years of age. Single females (30 %) head the majority of the approximately 1,350 households. The average family size is 2.93 persons; the average household size is 3.36 persons as compared to the metropolitan area statistics of 2.29 and 2.96 persons, respectively. Of those eligible for fulltime employment (N=1,998), the majority of the neighborhood's residents is unemployed (8.8 %) or outside the labor force (52.3%). As a result, most residents live in extreme poverty. According to 2000 census data, the average income for a household is $15,500 compared to the city's average of $51,557. Therefore, 66 percent of individuals and 67.4 percent of families live below poverty as compared to the cities overall levels. This means that the majority of single women are supporting more family members on far less money. Although census data indicate that

the area is extremely poor, the city has designated the area surrounding the MLK neighborhood a redevelopment zone. Thus, since 2000, more White professional families and individuals have moved into the areas. The changes of population in the area make the racial/ethnic, class, and gender disparities between the communities' residents more apparent. Furthermore, limited incomes, larger families or households, lack of assets (i.e., property), and the tendency for residents to be renters (95%) inhibit opportunities for residents to acquire and save resources to absorb the effects of potential health or financial crises or to leverage such resources for their professional and financial advancement. MLK Center's missions and efforts to remove such barriers illustrate how social service agencies can catalyze and affect community change.

**Table 4.6 Demographic Data for Area Surrounding MLK Center**

| Demographics | Total Number | % |
|---|---|---|
| **Total Population** | **3,657** | |
| Female | 2,197 | 60 |
| Male | 1,460 | 40 |
| Under 18 years | 1,684 | 46 |
| Caucasian/ White | 726 | 19.9 |
| Black or African American | 2,872 | 78.5 |
| Asian | 33 | 0.9 |
| Native American | 37 | 1 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 31 | 0.8 |
| **Total households and Families** | **1,350** | |
| Average family size | 2.63 | |
| Average household size | 3.36 | |
| Female headed households | 401 | 30 |
| Male headed households | 304 | 23 |
| **Income and Poverty** | | |
| Eligible employees | 1,998 | |
| Employed | 778 | 38.9 |
| Unemployed | 175 | 8.8 |
| Not in labor market | 1,045 | 52.3 |
| Home owners | 68 | 5 |
| Home renters | 1,282 | 95 |
| Average Income | | |
| Mean | 15,505 | |
| Median | 8,266 | |
| Below poverty | | |
| Individuals | 2,365 | 65.9 |
| Families | 553 | 67.4 |

Source: Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data; Geographic Area: Census Tract 124, Davidson County, Tennessee.

Island Center

Island Center began in 1969 as a drop-in center for young people in crisis. Over the past four decades, it has evolved into a preeminent youth-serving organization, offering residential, counseling, and youth leadership engagement /development services. The Center provides necessary resources to young people (ages 12 to 21 years) to facilitate their growth into healthy, productive adults. Specifically, their philosophy is that youth strive when they are safe, feel connected, are empowered, and live in just communities and societies. Young people come to Island Center for a myriad of reasons from crisis to opportunity. Yet, regardless of the reasons, the intended goals for each of them are the same. The agency staff and leaders believe that young people progress when they develop perspectives based on hope, see possibilities, and foster the courage to act. Therefore, Island Center has developed five impact areas by which they evaluate outcomes: safety; significance and belonging; participation and empowerment; generosity; and, justice.

*Programs*

Collectively, Island Center programs provide services to a reported 1,900 individuals and their families each year. Through educational outreach and presentations, Island Center reaches an additional 12,000 youth and adults each year. Services and programs comprise three components: 1) helping young people in crisis, 2) empowered and active youth, and 3) counseling services. *Helping Young People in Crisis* offers a continuum of services for youth who are in crisis, have run away, or are experiencing homelessness. These services include the area's only *Emergency Shelter*, *Project Safe Place*, and homeless services for youth. The *Emergency Shelter* has been in operation since 1985 and is the only licensed shelter in area for youth who are not in the state's custody by providing 40 beds. *Project Safe Place* is a nationwide network of local businesses, schools, and organizations where any young person can walk in and get immediate assistance. It is the Center's most aggressive effort at increasing young people's access to safety and assistance. Since 1986, *Project Safe Place* has grown to 387 sites across region connecting 1,300 youth to vital community resources. Island Center provides street-based outreach/assistance and temporary housing specifically geared to the needs of homeless youth ages 17 to

21 years old.  The *Intermediary Housing* program offers residential services and support including counseling and case management.  While living at the *Intermediary Housing* program, youth commit to working, pursuing educational goals, and building tangible and intangible skills that will help them become successful at living independently.  For more than ten years, Island Center has implemented programs to prevent sexual abuse and/or exploitation of runaway and homeless youth ages 13-21 years old and to provide them with services that help them escape the streets.  Outreach counselors routinely go to locations frequented by homeless youth and provide information about safe living situations, health care services, HIV/AIDS prevention, and personal safety education.  Youth are also given food and hygiene items.

The *Empowered and Active Youth* services are aimed at empowering young people to be catalysts for social change by helping youth develop life skills, teaching them to make healthy choices, and encouraging them to take responsibility for creating change on community issues that matter to them.  The goal of the program is to help participants improve school attendance and academic performance, while reducing the incidence of substance use, early pregnancy, school drop out, and behavioral problems.  In addition, the organization has several programs that challenge young people to target community conditions that hinder community change and individual growth.  Current initiatives are focused on reducing juvenile violence in our community (i.e., *Youth Unified*), decreasing predatory lending practices, increasing financial and economic literacy among young people (i.e., *Teens AFFECT*), and creating a more compassionate and understanding foster care system for teens (i.e., the *Youth Advisory Group*).

Through *Counseling Services*, Island Center has offered family, individual, and group counseling as well as therapeutic services for more than 35 years.  The *Counseling Services* component includes individual and family therapy, family mediation, community education groups, and therapeutic groups.  Counselors assist youth with recognizing their strengths and coping with a wide range of difficult issues including conflicts at home or school, alcohol and drug abuse, violence, and physical abuse.  Moreover, Island Center offers family mediation, a facilitated process that works with unmarried parents to resolve issues of visitation, child support, custody, and delinquent and unruly behaviors of children.  Participants

in family meditation are referred by the court system.  Finally, Island Center offers community education

through workshops and support sessions that address a variety of issues and needs including: parenting

skills; suicide prevention; depression, coping skills and mental health; conflict resolution; young women's

issues; safety for gay and lesbian youth; and, effective communication with adolescents.

*Employees*

Island Center employs approximately 94 individuals (69 full-time and 25 part-time).  Increases in

revenues and changes in programming and aims have provided opportunities for the Center to increase

staff over time.  For example, Island Center began to cultivate and implement their empowered and active

youth programs as a result of their participation in the New SPECs project  (Evans, 2005). The turnover

rates (i.e., number of terminations and re-hires) are relatively low for this organization and employee

numbers remained constant over the past 3 years.  Furthermore, racial and gender composition of the staff

remain consistent (Refer to Figure 4.3).

**Figure 4.3 Island Center Employee Data (2006-2009)**
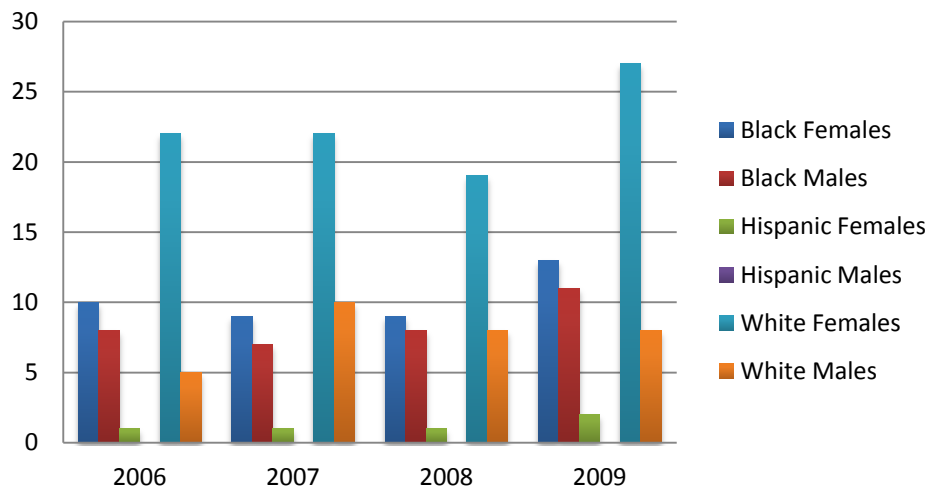


Source:   Information from Island Center employee records for 2006,2007, 2008, and 2009.

Demographic data about Island Center's employees show that the majority of Island Center's

employees are White females (48%).  Furthermore, White females and White males hold a majority of the

middle and upper management positions, while persons of color (i.e., Black and Hispanic employees) tend

to be concentrated in direct services positions.  Figure 4.4 shows a detailed breakdown of roles by race and

ethnicity.  Although Island Center appears to be a diverse organization and professes a core value of social justice, the composition of their staff and their positions reveal that White men and women continue to hold the greatest amount of positions of power (i.e., control of financial and human resources, decision makers, and policy developers).  However, there is not indication from these data that this trend is intentional.

**Figure 4.4 Organizational Role Compared by Race (2009)**



|  | Administration | Direct Services | Middle Management | Upper Management |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Black | 1 | 18 | 4 | 1 |
| Hispanic | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| White | 2 | 13 | 13 | 8 |
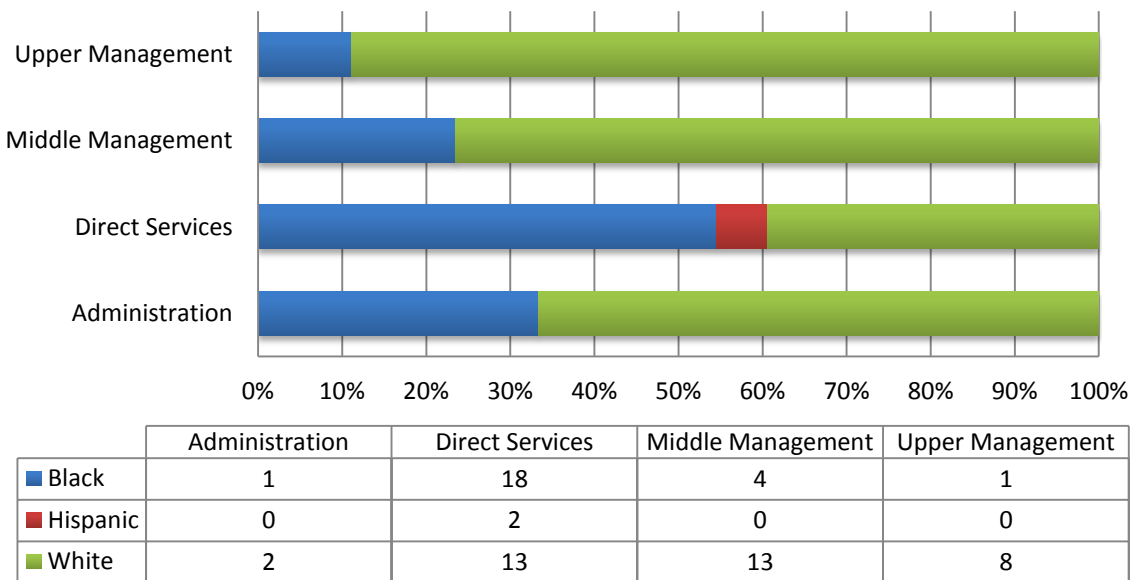
*Financial Information*

On average, between the 2005 and 2008 fiscal years, Island Center projected revenues equaling $2,800,176.  The diversity in revenue sources illustrates efforts to ensure that their services are available for young people in their area.  For example, grants from private foundations compose 23 percent ($ 649,388) of projected revenues—the largest portion.  Island Center projected that they would receive 16 percent ($ 441,942) of the revenues from national funding coalitions such as the local United Way.  Grants from state government agencies such as Tennessee Department of Children's Services and Tennessee Department of Health and Human Services comprise 18 percent of Island Center's projected revenues.  Local government agencies such as Metropolitan Development and Housing Authority comprise 7 percent of projected revenues and federal grants (i.e., FEMA)

comprise 14 percent of revenues.  Other sources of projected revenue include fees from clients (about

1 percent).  Table 4.7 provides averages for projected revenue sources.

**Table 4.7 Average Projected Revenue Sources for Island Center (2005-2008)**

| Funding Sources | Amounts ($) |
|---|---|
| Donations | 394,775.50 |
| Special Events | 93,375.00 |
| Foundations | 649,388.00 |
| United Way | 441,942.75 |
| Federal Government Grants | 386,253.25 |
| State Government Grants | 492,771.75 |
| Local Government Grants | 202,324.00 |
| Client Fees | 19,672.50 |
| Miscellaneous income | 119,673.25 |
| Total Revenue | 2,800,176.00 |

Source:  Budgets for Island Center for fiscal years:  1)
2005-2006, 2)2006-2007, and 3) 2007-2008.  The amounts
shown are average amounts from three the fiscal years of
the New SPECs research project.

Although Island Center budgeted to raise over $ 2.8 million, annual income reports to the Internal

Revenue Service illustrate that they average revenues for fiscal years 2005-2008 was $4,200,951--an

approximate $ 1.4 million overage.  These overages can mean program and service expansion for the

organization or increased personnel.  On average, Island Center has spent 49 percent ($2,057,068) of their

total revenues on programs and services.  They spend $467,926 on management and administration costs

and $128,143 on fund development and fundraising efforts.  Totals for each category include salaries and

benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., rent, supplies, automobiles, events,

utilities, necessary equipment, employee benefits, and training and continuing education).  Island Center's

commitment to facilitating transformation in the lives of the young people they serve is apparent in their

program spending.  Table 4.8 and Figure 4.5 show detailed expenditures for programs and services.  The

Center spends 41 percent ($872,925) of its program revenues assisting youth in crisis (i.e., residential

centers and shelters, *Project Safe Place*, and street based outreach/assistance).  Eighteen percent

($397,200) of Island Center's program expenses are prevention services including alcohol and drug, education, and personal safety training. Empowered and Active Youth programs such as *Youth Advisory Group*, *Teens AFFECT*, and *Youth Unified* are 24 percent ($495,658) of the agencies program expenditures. Finally, counseling programs such as individual therapy, family and group counseling, and parent mediation comprises 14 percent ($291,330) of Island Center's program expenses.

**Figure 4.5 Island Center Program Expenses
2005-2008**
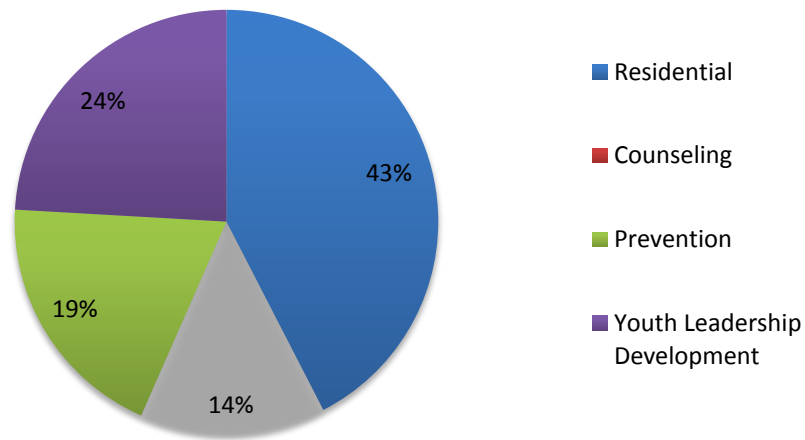


Source: Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. The percentages above reflect the average amount of program expenditures for the four years.

**Table 4.8 Average Reported Revenues and Expenditures for Island Center (2005-2008)**

| Expenditures and Revenues | Amounts ($) | % |
|---|---|---|
| Programs | 2,057,068 | 49 |
|     Residential | 872,925 | |
|     Counseling | 291,330 | |
|     Prevention | 397,200 | |
|     Empowered and Active Youth | 495,658 | |
| Management | 467,926 | |
| Fund Development | 128,143 | |
| Other | 1,547,812 | |
| Total Cost | 2,653,139 | |
| Total revenue | 4,200,951 | |
| Net (Deficit) | 154,7812 | |

Source: Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. The totals above reflect the average amount of revenues and expenditures for the four years. Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., rent, salaries and benefits, supplies, automobiles, events, and tangible components of programs).

*Community Context*

Island Center's contention is that their clients are representative of the city's residents (White 35%, African-American 37%, Hispanic 6%, and Other 22%). They attend more than 60 different schools in the area and live in homes that speak 26 different languages. Eighty percent of those participating in their programs live in low-wealth areas and homes. However, the demographics of the residents where Island Center's offices and shelter are located vary considerably from those of their service population. Island Center is located in an area that includes two private predominantly White universities. Additionally, the Center is surrounded by two successful industries in the city—music production and publishing houses. According to 2000 census data, the facility is located in a neighborhood with approximately 2,952 residents. Although there is some racial and ethnic diversity, census data, the majority of the residents (86%) are White. Approximately 55 percent of residents are female and 26 percent are under 18 years of age. Comparisons between census data and employee demographics

indicate that Island Center's staff reflects the community in which it is located racially and by gender; however, this profile varies considerably from their clients.

Females (50 %) head the majority of approximately 1,060 households. The average family size is 2.4 persons; the average household size is 1.4 compared to the metropolitan area figures of 2.29 and 2.96, respectively. This indicates that the majority of the individuals who live in this area are single or married couples with few or no children. However, this demographic may also illustrate that residents in this neighborhood are students and faculty at the universities or burgeoning artists. Of individuals who are work eligible (1,595), forty-eight percent are employed and the average household income is $35,085 dollars as compared to the city's average of $51,557. In addition, 16.5 percent of individuals and no families live below poverty compared to the cities overall poverty level of 10.2 percent. Although the majority of most eligible residents are employed, residents' incomes continue to lag behind the mean and median incomes in the metropolitan area. However, residents in this area are supporting fewer persons in their households. Table 5.9 details demographic information for the area surrounding Island Center. Two years ago, Island Center moved their administrative offices, counseling services, and empowered and active youth programs to another location. Their offices are now in close proximity to Nazareth Center and the demographics for the residents are the same. Because Island Center serves at risk youth throughout greater metropolitan area, their location may not affect their ability to provide programs. However, the move to a location where a large portion of the youth they target live as well as one that is more accessible by public transportation may indicate efforts to make the Center more accessible to young people.

**Table 4.9 Demographic Data for Area Surrounding Island Center**

| Demographics | Total Number | % |
|---|---|---|
| **Total Population** | 2,952 | |
| Female | 1,325 | 54.8 |
| Male | 1,091 | 45.2 |
| Under age 18 | 627 | 26 |
| Caucasian/ White | 2,555 | 86 |
| Black or African American | 96 | 3 |
| Asian | 204 | 6.9 |
| Native American | 3 | 0.1 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 76 | 2.6 |
| **Total Households and Families** | 1,060 | |
| Female headed | 558 | 53 |
| Male Headed | 502 | 47 |
| Average Household size | 1.4 | |
| Average Family size | 2.4 | |
| **Income and Poverty** | | |
| Total eligible for employment | 1,595 | |
| Total in labor force | 1,063 | 54.3 |
| Employed (full-time) | 1,401 | 47.7 |
| Unemployed | 194 | 6.6 |
| Not in labor market | 1,345 | 45.7 |
| Home owners | 139 | 13.1 |
| Renters | 921 | 86.9 |
| Average Income | | |
| Mean | 34,219 | |
| Median | 19,226 | |
| Below poverty | | |
| Individual | 243 | 16.5 |
| Family | 0 | 0 |

Source: Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data; Geographic
Area: Census Tract 164, Davidson County, Tennessee

Healthy Cities

Healthy Cities is a conglomeration of neighborhood-based health care centers dedicated since 1979 to building a community in which everyone is guaranteed quality health care regardless of income or access to insurance. Their goal is to improve the health of communities by removing barriers to access and to serve as a health care provider. They attempt to improve health in four primary ways. First, all clinics are located in underserved, high-need areas. Second, they make healthcare affordable by offering sliding scale fees. Third, Healthy Cities tailors services to fit the needs of each neighborhood. Finally, they offer services in multiple languages and/or translation services in all of their locations. Through its eight neighborhood clinics, one public housing clinic, five school clinics, homeless clinic, two portable clinics, and one multi-county clinic in a rural area, Healthy Cities has become the "family doctor" for over 31,000 children and adults.

*Programs*

In all of their clinics, Healthy Cities provides a myriad of services including: comprehensive health care services for all ages; preventative care (i.e., immunizations, family planning, testing for sexually transmitted diseases, and screening for diabetes, heart disease, cancer, mental illness, or substance abuse ); chronic care for asthma, diabetes, cardiovascular disease and/or depression; acute care; laboratory testing; nutrition counseling; dental care; health education; and, social work/case management. In addition, they offer specialized services for specific community members including; portable clinics for homeless persons; education about violence, drug, and pregnancy prevention for at-risk youth; and, prenatal care for pregnant women. *Portable Clinics* also provide comprehensive medical care to those who are unable to visit health care sites regularly. With two exam rooms, the portable clinic regularly visits lunch programs and area community fellowships including local churches, YMCA sites, public housing neighborhoods, and neighborhoods without clinics. Healthy Cities opened school-based comprehensive health clinics in five high schools in the greater metropolitan area. The goal of the school clinics is to reduce barriers to learning by: 1) providing school-based primary care health clinics; offering

programs for students at risk; keeping students in school and in class; creating a safe place for troubled youth; and, promoting healthy choices.

Youth Prevention and Development Programs includes several activities: *Teens Seizing Control* is a program that assists pregnant and parenting teens in developing parenting skills while completing their high school education. Over 150 pregnant and parenting teens are served each year. The *We EMPOWER* program is a minority health initiative that works with minority youth, particularly young men, to develop alternatives and reduce gang involvement. In 2009, Healthy Cities opened the first youth clinic--a collaborative partnership with ten local nonprofit organizations committed to serving underserved youth. This youth-focused clinic addresses the healthcare needs of homeless and runaway youth. Services at the clinic are free and the clinic is staffed with a family nurse practitioner, a behavior specialist, and a medical assistant who are sensitive to the needs of minors without parents or guardians. In addition, a behavioral health specialist provides counseling as needed. Services include basic physicals, prenatal care, health vitals and evaluations, lab tests, behavioral health counseling, dental services through referrals to other clinics (transportation is available), shots, immunizations, prescriptions, and a 24-hour after call service.

Additionally, Healthy Cities offers behavioral health services, Community MediCorps, and patient and community advocacy. The behavioral health services include licensed counselors who provide evaluations, short-term counseling, and case management. They work with medical providers to ensure that patients receive all the necessary services. Healthy Cities participates in the *Community MediCorps* program, a nationwide program based in community health centers and clinics across the country that links medically underserved populations and poor communities with culturally appropriate primary and preventive health care.

*Healthy Cities' Employees*

Between 2005 and 2007, Healthy Cities employed 79 individuals who perform in a myriad of roles throughout the organization. Positions range from professional positions (i.e., doctors, nurse practitioners, medical assistants, and social workers) to administrative/clerical ones. Furthermore, data

about employees collected in 2006 show that 26 employees were terminated, resigned, or left because they were hired for a specified amount of time (i.e., interns or Americorps students). Of the 26 employees who left the organization in 2006, 88 percent (23) were female and 85 percent (22) were persons of color (i.e., Black and Hispanic). These numbers indicate that a significant number of Healthy Cities' employees were female and persons of color. Yet, these figures represent a snapshot of those who *were* employed at the organization and may not be representative of the total racial, or gender composition of Healthy Cities during 2006. However, demographic data about Healthy Cities' current active employees or active employees during the research years (i.e., 2004-2007) are unavailable.

*Financial Description*

Having governmental departments as the largest sources of revenue can become problematic because spending cuts can negatively influence the organization's operations. However, although Healthy Cities projects that they will receive 51 percent of their revenue from federal, state, and local governments, the monies they receive through contracts and grants come from different departments and governmental agencies. Furthermore, Healthy Cities receives funding from other sources including: nationwide funding services (i.e., The United Way); private foundations and corporations; individual donors; and, fees from patients. Data from Healthy Cities' budgets show that the largest portion of their projected revenues (51%) comes from federal and state government grants. Patient revenues comprise 39 percent of projected revenues and state government contracts are 7 percent of the agency's projected resources[12]. Other projected revenues include private foundations (1%), non-profit funding organizations (2%), and individual donations (Refer to Table 4.10).

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[12] Data taken from annual budgets fiscal years 2004-2011.

**Table 4.10 Average Projected Revenue Sources for Healthy Cities (2005-2008)**

| Funding Sources | Amount ($) |
|---|---|
| Government Grants | 3,111,334 |
| Private Foundations | 85,815 |
| Non-Profit | 124,017 |
| Patient Revenue | 2,363,951 |
| Contract Services | 401,893 |
| Donated Services | - |
| Contributions | 26,666 |
| Other | 17,766 |
| Total | 6,131,444 |

Source: Budgets for Island Center for fiscal years: 1) 2005-2006, 2)2006-2007, and 3) 2007-2008. The amounts shown are average amounts from three the fiscal years of the New SPECs research project.

Although Healthy Cities projected that they would receive, on average, $ 6,131,444 in revenues, annual income reports to the Internal Revenue Service for 2005-2008 show that Healthy Cities' average revenues totaled $ 9,015,593. The extra two million dollar overage has provided Healthy Cities with opportunities to build clinics in new sites including schools and neighborhoods. Their commitment to providing quality health care to marginalized communities is apparent when investigating how Healthy Cities allocates its funding. Tax returns indicate that 84 percent of Healthy Cities' $7 million expenditures are for programs and services. They spend $ 6,379,764 providing healthcare, case management, counseling, advocacy, community outreach, and prevention programs in six neighborhoods in the city. Furthermore, Healthy Cities' revenues and expenses show a net of over $1 million. Excess monies in the organization also afford them the opportunity to develop a large cash reserve to help stabilize organizations during revenue shortages. Therefore, they can continue to employ and train employees and provide the same quantity and quality of service. Table 4.11 gives detailed information about average reported revenues and expenses for 2005-2008. Figure 4.5 shows the composition of Healthy Cities general spending for fiscal years 2005-2008. Specific Information regarding program and expenses was unavailable.

**Figure 4.6 Healthy Cities Total Expenses
(2005-2008)**
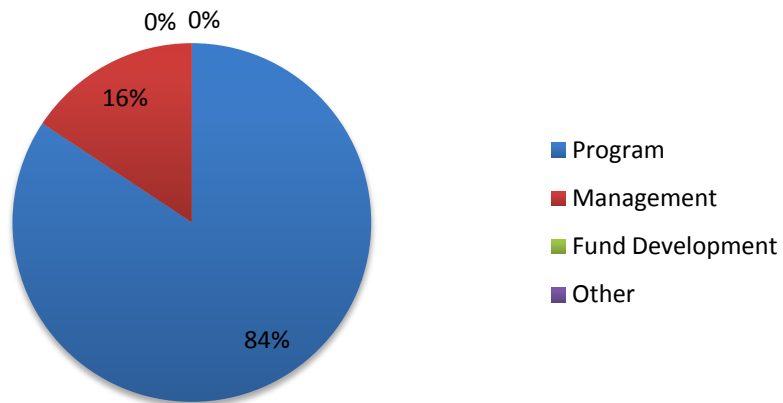


Source:  Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008.  The percentages above reflect the average amount of expenditures for the four years.

**Table 4.11 Average Expenses and Revenue for Healthy Cities
(2005-2008)**

| Expenditures | Amount ($) | % |
|---|---|---|
| Program | 6,379,764 | 84 |
| Management | 1,186,612 | 16 |
| Fund Development | - | 0 |
| Total revenue | 9,015,593 | |
| Cost | 7,566,710 | |
| Net (Deficit) | 1,448,883 | |

Source:  Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008.  The totals above reflect the average amount of revenues and expenditures for the four years.  Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., salaries, rent, supplies, automobiles, events, and tangible components of programs).

*Community Demographics*

Healthy Cities targeted service population is uninsured or underinsured individuals who require high quality, low cost health care. To that end, Healthy Cities has health care Centers in some of most poor and working-poor neighborhoods in the city. Table 4.12 shows specific demographic information for residents living around Healthy Cities' primary facility. This facility was selected because it is the largest clinic and houses the agencies administrative offices. In addition, comparisons of demographics in neighborhoods in which the clinics are located reveal some differences in neighborhood composition by race; however, other characteristics are similar. Similar to MLK Center, this clinic is located in the city's largest and oldest public housing community. However, it is positioned on the edge of the community. Therefore, the census tract and resident's demographics are slightly different. According to census data, the facility is located in a neighborhood with approximately 2,587 residents. Though there is some racial and ethnic diversity, the majority of residents are White (50.3%). Comparisons between these data and employee demographics suggest that the employees' and the residents' differ. Approximately 50 percent of residents are female and 26.9 percent are minors (i.e., under 18 years of age). The average family size is 3.22 persons and the average household size is 2.51 persons for the city and the mean household sizes are 2.29 and 2.96, respectively. Moreover, females (50%) head the majority of the approximately 1030 households in the area. Of eligible full-time workers (1,994), 41.4 percent are not working full time or unemployed. Therefore, nearly half of the individuals in the neighborhood are living in households with no regular income. Moreover, the average income for a household is $28,000 as compared to the city's average $51,557. In addition, 66 percent of individuals and 26.3 percent of families live below poverty as compared to the cities overall level poverty of 10.2 percent and. These numbers indicate that the majority of the neighborhood's residents struggle to meet their families' most basic needs such as housing and food. Therefore, healthcare may be a luxury that they cannot afford. Although the majority of most eligible residents are employed, the incomes in this area are about half that of the average for the city. Limited incomes and economic resources translate to limited funds to respond to current or potential health crises. Furthermore, changes in regulation and access to state funded health care over the past 5

years have left some of the residents without healthcare coverage.  Thus, the services provided by Healthy

Cities are even more crucial.

**Table 4.12 Demographic Data for Area Surrounding Healthy Cities Primary Clinic**

| Demographics | Total | % |
|---|---|---|
| **Total Population** | 2,587 | |
| Female | 1,292 | 49 |
| Male | 1,295 | 50 |
| Population under 18 | 697 | 26.9 |
| Caucasian/ White | 1,300 | 50.3 |
| Black or African American | 1,049 | 40.5 |
| Asian | 59 | 2.3 |
| Native American | 14 | 0.5 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 49 | 1.9 |
| **Total Households and Families** | 1,030 | |
| Average family size | 3.22 | |
| Average household size | 2.51 | |
| Female Headed households | 509 | 49 |
| Male headed households | 521 | 50 |
| **Income and Poverty** | | |
| Total Eligible for Employment | 1,994 | |
| Employed | 1,270 | 63.7 |
| Unemployed | 101 | 5.1 |
| Not in labor market | 724 | 36.3 |
| Home owners | 68 | 5 |
| Home renters | 1,282 | 95 |
| Average Income | | |
| Mean | 28,000 | |
| Median | 31,921 | |
| Below poverty | 706 | 26.3 |

Source: Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data;
Geographic Area: Census Tract 123, Davidson County, Tennessee

Nazareth Center

Nazareth Center is a faith-based organization that *promotes self-reliance and positive life choices for local children, youth, and adults by delivering and advocating quality programs and services.* Founded in 1894, the Nazareth Center was dedicated to young mothers and their children. After a series of mergers of three similar organizations, the multi-service agency now known as Nazareth Center exists with facilities throughout the metropolitan area. Their mission is to reach all poverty-restricted infants and young children, teens, young adults, adult women, and senior citizens in the neighborhoods surrounding the Center.

*Programs and Services*

Nazareth Center provides comprehensive services to approximately 6,000 people annually. Four components comprise the Center's programs-- child development, youth development, adult programming, and community outreach. Their child development program fosters respectful, collaborative relationships between students, teachers and parents, which offers a strong foundation and optimal care for each child. It consists of three childcare centers and a youth development camp. The childcare centers provide care for children ages 6 weeks to 12 years old. In addition, Nazareth Center provides after school care. During the summer, they offer an affordable Summer Camp for children ages 6 to 12 years old. Youth development services include five activities. The *Thumping Bumping Camp* includes a comprehensive curriculum that concentrates on the history and development of the city as well as camping, academic enrichment, sports and recreation, swimming, and field trips. The *Workforce Success Institute* provides opportunities for students to participate in intensive onsite training at local businesses where they gain experience in a real work environment. *Say Yes to Success* is a drug and alcohol prevention and intervention program for youth ages 9 to 17 years old. *The VIP Club* emphasizes the importance of academic achievement and a healthy lifestyle by providing tutors, educational and cultural enrichment activities, and physical fitness programs to middle school students during the school year. Finally, the *Ladies Only* program is designed to teach girls, ages 9 to 14 years old, life skills, manners, etiquette, and prevention. It is a service offered in

collaboration with local public schools.  Activities in the youth development program offers several opportunities for youth ages 12 to 18 years old to learn skills that will facilitate personal, academic, and professional growth such as job training through summer internships, drug and alcohol prevention, self-esteem building, and health and physical fitness.

Moreover, Nazareth Center is committed to community and individual well-being.  Through their community outreach component, the agency provides the seniors' program, the *Hot Lunch Program*, *Kids Café*, and an annual *Christmas Toy Store*.  The *Kids Café* provides hot meals to local children and youth weekly.  The *Seniors Program* promotes health, wellness, and empowerment in older citizens ages 55 years and older.  The Center offers computer training, dance classes, fun and educational games, and exercise opportunities to improve their health and wellbeing.  The hot lunch program is a network of area churches that work together to serve 80 meals daily to senior citizens and persons with physical challenges.  During the annual *Christmas Toy Store*, low-income families have opportunities to provide toys and other gifts for their children.  Finally, the *Secure* program offers community access to educational and informative workshops and fun activities designed to address neighborhood needs.

*Nazareth Center Employees*

Data about Nazareth Center's employees indicate that, over a two-year period, their employee numbers decreased by 20 from 59 to 39 persons.  Several factors could explain this sudden drop in personnel.  For example, Nazareth Center's financial statements show a $900,000 shortage between budgeted and actual revenues.  In addition, an annual average deficit of over $44,000 could result in decreases in staff as a cost reduction measure.  Moreover, because the city, participated in the federal HOPE VI[13] project, a large public housing community was demolished.  Residents were relocated or displaced and the Center's clientele decreased significantly.  Thus fewer customers require fewer staff. Although employees' names, roles, and contact information were provided, no demographic

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[13] HOPE VI is a major Housing and Urban Development plan designed to revitalize the worst public housing projects in the country into mixed-income developments.

information about racial composition, gender, or educational level were available beyond information provided on survey.

*Financial Profile*

Nazareth Center receives funding from diverse arenas including government, private, religious, and individual sources. The largest projected funding sources for Nazareth Center are grants from the federal, state, and local governmental[14]. Table 4.13 provides a detailed description of funding sources. Though Nazareth Center has an extremely diverse funding stream, they receive smaller amounts of money from these sources. This style of funding is different from other organizations in this sample. During the 2005 through 2008 fiscal years, Nazareth Center's average projected revenues equaled $2,271,495. Government funding including grants, vouchers and payments from state, local, and federal sources comprise 53 percent ($ 1,195,239) of Nazareth Center's projected revenues—the largest funding source by far. Non-profit funders and funding networks such as the local United Way comprise 19 percent ($ 430,884) of Nazareth Center's projected revenues. Grants and donations from private foundations, corporations, and churches totaled 6 percent ($ 127,408), 10 percent ($ 236,260), and 6 percent ($ 140,730) revenues, respectively.

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[14] Data taken from annual budgets fiscal years 2004-2011.

**Table 4.13 Average Projected Revenues for Nazareth Center (2005-2008)**

| Funding Sources | Amount ($) |
|---|---|
| Corporations | 236,260 |
| Foundations | 127,408 |
| Government Funding | 1,195,239 |
| Non-Profit funders | 430,884 |
| Churches | 140,730 |
| Individual Donations | 63,998 |
| Rental Income | 4,874 |
| Daycare Income | 7,500 |
| Event Income | 62,500 |
| Interest Income | 2,100 |
| Total Income | 2,271,495.50 |

Source: Nazareth Center's budgets for fiscal years: 1) 2005-2006, 2)2006-2007, and 3) 2007-2008. Figures shown are average amounts from the three fiscal years of the New SPECs research project. I computed raw data into averages for the purposes of this project.

Though Nazareth Center projected that the organization would raise over $2.2 million, annual income reports to the Internal Revenue Service illustrate that they reported average revenues of $1,299,305 for fiscal years 2005-2008—a $900,000 shortage. The closing and demolition of the public housing community located near the Center, and their primary service population, could explain the decrease in funding and reduced opportunities to seek funding for shrinking programs. Moreover, Nazareth Center spent $1,343,598, resulting in a $44,000 deficit. This budgetary deficit means that, over three years, the organization has had to reduce organizational expenses and personnel. However, their commitment to the community is apparent in the allocation of their funds. Eighty-one percent ($1,120,134) of Nazareth Center's total expenses are used to implement programs and services. The organization allocates 10 percent ($141,542) to management and administration costs and 6 percent ($81,918) to fund development and fundraising efforts. Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., rent, supplies, automobiles, events, utilities, necessary equipment, employee benefits, and training and continuing education). Table 4.15 details specific information about operating expenses.

Similar to MLK Center, Nazareth Center's commitment to promoting individual development and community well-being are reflected in how the organization allocates monies for programs and services. Figure 4.6 illustrates detailed expenditures for programs and services. Seventy-two percent ($764,718) of the agency's program revenues are spent on child development including their childcare centers and afterschool care programs. Nazareth Center spends 15 percent ($164,826) of their program expenditures on youth development programs. Programs for adults including job-training programs, nutrition, and exercise program comprise 9 percent ($ 94,141) of program expenses, while community outreach programs such as the *Christmas Store*, *Kid's Café*, the hot lunch Program, and the *Secure* program constitute 4 percent ($ 37,828).

**Figure 4.7 Nazareth Center Program Expenses**
**(2005-2008)**
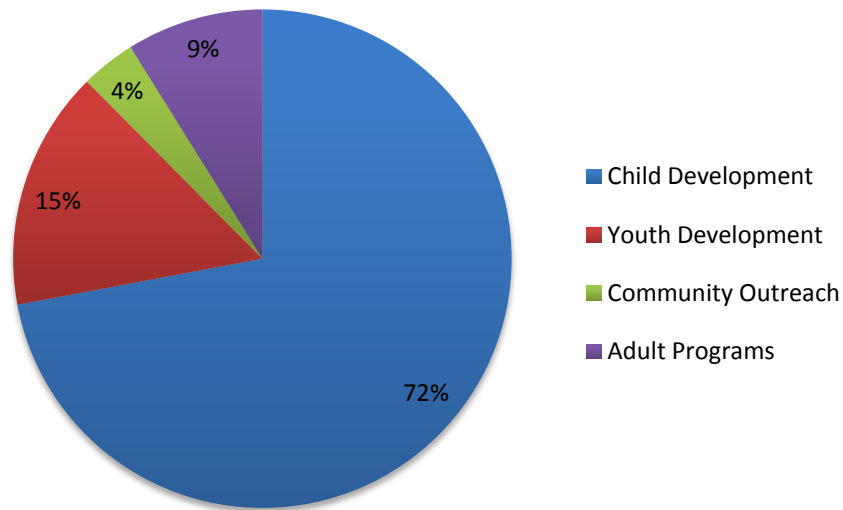


Source: Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. The percentages above reflect the average amount of revenues and expenditures for the three years.

**Table 4.14 Average Expenses and Revenues for Nazareth Center (2005-2008)**

| Expenditures | Amount ($) | % |
|---|---|---|
| Programs | 1,120,134 | 81 |
|     Child Development | 764,718 | |
|     Youth Development | 164,826 | |
|     Community Outreach | 37,828 | |
|     Adult Programs | 94,141 | |
| Fund raising | 81,918 | 10 |
| Management | 141,542 | 6 |
| Other | (44,292) | 3 |
| Expenses | 1,343,598 | |
| Revenue | 1,299,305 | |
| Net (Deficit) | (44,293) | |

Source: Return of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax Form 990 for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. The totals above reflect the average amount of revenues and expenditures for the four years. Totals for each category include salaries and benefits, program staff training, and material costs of programs (i.e., salaries, rent, supplies, automobiles, events, and tangible components of programs).

*Community Profile*

Similar to MLK Center, Nazareth Center's targeted service population is children, youth, and families living in and around a public housing development on the north and south sides of city. Table 4.16 shows specific demographic information for residents living around the agency's physical location. Nazareth Center is located in a neighborhood with approximately 2,217 residents. According to 2000 census data, the majority of the residents are African American or Black (84%). Sixty percent of the residents are female and, females (56%) head the majority of the approximate 730 households. The average family size is 3 persons; the average household size is 3 persons as compared to the metropolitan area figures of family and household size 2.29 and 2.96 persons respectively. The majority of the neighborhood's residents are unemployed (7 %) or not participating in the labor force (64%).

Most residents in this area live in extreme poverty. The average income for a household is $13,042 as compared to the city's average of $51,557. These figures indicate that residents are trying to support more people on far less money than their counterparts who live in other areas of the city. Sixty-

six percent of individuals and families live below poverty compared to the cities overall poverty level of 10.2 percent. Thus most residents make less than $18,000[15] annually. Limited incomes, larger families or households and lack of assets (i.e., property), and the disproportionate percentage of renters (93%) illustrate the level of extreme poverty around Nazareth Center's location. Therefore, families and individuals in this area are often unable to meet basic needs or to protect themselves from devastation in the wake of crises (financial, personal, or health). They are also vulnerable to being displaced because the majority of residents do not own their homes. Moreover, poor conditions among residents hinder the ability to take advantage of opportunities and resources that may offer advancement for themselves or their children. Therefore, the services provided by the Nazareth Center are vital to community well-being. Finally, it should be noted that since the 2000 census, several redevelopment projects and revitalization efforts (i.e., HOPE VI) have produced drastic changes in the demographic profile of the community. Thus Nazareth Center has decreased services to continue to serve their current clientele.

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[15] Information was taken from the Department of Health and Human Services website for households containing at least three persons.

**Table 4.15 Demographic Data for the Area Surrounding Nazareth Center**

| Demographic Information | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| **Total Population** | 2217 | |
| Female | 1369 | 60 |
| Male | 849 | 38 |
| Caucasian/ White | 321 | 14 |
| Black or African American | 1868 | 84 |
| Asian | 23 | 1 |
| Native American | 4 | 0 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 44 | 2 |
| **Total Households and Families** | 730 | |
| Average family size | 3 | |
| Average household size | 3 | |
| Female headed households | 412 | 56 |
| Male headed households | 58 | 8 |
| **Income and Poverty** | | |
| Eligible Employees | | |
| Employed | 512 | 37 |
| Unemployed | 99 | 7 |
| Not in labor market | 893 | 64 |
| Home owners | 54 | 7 |
| Home renters | 676 | 93 |
| Average Income | | |
| Mean | $13,042 | |
| Median | $ 7,719 | |
| Below poverty | 331 | 66 |

Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3) 100-Percent Data;
Geographic Area: Census Tract 144, Davidson County, Tennessee

Conclusion

Based on the findings in this chapter, several parallels and contradictions can be made between the five sample organizations. The first and most apparent similarity between them is that each organization strives to help solve or resolve community problems and promote well-being in their respective service populations. Although the organizations have different approaches and points of entry into their communities, common core values of "empowerment", "justice", "care", and "beneficence" are reflected in their programs and services (Dokecki, 1992). The organizations attempt to bring the aforementioned ethics to fruition by providing access to: quality healthcare; quality education and job training; skills that will facilitate healthy, productive adults; opportunities to have and maintain active, healthy lifestyles; financial independence; and, basic needs to sustain healthy lives (i.e., food, shelter/home, and connections to community). Examining how these agencies put their values into practice is important because having a general knowledge of the espoused values will provide a context for individual employees' perspectives about their work interactions with clients and perceptions about privilege. The agencies' espoused values of justice, collaboration, and client empowerment are apparent in their brochures and on their websites. Thus one could infer that these values would be present in their internal processes, relationships, and cultures. Yet manifestations of power can become apparent in the structure and quality co-worker relationships (Conger & Kanungo, 1988). Specifically, persons who experience nurturing relationships may feel more supported and agentic in their settings.

In addition, distinctions between the kinds of services offered by each organization may reveal how external regulatory factors can influence internal organizational mechanisms and influence employee perceptions about their agency or access to information (i.e., communication). For example, the Health Insurance Probability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) requires that health care centers such as Healthy Cities to develop and implement rigid structures that protect patient information. HIPAA mandates policies and procedure determine information distribution externally, as well as internal communication. Furthermore, health care organizations are accountable to the Joint Commission Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations (JCAHO). JCAHO regulations inform all aspects of the organization including

structure and function of specific roles.  Therefore, healthcare employees have very limited flexibility and creativity in performing their jobs.  These requirements also limit how Healthy Cities' social service employees are able to carry out their responsibilities.  Furthermore, childcare centers such as those run by Nazareth and MLK Centers are subject to similar restrictions regarding communication and agency by state licensing requirements and regulatory boards.  Thus external regulatory agencies can greatly influence an organization's settings and cultures as well as curtail employees' feeling of agency in their positions.  Furthermore, adhering to regulatory mandates can provide opportunities to create hierarchical structures in which those who are in higher positions can limit access of information and curtail agency of some employees (Ashcraft, 2001; Morrison & Miliken, 2000).

A second parallel can be drawn by examining the neighborhoods in which the sample organizations are located.  Most of the organizations are located in areas where the social demographics reflect their target service populations.  For example, both MLK and Nazareth Centers are located in severely impoverished spaces where a disproportionate percentage of females and persons of color reside. However, because they function as multi-service sites in the community, their goals are to help families, and community members meet basic needs, the agencies' physical locations are vital to successful achievement of their goals.  Similarly, Healthy Cities endeavors to make quality healthcare accessible to the poor, uninsured, and underinsured.  Therefore, having multiple sites where neighborhood residents can readily access services is necessary.  In contrast, because of the nature of the John Snow Foundation's work--raising and administering funds to social service agency—office location does not affect their work.  However, their offices are located in an area that is surrounded by the community members and who suffer from social inequalities that they aim to redress.  Interestingly, MLK Center and the largest Healthy Cities' clinic are located in the same public housing neighborhood, but the composition of their designated census tracts reveals very different information about the race and socioeconomic status of the people and families surrounding them.

Limited access to employee data show that although the gender compositions of the organizations may be consistent with the neighborhoods in which they are located, there are distinctions regarding race.

For example, Island Center's employees are White, but the majority of their clients are persons of color (i.e., Black, Hispanic, and Other). Yet, the majority of employees of color are in positions where they work directly with young people; therefore, it may appear to the community that Island Center employees reflect the racial demographics of their targeted service population. Similarly, data from Healthy Cities may employ a large number of persons of color, White persons predominate the neighborhood by a very slim margin. However, racial demographics for other Healthy Cities clinics show that residents of color are in the majority. Thus, overall, employees reflect the general composition of the organization's targeted neighborhoods.

Disparities in socioeconomic status between employees, clients, and neighborhood residents were not readily apparent from the data. However, employees who may need to avail themselves of the services provided by their respective organizations have more access to them than their clients and other community members. Comparing employee demographics to those of the residents they serve may not shed light on their perceptions of organizational privilege. However, comparisons do suggest that social disparities by race, gender, and class exist. Thus power dynamics exist within the service provider/service receiver relationship that may illustrate how employees experience privilege. In addition, comparing employees and organizational roles based on race, class, and gender provides background for understanding how race and gender can inform internal structures and employees' perceptions about their position within those structures. For example, White men and women hold the majority of the supervisory and management positions in the organizations, though survey data shows little difference in educational levels according by race.

Finally, employees' perceptions about their abilities to access organizational resources such as education and training, financial resources, or human resources (i.e., employees and volunteers) can be affected by the organizations' ability to provide them. Thus investigating the financial conditions of the five sample organizations can help inform us about the accuracy of employees' perceptions as well as organizational restrictions, due to limited finances, that influence employee access. For example, Nazareth Center's employees may experience reduced access to resources such as training because of

financial deficits and short falls.  In addition, decreased staff may require remaining employees to take on

more tasks, which may inhibit their abilities to be creative or manage their own time.  Thus they may feel

less agentic.  Furthermore, because of their shortfalls, the community (e.g., donors) may perceive the

organization as less impactful; thus less powerful.  However, although Healthy Cities has more employees

and is financially stable, the organization invests a relative smaller percentage of revenues in professional

development than the other agencies.  Therefore, although they have the money to invest in employees,

the agencies chooses to make greater investments in the expansion of clinics and other services.  This may

be a noble effort.  However, the choice to privilege more buildings as opposed to training and employee

support may sends negative message to employees about their value and shapes their views about

privilege.  Based on the organizational profiles, programs, financial statuses, broad employee information

and community summaries of the five-sample health and human service organizations, Chapter 5

examines experiences of employees by race, class (i.e., educational level) and gender.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS:  EXAMINING RACE, CLASS, GENDER, AND PRIVILEGE IN ORGANIZATIONS

Current conceptualizations of privilege may limit how it is studied within societies and

organizations.  Critics of privilege studies such as Blum (2008) contend that narrow methods of studying

the subject  that  compare the "haves" to the "have nots"  often miss the subtle and complex nature of

privilege.  A more comprehensive study of privilege is necessary to understand how it manifests in

societies  and to reveal some of the ways and why societies, groups, and individuals maintain and

perpetuate White privilege, male privilege, and/or class privilege (P. H. Collins, 2000; Disch, 2000). This

chapter is an examination of how privilege manifests in the five-sample health and human service

organizations.  I rely on employees' responses to open-ended survey questions, demographic data, and

employees' descriptions of roles to understand how organizational cultures and practices convey power

and privilege based on race, educational level (i.e., class), and gender.

Kimmel  and Ferber (2010) contend that studies that make privilege visible are necessary to

understand and redress social inequalities.  Until recently, social justice studies that focused on

deprivation were grounded in two assumptions—1) deprivation and privilege were identical dynamics and

2) revealing discrimination in society would reveal privilege.  Yet these assumptions are faulty.  In fact,

limiting studies of race, class, and gender to focus on discrimination could render privilege invisible:

> We always think about inequality from the perspective of those who are hurt by it…not
> the one who is helped.  Take, for example, wage inequality based on gender.  We're used
> to hearing that women make about 71 cents for every dollar a man makes. In that statistic
> women's wages are calculated as a function of men's wages; men's wages are the
> standard (the $1) against women's wages are calculated.  In this way, the discrimination
> against women is visible…But what if we changed the statistics:  What if we expressed
> men's wages as a function of women's wages?  What if we said that for every dollar
> earned by a woman, men make $1.34?  Then it wouldn't be the discrimination that was
> visible—it would be the privilege. (Kimmel & Ferber, 2010, p. 6)

Because I am examining privilege as unearned advantages conveyed upon and accumulated by

members of dominant social groups (i.e., Whites, college educated/professionals, males), the current

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analysis initially focused on the experiences and perspectives of those groups. However, the relatively low representation of males, disproportionately high representation of White females in the sample organizations, and the response similarities across gender among White respondents justifies broadening the research scope to include White females as part of a dominant group based on their race privilege (P. H. Collins, 2000; hooks, 1984). The intent is not to diminish the experiences of marginalized groups by focusing on White male and female experiences, but rather to better understand how members of dominant US racial, gender, and class groups access resources to their benefit and how health and human service organizations participate in the conference of these benefits and advantages. Furthermore, to understand how inequity benefits some, it is important to examine the cost to others.

Employees' responses yield three themes relative to race, class, and/or gender privilege in health and human service organizations—dimensions of power and privilege, visibility and invisibility, and general framing of employees' perspectives. The "dimensions of power and privilege" theme refers to the multiple means and modes in which organizational privilege manifests. They include employees' experiences in relationships, access to resources, feelings of agency, and communication. The theme of visibility and invisibility involves determining whether, how, and when employees' presence in their respective organizations are legitimized or diminished and how organizations perpetuate these dynamics. Finally, general framing of employees' perspectives refers to the lenses and contexts used to understand visible and hidden meanings. It includes the overall nature, pattern, and meaning of responses (i.e., tenor) or a way of speaking or responding to questions (i.e., tone). Each of these themes is detailed in subsequent sections and representative quotes are provided.

Dimensions of Power and Privilege

Findings illustrate that power and privilege manifest in the sample organizations in similar ways and support Harvey's (2000) contention that privilege is a product of power. Thus privilege manifests in sample organizations similarly to power. Four recurring dynamics help explain employees' perceptions and experiences about power and privilege in light of race, class and gender differences: 1) access to

resources; 2) employee relationships; 3) communication; and, 4) employee agency. Resources refer to employees' perceptions of their access to tangible or intangible sources that promote or facilitate their advancement in the organization. Relationships involve the quality of respondents' interactions with clients and co-workers and the nature of those interactions. Communication refers to employees' comments regarding information flow, quality, and processes by which information is transferred in the organization. Finally, agency involves employees' feelings about their ability to act autonomously to further their goals and participate in processes that influence the direction of other employees and the organization in general. White employees' responses within the four dimensions are generally similar across gender and class. However, gender distinctions are evident for respondents of color. The most pronounced distinctions in perceptions and experiences became apparent based on respondents' race.

*Access to Resources*

Examining employees' ability to access organizational resources (i.e., training, employee knowledge, materials, human resources, or time) provides a tangible means of understanding the first dimension of privilege and the manifestations of organizational privilege. Access can represent a means of broadly determining the "haves" and the "have nots" in an organization. Moreover, having access to organizational resources such as training, time to complete tasks, materials, assistance from co-workers and colleagues, and vast networks are vital to employees. Level of access also suggests a way to determine an employee's preparedness for future or advanced positions as well as his/her competence in his/her current position (Bond, 1999; Samuels & Samuels, 2003). Observing whether employees can access resources is a necessary but insufficient condition to observe how privilege manifests in the sample health and human service organizations.

Overall, White respondents report that their respective organizations offer many opportunities to learn for professional and personal development and to share knowledge with clients and co-workers. They contend that their organizations support and encourage them to expand their knowledge bases. For example, a White female respondent from Island Center describes her agency's commitment to offering training opportunities; "[name deleted] is active in developing the employees. There are multiple training

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sources used to provide for their employees. Trainers are brought into the agency, $$ (money) is available to train outside the agency…." Moreover, most White respondents report being able to train or teach other employees such that they become resources for their co-workers and clients. When asked how she was able to use her strengths within the organization, a White female employee from MLK Centers, describes how she is a resource to her coworkers and clients; "I am able to use my people skills in my job with volunteers and the community. I am able to use my training skills with the new staff also." Feeling as though they are literally organizational resources legitimizes employees as valuable human resources, can enhance confidence, and may potentially result in access to other benefits as well as advantages.

In addition, several respondents report that they control other employees' access to tangible and intangible resources. For example, employees who work in human resource departments are able to develop broader networks as well as influence training and financial resources. The responses of White females, who occupy four of five of the human resources directorships in this sample, illustrate this:

> As HR in our company, I am involved in securing benefits, building teamwork and capacity, sharing information and encouraging life balance. (Director of Human Resources at MLK Center)

> I use my strengths in advising management and supervisors in compliance issues, in training and developing staff. I provide human resources expertise to organization in areas of compliance, and guidance on employee related issues. I provide staff members with training and development, and consistent policies. Also, competitive benefits. (Director of Human Resources at John Snow Foundation)

The responses, "securing benefits", "providing consistent benefits", "building teamwork and capacity," and "provide expertise and guidance," illustrate how the above respondents perceive their control of resources for employees in all positions of the organizations. Becoming a resource also allows employees to control their co-workers' access to organizational resources as well as their access. Moreover, their use of active words (i.e., building, securing, advising, strengths, expertise, sharing, encouraging, and providing) suggests a common sense of agency and power within their roles and in the organization. Additionally, the respondents perceive themselves as advisors in the organization, which may afford them opportunities to access other kinds of resources such as networks with upper

management.  Therefore, becoming an organizational resource facilitates their ability to develop networks with the organization's as well as community decision makers.  Overall, White employees are  in positions where they can network with upper management  in their organizations  and they are the "face" of the sample organizations for donors, board members, politicians, and decision makers (i.e., CEOs, CFOs, Directors of Fund Development, Donor Relations, and Public Relations Directors).  These roles can also provide opportunities for them to access resources and networks to be leveraged to advance in both the organization and the community.  Responses from White employees suggest that they are able to access external resources in the community that are material, relational, and political in nature and may allow them to advance in their professional and personal lives (Bond, 2007).

In general, White respondents attribute the inability to access organizational resources fully to intangible factors (i.e., time) and/or external factors such as funding.  For example, the CEO at Healthy Cities, a White female reports not being able to utilize her strengths satisfactorily.  Yet she attributes this situation to lack of time within a day rather than "access" challenges;

> My strengths are writing, relations, planning, development, etc.  Demands on my time are enormous and don't allow me to be as good at what I do well as I can be.  I must spend time 'fixing' the organization.

Evidently, her role as CEO affords her access to and control of multiple organizational resources.  Her comment that she "spends time fixing the organization" reflects her belief that she is a vital resource to the organization.  However, the above response also reveals that though she can use her skills and strengths to advance Healthy Cities, she believes that she lacks access to  an intangible resource that would allow her to become a stronger, more viable resource for the organization—time.  Additionally, money is a tangible resource that affects White employees ability to actualize their full potential as resources.  In the following quote, a White male case manager at Island Center describes how lack of access to funding limits their work and negatively impacts their clients;

> We work with youth to connect them to their strength bases and many times that needs to happen off site.  Due to lack of funds and staff, that means they ride the bus, which will take huge chunks out of their day.

> The above response shows that the case manager believes he offers youth in the community

opportunities to realize and access their internal and external sources of strength.  Furthermore, he

believes that he is a community resource by providing them with necessary services.  However, lack of

funding and employees stifles his and Island Center's ability to serve the community and connect youth

with their strengths.  Similar to the responses above, White respondents generally believe that they are

powerful agents  for the community and in their organizations as well as that power is tempered by factors

beyond their control such as lack of time, limited human resources and lack of money.  The ability to self-

promote (i.e., make one's self or skills appear to be indispensible to the organization or the community),

as illustrated in the quotes above, could also be a manifestation of employee privilege.  Employees who

can self-promote may experience a number of professional and personal benefits.  For example,

individuals who are able to illustrate that they possess certain characteristics (i.e., being assertive, taking

initiative, and passionate) are often more likely to advance in organizations.  Thus self promotion

provides White employees with opportunities to further legitimize themselves in the organization and the

community.

Generally, White respondents report having access to material resources, training, and supportive

social networks that allow them to utilize their strengths within their respective organizations.  However,

one White female at Healthy Cities realizes that her experience may be unique; "opportunities are made

for creative input, but not feedback is routinely received so many coworkers feel their 'voice' doesn't

matter."  Her response is a rarity in this sample because she acknowledges that others may not have

access to the same kinds of relationships or resources that she does.  Johnson (2006) contends that US

society maintains and perpetuates privilege through a process of "normalization"—societal efforts to

make experiences of the dominant culture (i.e., White people, men) seem normal, expected and generic.

Therefore, White people believe that their reality *is* the reality.  Any differentiation is attributed to

deviance or inadequacies in the "different" individual or group.  Therefore, White employees in the

sample organizations may not realize or acknowledge that others do not experience their work

environments as positive.  The pervasive inability or unwillingness of members of the dominant group to

acknowledge diverse and perhaps oppressive experiences of their co-workers may be a function of their

privilege (M. Fine et al., 2004; A. G. Johnson, 2006; Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; McIntosh, 2010; Woods, 2010).  In contrast, historically marginalized groups (i.e., persons of color, women, and poor/working class people) have been continually forced to live in and acknowledge two realities, their own, and the dominant cultures' (hooks, 1984).  Therefore, the fact that the formerly mentioned White female employee chooses to acknowledge that some of her co-workers do not have the same access to resources as she does, may be a manifestation of her privilege--even if she doesn't realize it (McIntosh, 1988).

Among employees of color, responses regarding their ability to access organizational resources vary based on gender.  For example, male employees of color report feeling able to access organizational resources such as knowledge and learning opportunities that facilitate their personal, professional, and client's growth.  When asked how he utilizes the strengths of clients and co-workers in the organization, a Black male department manager at Nazareth Center responds;  "feedback surveys,  focus groups,  recruit residents for participation and planning of activities and events,  workshops and empowerment opportunities,  training clients, and  provide resources for clients/staff."  When asked about how he utilizes his strengths in the organization, the same employee responds; "provide training to others, lead programs and services, network and collaborate, and learn from others."  Examples of how he accesses organizational and community resources, primarily knowledge and information, to accomplish his goals are embedded within this department manager's responses.  Moreover, his responses indicate that he perceives himself to be a resource for clients and co-workers, largely because of his skills in training, networking, and collaborating.  The responses from White employees are similar to those of the one Black male department manager.  However, there are some distinctions.  For example, responses from White employees illustrate that they have more access to financial resources and networks that might increase their opportunities to advance in the organization.  However, the Black male employee's experience of limited access to financial and human (i.e., networks) resources parallels the experiences of female employees of color.

Although female respondents of color believe they have access to organizational resources, they contend that their access is often limited.  For example, when asked to give examples of how the

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organization provides primary prevention, respondents of color describe available workshops and trainings; "meeting and staff workshops" (VP of Programs / Child Development, Nazareth Center). However, when discussing personal concerns and organizational barriers, female respondents of color describe the need for more access to organizational training specifically regarding "cultural diversity" (Diabetes case manager, Healthy Cities). Moreover, it is difficult to determine, from their responses, whether or how they access material resources and social networks or if their access might result in career advancement. Unlike their White counterparts, the female employees of color rarely implicitly or explicitly discuss their access to material resources or social networks to the same degree. The absence of such discussions among the latter group appears indicative of several factors that may exemplify how White privilege and male privilege manifest in the sample organizations. First, the lack of responses may reflect the small number of female respondents of color in positions to access such material resources and networks. Although the number of survey respondents seem to be evenly divided by race (White= 22, Black= 26, Other= 2), female respondents of color are underrepresented among higher positions in the sample organizations as compared to their White counterparts. Therefore, female respondents of color also tend to have less control of organizational resources. Other factors that influence privilege may include: 1) how respondents of color are able to access and control resources, 2) the limitations of their access and control over co-workers resources, 3) how they perceive themselves to be resources, and 4) for whom they believe themselves to be resources.

Generally, respondents of color have some access to learning opportunities to improve in their current positions. Moreover, a few report having organizational support to be creative or flexible in their roles;

> There is an extremely supportive relationship between me and my supervisor which I believe speaks [to] the support she is given from her supervisor and so forth. I have also been given ample opportunity to participate in committee's which allow me to utilize my strengths. (HIV/AIDS Initiatives Manager, John Snow Foundation)

The above respondent experiences John Snow Foundation's social networks as a supportive hierarchy. She feels empowered by her supervisor whom she believes has a similar supervisor/supervisee

relationship.  However, White employees describe how they can access social networks and training in their respective organizations.  Their responses illustrate their ability to access networks throughout the organization.  The above employee's response is similar to other female respondents of color (i.e., Black and those who identified as Other) who understand that their access to resources, especially social networks and organizational support, is limited.  Another employee of color describes how she experiences organizational support and its boundaries;

> The organization I work for allows me to help our patients in every which way we can and as much as possible, it does not limit our humanitarian desires, so long we follow rules, policies, regulation…(Patient Advocate, Healthy Cities)

Even though the above respondent feels support from the organization to do her job, she is also very clear about the extent of the support that they receive and the conditions under which that support is given.  Similarly, the senior services coordinator at MLK Center, a Black female, acknowledges that she is allowed creativity and flexibility in her role.  However, her work is limited by her job description;

> I would like to practice primary prevention.  However, I must adhere to my agencies job description and that has been true with most jobs that I have had in the non-profit sector.

> She, like her colleagues of color, feels limited by rules and guidelines set forth by their

organization's policies and regulations.  Her efforts to expand beyond present role roles in function or department can lead to alienation.  All employees in the sample organizations are bond by policies and guidelines set forth by the sample organizations.  However, based on their responses, employees of color appear more conscious of how these policies affect their abilities to do their work.  Responses indicate that they restrict their creativity and learning to their current positions.  Moreover, the above respondents' use of passive or submissive phrasing in responses such as, "I have also been *given* ample opportunity to participate…", "The organization I work for *allows* me …", "...which *allow* me to utilize my strengths " or  "I *must* adhere to my agencies job description…" indicate that their access, actions, professional growth are extremely dependent upon and often limited by their co-workers and the organizations' cultures.

In contrast, White respondents provide detailed, seemingly limitless descriptions about how they

access the organizations' intangible resources, such as time, support, and networking opportunities as well as its tangible resources. Similar to female employees of color (both Black and those who identified Other), White employees and male employees in the sample organizations believe that they are resources for their co-workers and clients. However, when describing how they serve as resources for co-workers and the organizational resources they control, generally, female respondents of color believe that they provide supportive empowering environments in which others are able to make decisions and grow;

> [I] understand the work requirement get with the necessary people to discuss the project or task, get information, and proceed to finish project or task. (Position, Unknown, Nazareth Center)

> I try to keep an open mind to suggestions made by others and listen when others voice concerns and/or criticisms. (Medical Assistant, Healthy Cities)

> I usually convene a group of providers in my area that can offer expertise and guidance to address any issues or problems areas that need to addressed. (Director, John Snow Foundation)

The above responses indicate that the three employees consider themselves sources for people to express ideas, explore opportunities, and use their expertise by being open to new ideas. In addition, their responses suggests that they are coordinators of meetings where the environments are collaborative and foster their clients and co-workers' empowerment and growth. Generally, responses from employees of color in the sample organizations parallel the above sentiments. The formerly discussed functions in the organization should afford the above employees opportunities to develop networks where they could share knowledge and promote growth and advancement. However, how they are able to access that information and use it for self-improvement and their statements cannot determine advancement. In addition, the above women act as informal sounding boards for co-workers. Therefore, although respondents of color create venues to establish and coordinate collaborative networks for their colleagues, they may not experience legitimacy in the organization or be able to leverage organizational networks for their benefit. Furthermore, respondents' of color provide detailed descriptions of how their work benefits clients and community members, which may give them more legitimacy with these latter groups than with co-workers or decision makers.

Most employees of color in the sample organizations hold positions in which they provide services to community members and clients such as training/education, childcare, counseling, case management, and/or medical treatment. Therefore, professionals exercise more power in professional/client relationships (Dokecki, 1996). Their ability to administer services (i.e., resources) to their clients may reflect how employees of color experience organizational privilege. However, socioeconomic status and class may not translate into organizational benefits. Their power in the community may not translate into power that they can leverage in their respective organizations. Although worthwhile, this means their source of privilege is largely external rather than internal to their organizations. Their access to education and knowledge, money (i.e., from regular incomes) and their association with their respective organizations may afford them slightly more legitimacy, autonomy, and authority in the community. Thus compared to their clients, all employees in the sample organizations experience privilege. However, access to external community resources male and female by employees of color appears to be limited to clients and community issues. Their ability to influence public and organizational policies and practices is constrained. In contrast, White employees' have control of clients' resources combined with control of co-workers' resources. Thus, White respondents tend to have more intra-organizational control of resources than their counterparts of color have and may thus experience more organizational and social privilege. Although there are some distinctions between male and female respondents' perceptions about their access to internal resources, consensus is apparent across gender regarding their ability to both serve as resources and to have access to resources for clients and the community.

Observing the kinds of resources that employees access and how they use them as well as whether they can access resources can illumine our understanding of organizational privilege. White employees' responses illustrate that they may have access to more types of resources within and beyond the organization, while access by employees of color may be limited to training opportunities. In addition, in contrast to their counterparts of color, White employees have more access to community members (i.e., politicians, board members, policy makers, and/or donors) who hold more influence inside

and outside the organization.  Although they have access to community members and clients as resources, access to networks by respondents' of color appear to be limited to community members who have very little influence in organizational policies, funding, or practice.  Furthermore, White employees appear to be better able to position themselves in the organization and in the community to participate either directly or indirectly in developing organizational policy, practices, and public policy; they tend to be in positions to lobby for more resources to promote their career advancement.  The data reveal that White males and females generally control how other employees access resources because of their positions in the sample organizations.  They occupy the majority of upper level management positions (i.e., Chief Executive Officer, Chief Operating Officer, and Chief Financial Officer) and manager/supervisor, positions (i.e., program and support) at all but one of the sample organizations.  In fact, (with the exception of one respondent) all White male survey participants hold influential positions in their respective organizations.  Therefore, White men and women disproportionately control their agencies resources and the power and privilege that result.

*Organizational Relationships*

Bond (1999, 2007) contends that nurturing, empowering relationships are vital to advancement in organizations as suggested by the second dimension of privilege in this study.  Organizations where employees can develop positive relationships with co-workers allow for information sharing, skill development, resource sharing, development of social capital and eventually, professional and organizational growth.  Staff members that develop multiple and diverse organizational networks move ahead more often because they are able to leverage these relationships for promotion.  When discussing work relationships, findings suggest diverse experiences and perceptions based on race and gender.  White respondents consistently use terms such as "collaboration" and "teamwork" regarding co-workers and community members.  In general, White respondents consider their work relationships nurturing, empowering, and based on unconditional acceptance.  Several White female respondents describe their work environments;

I work in a very positive environment.  Everyone is very supportive and caring for one

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another.  They make it very easy to look at the positives.  (Position Unknown, MLK Center)

 I am afforded a lot of trust and 'room' to try new things and ways of doing my work.  I have great support and feel that when I am struggling there are persons who I can turn to who will help me focus on my strengths and encourage me...  (Island Center)

The above respondents describe their respective organizations as places that facilitate empowerment and employee agency.  Such environments offer opportunities for some White employees to cultivate relationships in which they can learn diverse skills that may help them advance.  Moreover, employees in empowering, nurturing environments can develop varied inter- as well as intra- departmental relationships that often prove beneficial (Marsick, 1998; Senge, 2006).  White employees describe how they develop multiple networks within the organization and are able to leverage their relationships to benefit clients, co-workers, and themselves.  They understand that the organizations' structures are hierarchical, yet believe that such structures are flexible enough to continually foster access to build relationships with the agencies' leadership.  The flexible structures are apparently deliberate and designed to emphasize nurturing, collaborative relationships.  For example, a White female director at Island Center discusses how her organization's leadership promotes positive relationships; "As Director of Prevention I am encouraged to build a strong and connected team, with recognition that our relationships matter".

Responses from the majority of the White respondents indicate that their respective organizations are accomplishing their goal of fostering teamwork and collaboration.  However, a few White female employees have had experiences that are contrary to the organization's efforts.  Although, most employees express values of collaboration and egalitarianism, one White employee at Island Center reported feeling that the organization valued those in higher positions with more education;

I feel that everyone view[s] the support staff not an important role in the agency…I feel that I have a lot to offer the agency but I am just viewed as clerical help and because I don't hold a degree in social work or psychology then I don't have anything to contribute.

The above response may reveal some complexities and contradictions that exist in the sample organizations.  Even though Island Center espouses specific values of inclusivity and teamwork, the practice of fostering these kinds of relationships may be limited to those with high levels of education and

positioning in the organization. The respondent above believes that the quality of her relationships with her co-workers is greatly influenced by her position within the Island Center's structure and her lack of a formal education. She believes that the clerical/administrative staff members are the linchpin in her organization. In fact when describing her role she writes, "I am first person people see and the first person they speak with when they call. I do all clerical support for all programs at [Island Center]." She contends that she contributes significantly to the organization. However, she thinks that co-workers de-value her role and her offerings. Her statements indicate that class and organization position may influence how some White employees experience organizational relationships. Her statements also reveal how, in some instances, class overshadows race in developing equitable relationships in organizations. Overall, the sentiments expressed by the White female Island Center employee above parallel the experiences of her counterparts of color.

Moreover, responses by employees of color regarding relationships with co-workers illustrate the complexity and contradictory nature of inter- and intra- racial relationships for them. Some respondents of color believe that they have cultivated positive relationships that have led to skill building and more engagement with the community;

> There is an extremely supportive relationship between me and my supervisor which I believe speaks the support she is given from her supervisor and so forth. I have also been given ample opportunity to participate in committee's which allow me to utilize my strengths (HIV/AIDS initiative manager, John Snow Foundation).

The above respondent, a Black female, has cultivated a positive and nurturing relationship with her supervisor, which provides her with opportunities to grow and thrive within the agency. Furthermore, she contends that her supervisor is modeling a mentoring style that the supervisor experiences. Other employees of color discuss similar relationships with individual co-workers. White employees' descriptions of relationships resonate with the above respondent's straightforward, positive description. White employees' responses tend to indicate multiple relationships including networks with others in diverse positions throughout the organization. Having limited relationships in the organization may keep employees vulnerable and limit their ability to advance. The aforementioned employee's response, (i.e.,

"I have also been given ample opportunity to participate….") describes an uneven power dynamic within the relationship that makes the above employee's well-being and growth vulnerable to her supervisor's whims or moods. Her supervisor nurtures her and affords her opportunities to grow because her supervisor chooses to do so. Moreover, although most respondents of color report being able to complete their work, some also believe that the organizations' environments and/or their co-workers can be unsupportive, uncommunicative, distant, and sometimes hostile. For example, the Senior Services Coordinator at MLK Center describes her work environment;

> I am able to be somewhat flexible in program design and implementation. In trying to access information regarding other programs and what they offer I am finding that most programs are entrenched with staff that are not motivated for change.

This respondent describes a flexible work environment, where she is able to be creative, and show initiative. However, she implies that her co-workers may be less collegial or willing to share networks and/or in the organization. These contradictory sentiments (i.e., feeling empowered and alienated simultaneously) are consistent in responses by employees of color. Although they experience some positive relationships with co-workers, employees of color generally feel ignored, or underappreciated in their respective organizations. In fact, some respondents of color report that they self-isolate to avoid relationships in environments that they consider hostile or indifferent; "I try to get work done on time outside of classroom so I can focus on the children more I stay out of bickering and backbiting" (Black female teacher, Nazareth Center). Employees in the sample organizations understand the organizational structures as hierarchical. However, respondents of color tend to experience a more rigid hierarchy than their counterparts. When asked to describe how the organization provided primary prevention services, a Black female employee at Nazareth Center responds, "We have a chain of command to follow." Her description of the organizational structure alludes to a strict hierarchy embedded within the organization that may influence how and with whom employees are able to interact. Therefore, employees may have limited access to networks that provide support and opportunities for learning and advancement. However, this latter tendency may serve to further alienate employees of color from key human resources that appear to systematically alienate them.

Homophilly may explain how organizational networks and relationships are cultivated. Homophilly is the tendency of people with similar characteristics (i.e., race, educational attainment, gender, ages, or class backgrounds) to form connections and to avoid social networks with those who have different characteristics. Employees who are marginalized because of race, class or gender may have more difficulty connecting to co-workers from the dominant culture (i.e., White male) because co-workers are often reticent to interact with co-workers who are different (Bond, 2007; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Johnson (2006) attributes members of the dominant culture's hesitation to what he calls "the path of least resistance" (p. 81). He argues that employees tend to associate with and build relationships with co-workers who appear to resemble them in race, class, and gender because it is easier to do so. This tendency becomes problematic when Whites and/or males hold the majority of key positions that allow them to make decisions about promotion and other perks. In this study, White employees report participating in higher quality, enriching relationships with co-workers in their organizations, and feeling empowered within such relationships. Although employees of color report having similar relationships with co-workers, they are often to a lesser degree.

Furthermore, homophilly may explain the positive, collaborative relationships employees of color experience with their clients and community members. The majority of the sample organizations' service populations are historically marginalized groups (i.e., persons of color, women, and poor/working class people). Employees of color experience positive relationships with clients and community members that may affect their productivity and allow for advancement within the agency (i.e., board members, potential staff, and volunteers). For example, the CEO at Nazareth Center (a Black female) describes the importance of community members and their varied roles in the organization's planning and operation;

> Persons in the community are on our Board. Our various programs have Advisory
> Boards. Advisory Boards are informed about budgets, etc. Customers are asked about
> their strengths as they prepare action plans for problem solving.

Community members are active participants in determining organizational function and she views them as partners and collaborators as well as clients. Moreover, respondents of color appear to feel honored to work with clients and the community. A respondent of color at Healthy Cities reports feeling

"blessed" that she has a position in which she can help clients actualize their dreams and aspirations, "I am extremely blessed to work for this organization. The organization I work for allows me to help our patients in every which way we can …." This respondent believes that being able to work with clients in the community is a special privilege. Clearly, she is committed to and passionate about making a difference in her community and helping her clients improve their conditions and communities. Furthermore, her comments reflect the sentiments of most employees of color. When asked to describe her role in the organization, a Black female preschool teacher responded, "I provide education for future leaders." Her response also indicates that she finds connecting with clients and community members personally rewarding. The responses of employees of color reflect a strong connection to clients and the community, which may also influence the amounts of social power that they wield and privilege that they experience in comparison to their clients (Harvey, 2000).

Yet, White employees benefit from the *combination* of positive relationships with co-workers *and* clients. Thus employees who build positive, supportive, diverse, and nurturing relationships with co-workers experience privilege because they are able to receive the resulting benefits. In addition, employees who are members of the dominant culture experience benefits provided by virtue of that very membership (Blum, 2008). These benefits include work environments that reflect the values and customs of the dominant culture. Organizations may, intentionally or inadvertently place higher value on skills and relational practices of the dominant group. If this occurs, the organizational culture and environment promotes the development of positive, productive, enriching relationships among White, often male, employees to the detriment of counterparts.

*Communication*

Scholars of power and communication in organizations contend that organizations that provide environments and opportunities for all staff to access information and participate in dialogue facilitate employee growth and advancement (Ashcraft, 2001; Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Morrison & Miliken, 2000). Open dialogues that encourage all employees to participate facilitate staff empowerment and egalitarian relationships among staff (Ashcraft 2001). The data in this study illustrate how "silencing" and "giving

voice" may reflect the third dimension of organizational privilege that emerged in this analysis. Responses among White employees are consistent across gender and educational level regarding communication quality and flow. Most White employees in the sample organizations experience mixed sentiments regarding organizational communication. Some White employees believe that communication in their respective organizations is open and empowering. For example a White female employee at Island Center states; "I have opportunities to give my opinion and shape my own work." Their descriptions of collaborative communications processes and open transfer of information indicates that White employees generally view themselves as contributors and receivers of information within the organization (Ashcraft, 2001). The perceived supportive environment facilitates more and better communication among staff. A White female employee at John Snow Foundation describes the ease at which she is able to access information within the organizations; "I ask for feedback from those that I respect. I try to get others to feel ownership over solving the problem". Her response illustrates how White respondents are able to use communication processes to discern how and with whom to form organizational relationships for their benefit.

In addition, open communication processes allow employees to participate in dialogue that promotes personal growth and learning. For example, A White male case manager at Island Center describes how open dialogue facilitates employee growth; "Staff is often involved in philosophical struggles with each other about development, learning, consequences, etc..." Open communication legitimizes the voices and perspectives of those who participate. Moreover, the communication is often helpful, allows for their growth, and contributes to how they perceive their relationships within the organization. In contrast, tokenistic participation—soliciting input from people for the sake of appearance and disregarding it--can be marginalizing to employees and influence whether and how staff members participate in communication responses. Although she feels that there are opportunities for creative input, a White female employee at Healthy Cities describes how a combination of tokenistic participation and continual negative feedback affects her co-workers;

Opportunities are made for creative input, but not feedback is routinely receive so many

coworkers feel their 'voice' doesn't matter.  Generally, fault and blame are vocalized more than commendation and praise.

Scholars who study privilege such as McIntosh (1988, 2010), Woods (2010), Kimmel and Ferber (2010), Fine, et al (2004) and Franklin (1999, 2006) emphasize being heard and having one's voice legitimated as an indicator of privilege.  The data illustrate that the combination of race, gender, and class inform whether and how employees are able to participate in organizational discourse.  In other words, privilege is conveyed by hearing and referencing some voices over others (Andersen & Collins, 2007; P. H. Collins, 2000).

For most respondents of color, perceptions of organizational communication vary across gender. The responses by the sample's only Black male employees in the study are similar to those of White males and females.  He reports experiencing high quality communication within organizations.  He also discusses opportunities to teach and learn from others in the organization.  This group reports participating in open dialogues to promote new opportunities for learning.  In contrast, as stated by a Black female employee at Nazareth Center, "Communication is key" and female employees of color value communication.  This group reports being willing to get information and input from co-workers and the community.  However, they report that lack of clarity around communication and policy impedes their feelings of agency in the organization.  For example, a Black female medical assistant at Healthy Cities describes barriers to utilizing the strengths of her co-workers, "I try to keep an open mind to suggestions made by others and listen when others voice concerns and/or criticisms.  A lack of policy across the board sometimes slows progress."  Furthermore, some female respondents of color believe that they are silenced and often disempowered by their coworkers in the sample organizations.  For example, when asked about how she was able to use her strengths in the organization, a Black female employee at Healthy Cities states, "I don't feel like I can [use strengths] no one seems to listen".  Moreover, they report that communication is often one directional (staff to supervisor) and limited to problem solving and evaluation.  Often, communication is perceived as negative and hostile.  The culmination of negative and one-sided communication has led to some employees feeling silenced within

their respective organizations.

These findings are illustrative of Collins's (2000) intersectionality theory. Female respondents of color reveal unique experiences of seclusion. They believe that they do not get the same kind or quality of communication as their White or male counterparts. Furthermore, they suggest that they rarely experience opportunities to participate in dialogue in any productive or meaningful way. The consequences of this silencing are detrimental to the organization (Morrison & Miliken, 2000). However, results of silencing are far more damaging to the employees' psychic, emotional, and relational well-being (Franklin, 1999, 2006). Moreover silencing limits the ability to maximize personal resources, promote their experience and individual achievement, establish quality relationship, and ultimately perpetuates marginalization and privilege.

*Employee Agency*

The fourth dimension, employee agency (feeling empowered to control work and participating in organizational decision-making), is directly related to feelings of job satisfaction, job mobility, and employee tenure (Balsamo, 1999; Davison & Martinsons, 2002; Frey, 1993; Geisler, 2005). Although entire responses are considered when analyzing the data, indicators of empowerment are more apparent in the questions where respondents are asked to describe how they use their strengths in the organizations. The aforementioned question implicitly elicits responses that reveal whether and how employees believe they control their work, and contribute to the sample organizations as well as the community. Therefore, the majority of responses that described employee agency are responses to that question. Generally, White employees' responses about ability to participate in organizational decision-making and accomplish or complete tasks pertaining to their jobs are consistent across gender and class. Mostly, White respondents believe that they are empowered to use their strengths to accomplish goals in their respective organizations;

> My strength lies in accountability in financial and non-financial work. I am able to use those strengths in guiding management and the finance committee toward greater focus. (Director of Finance, MLK Center--female)

I am able to use youth development/relationship building by being given the liberty to build one-on-one relationships with my council members" (Case manager, Island Center-male).

I am a very personal person. I get to work with families and children on a daily basis. I get to spread cheer to all of my clients and be their cheerleader to help them see their successes" (Position Unknown, Healthy Cities--female).

The above responses indicate that these employees feel that they are able utilize personal and professional strengths to enhance and sometimes excel at their work. Additionally, White respondents believe that they are proactive and creative in completing tasks and doing their jobs. Furthermore, by "guiding or advising board members", "staff accountable" and "helping clients and families to see their strengths" the employees are able to demonstrate leadership characteristics in their positions. When employees show leadership and take initiative, they may be allowed more leeway to guide their positions. Employees who are "self-determining" (i.e., empowered) in their organizations experience self-assurance, self-worth, and opportunities for advancement. They tend to maintain and enhance their personal power so they may achieve their unique levels of excellence (Geisler, 2005). For example, a White female employee at Island Center responds; "I have opportunities to give my opinion and shape my own work". Thus, they believe that they contribute to the agency and lives of their community. She continues by describing the freedom she feels to achieve personal and professional goals in the organization. Her responses, similar to those discussed above, explicitly or implicitly suggests the ability to be self-determining in her role. Furthermore, self-determined employees can access intangible resources such as organizational support and networks that will allow them to acquire more skills, which can lead to opportunities for advancement in the organizations.

Empowered employees, such as those discuss above, often align their attitudes and behavior with the sample organizations strategic direction and culture (Geisler, 2005). Employees whose attitudes and behaviors are consistent with the larger organization may benefit through the advancement in the organization, but may also garner more organizational credibility. They ca garner more support from supervisors and co-workers because they may appear to have a clearer understanding of the agencies, goals, missions, and visions. Furthermore, they may appear more invested in the agency and

its success.  Not only more apt to participate in decision-making about their positions, they may

participate in decision-making for the organization overall.  Furthermore, their voices may be given

more weight during the decision-making processes.

Although some employees of color believe they are agentic in their organizations, in contrast to

their White counterpart, respondents of color (i.e., Black and respondents who identified as Other) are

divided in their belief that they are agentic in their roles.  Generally, respondents of color believe that they

are agentic when working with their clients;

> I have been adequately educated and trained in my field and I am able to use these skills
> in my organization daily.  (Internal Medicine Physician, Healthy Cities)

The above employee believes that they are able to use their skills and training to influence the

lives of their clients.  Moreover, the above responses suggest a belief that their respective organizations

are empowering environments to some extent.  However, the language (i.e., "being given opportunities"

or "having been allowed to participate") in responses by employees of color suggests that they believe

that their control is lessened by others in the organization.  Furthermore, when asked to describe how they

use their strengths in the organization, approximately 20% (5) respondents of color did not respond.  The

fact that they completed the other questions allows one to infer that this question was deliberately

skipped.  A belief that they cannot use their strengths or are powerless may be implicit in the absence of

answers to this question.  In addition, other employees of color admit that they do not feel empowered in

their positions.  For example, a Black Female Customer Services Representative at Healthy Cities, "[I]

don't fell like [I] can [use strengths] no one seems to listen all the time here."  Her response illustrates

how Healthy Cities' environment could be disempowering.  The lack of clear communication or feeling

unheard fosters a sense of powerlessness among employees (Conger & Kanungo, 1988).  Other

respondents of color have also indicated beliefs that their perspectives are often ignored in the sample

organizations;

> [My] other strengths that I have project management, supervisory, etc are not
> appreciated.  I have spoken on many times my passion for the above subjects and others
> but have been placed in [those] positions" (Direct Services, Island Center)

The above respondent's believes that she possesses skills to advance into management positions in Island Center. Yet her requests for opportunities to utilize these skills have been continually ignored. Feelings of frustration and powerlessness are implicit in her response. The Senior Service Coordinator at MLK Center shares the above sentiments;

> In trying to access information regarding other programs and what they offer I am finding that most programs are entrenched with staff that are not motivated for change…. (Black Female)

Similar to the Island Center employee, her responses indicate attempts to be self-determining and empowered in the organization. Yet a lack of support and poor communication has rendered such persons seemingly powerless in their organizations. Furthermore, such respondents believe that their respective organizations and co-workers have hampered their attempts to participate in the advancement of the organization or their personal advancement. The above sentiments and the general sentiments of disempowerment expressed by employees of color in the sample organizations are examples of Bond's (2007) study of organizational culture. She contends that some organizations' policies and practices often create environments that inadvertently disadvantage and disempower employees who are members of historically marginalized groups. Ideologies about race, class, and gender are deeply embedded within organizations cultures, rules, practices, and employees. Therefore, the sample organizations and their employees may be unconsciously reflecting and perpetuating societal practices that devalue and disempower persons of color. Furthermore, individual behavior and organizational practice may also reinforce and reflect race-based and class- based privilege.

<center>Visibility and Invisibility</center>

Visibility --an individual's ability to establish a powerful and legitimate presence within societies, communities, and/or relationships --is embedded within the study of privilege. When discussing how privilege manifests for White men, White women, or Black men, scholars consistently include access or opportunities to establish one's self as a legitimate presence in society. Being viewed as a positive,

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powerful being appears to be a vital factor to understand how privilege manifest in societies, communities, and organizations. Two themes are present when comparing employees' descriptions of their organizational roles according to race, educational level (i.e., class), and gender. First, the data show the ways that organizations inadvertently reify White, educated employees' visibility in the community as well as within the organizations. Second, women of color, and women with less education report feeling ignored and overlooked by co-workers. Thus, based on existing literature, members of these latter groups have been rendered invisible (Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; McIntosh, 2010; Woods, 2010). I discuss these themes below.

*Visibility*

Comparing the detailed organizational role descriptions provided by respondents in general as well as across race and gender yield important understandings of how White employees establish/maintain visibility in the community and organizations. White sample employees occupy roles at every level within the organizations, but employee responses indicate that White men and women tend to have high-profile roles that establish them as leaders and producers of vital organizational resources. As noted earlier, in the five organizations, White men and women hold the majority of leadership, management, and human resources positions. Example posts are provided below;

> Senior Vice President-- Manage the Community Investments and Investor Relations Department and am a member of the Strategic Management Team (John Snow Foundation)

> Vice president for programs--coordination and development of all program services at our agency (Island Center)

> Director of Finance—I produce financial statements, lead the budget process, and work with management and the finance committee of the board to develop policies and maintain financial strength and accountability (MLK Center)

> CEO--Leader (Healthy Cities)

The above respondents are in positions such as vice presidents, directors, and CEOs in which they control or participate in creating organizational policies and practices as well as controlling and disbursing resources. The power that they hold is implicit and explicit in their descriptions (i.e., "member of the

Strategic Management Team", "coordination and development of all program," and "maintain financial strength and accountability"). Furthermore, their positions afford them opportunities to work in close proximity with the organizations' decision makers (i.e., board members) and donors (i.e., investors). Even though White employees and employees of color have earned similar levels of education, White employees occupy more middle management and upper management positions than employees of color, who tend to occupy direct service and support service positions. Few employees of color occupy the same or similar positions in the sample organizations. For example, both the CEO and Vice President of Programs and Child Development at Nazareth Center are Black females and the CFO/COO at Healthy Cities is a Black male. However, White females and males hold the majority of such positions.

Furthermore, White employees (male and female) often become the representative of the organization in the community to donors, politicians, potential board members, and powerful volunteers. For example, a White female employee from John Snow Foundation describes her role as the manager of two of her organization's initiatives--the United Women in Giving and the Sennet Society; she is a "fundraiser working with two initiatives: Women United in Giving (our women's initiative) and Sennet Society (our young professional initiative)". Both jobs entail garnering financial support from donors and volunteers in the community. Respondents in these positions can acquire resources that are vital to maintaining the organizations fiscal, strategic, and operational functioning. Thus White employees who hold these roles become valued, powerful employees. In addition, their positions garner credibility in the community with policy makers and donors. Conversely, employees of color are often the sample organizations' representatives for clients and community members. Example posts for them are provided below.

ELC (Early Learning Center) Teacher--Daily care for children, Assessments, Daily Attendance, Educating our future doctors, lawyers, etc. (MLK center)

Senior Services Coordinator--Building a neighborhood based program that meets the unaddressed needs of seniors. (MLK Center)

HIV/AIDS Initiatives Manager--Assisting the Director of HIV/AIDS Initiatives in the monitoring of funded agencies for fiscal and programmatic compliance. Supporting the HIV/AIDS community through the inclusion of volunteers and clients. (John Snow Foundation)

Physician-I am an internal medicine physician. I am the Medical Director of my Neighborhood Clinic. (Healthy Cities)

The above respondents provide vital services to their clients such as healthcare, childcare, and funding for services. Therefore, they control resources for those in the community. However, unlike their White counterparts, they control very few of the organizations' internal resources. Yet, they are able to cultivate strong networks in the community with other service providers and community members. Similar to the above respondents, most employees of color hold positions in which they work directly with clients or the community and have strong connections within the community. Although they hold middle management positions, such as coordinator or program manager and have presence in the community, most employees of color in these positions are resources for clients and thus do not generally have the same influence in the organization as their White counterpart. Even though their contributions are vital to the organizations' business viability—they operationalize and carry out the mission of the agencies— and they do not participate directly in fundraising, strategic planning, or policy making in the organization. Nor do they garner the same kind of value within the organization or credibility with powerful community members.

Feagin's (2010) theory on systemic racial dynamics and racism can explain why and how organizations may perpetuate, inadvertently or deliberately, White visibility and White privilege. He describes the process by which U.S. society embeds hegemony about race in its citizens and how such ideologies about race can infiltrate organizational culture and individual consciousness. Feagin contends that the formerly mentioned ideologies inform the construction of Whiteness and the values, characteristics, language, and culture associated with it (i.e., virtuous, noble, superior, and preferred). Moreover, non-Whiteness and those aspects associated with it become representations of weakness, savagery, deviance, incompetence, untrustworthiness, and unreliability. Feagin (2010) calls this process the "White racial frame" (p.3). The White racial frame is a foundation that informs how many White persons construct their identities, how others perceive them, their relationships, and their behavior. Feagin argues that White persons invoke the White racial frame to maintain and perpetuate their

identities, authority, and privilege. Furthermore, organizations may invoke this same frame to gain legitimacy and credibility through their hiring and promotion practices.

In an ethnographic investigation of a university-based, Black student organization, Kolb (2007) found that the organization's female leaders deliberately presented a Black male as the "leader" of their group to garner prestige, credibility, and legitimacy in the community. The female student leaders invoked a "male gender frame" to establish the presence and legitimacy of the organization. Organizations that rely on funding and other resources from private donors, such as those represented by the sample agencies, often use similar strategies (i.e., invoking dominant racial, class, and gender frames) to raise funds, gain influential volunteers or access resources that otherwise may not be available to them. Similar to the sample organizations, they may hire White males and females in positions where they have contact with donors, board members (current and potential), and policy with whom they share common characteristics and social standing (i.e., race and class) to gain credibility. Furthermore, to gain the trust of the community and their clients, they may hire persons of color with working class or poor backgrounds to work with clients and promote the services of the agency. However, in the process, organizations may unintentionally perpetuate distorted ideologies associated with racial, class, and gender frames and reinforce notions White superiority, elitism, and male dominance. Moreover, these frames perpetuate White privilege, class privilege, male privilege and the marginalization of employees of color and women. Note, this tendency is less evident in the perceptions of White respondents, but quite apparent in the positions they hold [i.e., visible as proxy of Feagin's (2010) White racial frame].

*Invisibility*

Female employees of color (Black women in particular) and White employees with less education or who are in support positions (i.e., receptionists, secretary, or assistant) in the sample organizations perceive that they are often overlooked and unappreciated in their organizations. They believe that their talents and strengths are being underutilized and that their voices are often unheard. For example, when asked to describe how they are able to use personal strengths within the organization, female respondents of color answer as follows:

I don't feel like I can [use strengths in organization] no one seems to listen all the time here. (CSR [Client Services Representative], Healthy Cities)

Working with clients. However, the other strengths that I have project management, supervisory, etc are not appreciated. I have spoken on many times my passion for the above subjects and others but have not been placed in a position to utilize these strengths. (Direct Services worker at Island Center)

My voice is often a silent voice and one that is not popular. (Senior Services Coordinator, MLK Center)

Although the above respondents believe that they can contribute considerably in the organizations in multiple ways (i.e., project management and planning, supervision, development of prevention programs), they believe that their opinions and contributions are usually unnoticed. Furthermore, they believe that they are in positions that do not allow them to maximize their strengths. When they try self-promotion to gain advancement, they believe their efforts are ignored. Furthermore, a White female receptionist at Island Center describes feeling devalued by her agency—specifically in relation to employees with Bachelor's degrees—because she has an Associate's degree; "I feel that I have a lot to offer the agency but I am just viewed as clerical help and because I don't hold a degree in Social Work then I don't have anything to contribute." In this instance, the above respondent's class (as defined by formal education) is the factor that renders her invisible. Her responses mirror those of the aforementioned female employees of color with varied educational levels. All of their responses indicate their efforts to contribute (i.e., offers to contribute in ways that would allow them access to more organizational resources and presence) have often been rebuffed or ignored. Essentially, these respondents contend that their co-workers tend to negate their very presence in the organization. It is unclear whether their co-workers are cognizant that their actions are perceived as dismissive or devaluing. However, their intentions do not negate the aforementioned respondents' experiences. Moreover, their views expose some the ways organizations and other staff perpetuate invisibility; thus and relegate such women to less visible positions that diminish or delegitimize their presence as authorities in these organizations.

Theories such as Collins's (2000) matrix of domination and Feagin's (2010) White racial frame may be useful in understanding how societies embed ideologies that overvalue Whites, educated persons, and males, and devalue women, persons of color, and poor working class persons. Essentially, these theories suggest that societies construct negative ideologies about marginalized groups that inform how individuals identify marginalized persons; attribute value and authority to marginalized persons; and, build relationships. Franklin (2006) calls the psychological struggle that persons of color experience as the result of distorted racial framing "the invisibility syndrome". Invisibility is the inner struggle that results from feelings that one's "talents, abilities, personality, and worth are not valued or even recognized because of prejudice and racism" (Franklin, 2006, p. 13). He contends that invisibility syndrome is the result of persons "unresolved psychic injury" from multiple "slights" or "microaggressions"— subtle acts or attitudes experienced as hostile such as dismissive language, ignored requests or suggestions, exclusion from conversations, and disregarded feelings or experiences (Franklin, 2006). Responses from women of color and women with less education illustrate the presence of this dynamic within the sample organizations. Comments also illustrate the effects. Some women of color and women with less education report feeling isolated or having very few high quality organizational relationships. Moreover, they feel powerless to express opinions or take initiative, stifled, and immobile in their organizations. Finally, their responses allude to feeling disrespected and devalued by co-workers.

Heinz Kohut (1913-1981) described conditions for children's healthy development. He asserted that children must experience, "fond-gazing" at the time of their infancy. "Fond-gazing" is the instance in which children are looked upon lovingly as well as with acceptance and approval by their parents or primary caregiver. Kohut (1971) contends that children who experience fond gazing develop into self-assured, emotionally healthy, creative, courageous, and productive adults. Perhaps, Kohut's theory can be applied to organizations and staff. Organizations provide authoritative environments in which employees' development depends on how they are perceived or viewed. However, organizational culture is often informed by dominant racial, class, and gender frames. Therefore, they can become environments where members of the dominant culture feel validated, empowered, connected, nurtured,

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and valued and others feel devalued, silenced, isolated, and oppressed.  Thus employees who experience "fond-gazing" within organizations, via organizational culture, policies, and practices—experience privilege.  In this way, visibility and invisibility inform our understanding of some of the organizational mechanisms that can foster privilege.

## Framing Employee Perspectives

Although employees in the sample organizations consistently espouse values of collaboration, teamwork, and inclusion, the tone and tenor of some of  their responses also reflect their sense of dominance and superiority in relationships with clients (for both races) and co-workers (for White employees).  Feagin's (2010) "White racial frame" can also provide insight into understanding paternalistic tones in employees' responses.  These beliefs manifest in language that promotes the dominant person and often infantilizes persons they perceive to be less powerful or different.  The use of paternalistic language or a supervisory tone indicates how privilege can manifest in organizations.  Examining employees' responses have illustrated that most employees, regardless of race, class, or gender, use paternalistic language regarding their clients.  In addition, White employees responded similarly to co-workers.  Finally, the responses reveal the subtleties of tone and tenor that suggest organizational privilege.

The majority of the organizations in this study provide basic goods and services for marginalized communities (i.e. persons of color, poor/working poor, and women and children).  Most responses from White employees have an evaluative and often paternalistic tone embedded within them.  For example, when asked to describe the Island Center's efforts to change community conditions, the Coordinator of the Youth Advisory Council responds;

> I belie[ve] that key leaders and many staff at the organization don't understand the principles and practice of direct action organizing even though we understand that we should be addressing conditions rather than just providing treatment.

Although the above respondent does not feel bound by her position in the organization as a direct service provider, she feels astute enough to assess her supervisors' and co-workers' capacities and

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shortcomings. The tone of her response may be indicative of the organization's environment that

encourages a discourse and/or it may be indicative of an embedded sense of entitled authority to evaluate

others (Feagin, 2010; Blumer, 1958). Moreover, when describing interactions with clients or co-workers,

White respondents often describe their contributions to the interactions as vital, while rearely

acknowledging the contributions of others. For example, when asked to describe how she seeks out and

utilizes the strengths of clients, community members, and/or employees and coworkers, a White female

employee at MLK Center responds;

> My co-workers are my clients. I plan on building on their strengths when I train them on
> the computer. Many times, I have noted that my co-workers will not attempt to build on
> their strengths by attempting to learn on their own prior to my training. (Director of Data
> Management, MLK Center)

By framing her co-workers as her clients, the above respondent immediately segregates

herself from them. This delineation and the use of the term "client" to describe her co-worker

immediately illuminates how she has establish a clear power dynamic in her relationships with

them. As the Director of Data Management, she does provide vital technical assistance, training,

and services to the organization. However, the above response indicates that her interactions may

be largely one directional. She provides the service and they receive it. Moreover, her

description takes on an evaluative tone when she describes her co-workers unwillingness to

maximize their potential or take advantage of her offering by refusing to continue learning

without her direct supervision.

Blumer (1958) contends that racial prejudice is a collective attitude based on four types of

feelings experienced by dominant groups—"1) feelings of superiority, 2) feeling that other races are

intrinsically deficient, 3) a proprietary claim privileges and advantages, and 4) a fear and suspicion that

the subordinate race harbors designs on the prerogatives of the dominant race" (p.4). He asserts that these

collective feelings influence how members of the dominant group relate to and regard other groups as

well as how they regard themselves. One manner by which the basic feelings manifest is in the tone and

tenor of their speech. When speaking about different races, classes, or gender, members of the dominant

group may use language about marginalized groups designed to neutralize them or their power, dismiss their authenticity or integrity, or call their judgment into question (Townsend- Gilkes, 2010). Additionally, such persons construct themselves as honest, virtuous, knowledgeable, and social authorities. Furthermore, US society reinforces the aforementioned efforts by the dominant group, which may cause and justify her feelings of authority and entitlement to asses, evaluate, and question others. Although the race, class, nor gender of her co-workers are unknown or acknowledged in the above response, nor does she directly refer to a specific group in the organization or the community, the authoritarian tone of her response is indicative of privilege that has been conveyed on her as a White, college-educated female.

Although their intentions may be to provide assistance and their tone, more subtle, White, formally educated, employees' efforts to advocate for others may also reflect embedded paternalism and privilege. For example, when discussing how she utilizes the strengths of clients and the community in the organization, a White female employee at Island Center responds;

> I try to nurture strengths and resiliency by setting up experiences where either clients or staff can utilize and discover their strengths. All of our prevention work helps young people explore their voice and choice…. (Director of Prevention)

The above response illustrates some maternal characteristics of her role. Moreover, the fact that she is in a position to provide this kind of "nurturing" environment is a manifestation of her privilege in the organization. For example, when asked to describe how she uses her strengths in the organization, a White female physician at Healthy Cities responds;

> Opportunities are made for creative input, but not feedback is routinely receive so many coworkers feel their 'voice' doesn't matter. Generally, fault and blame are vocalized more than commendation and praise.

It is difficult to determine anything about the physician's experience from this quote. However, it is clear that she is advocating for co-workers that, in her assessment are unheard. Her response is a noble attempt to shed light on some inequities that that she sees in Healthy Cities' communication processes— specifically in how the organization silences employees. However, embedded in her response is the knowledge that because of her race, class, and position in the organization, her observations functions in

two ways.  First, it legitimizes the experiences of those co-workers who have been silenced and have

named those experiences themselves.  Second, it allows her to position herself as a potential advocate

because her opinion holds more weight than co-workers for whom she is advocating.

In addition, the superior/subordinate structure allows White employees in the sample

organizations to establish themselves as "experts" in relationships with clients and co-workers.  For

example, when asked to describe how she uses her strengths in the organization, a White female director

at MLK Center responds; "in that we are treated as experts in our fields... we each have our role to fill and

are called on when something requires our expertise."  Being the "expert" legitimizes one's authority and

superiority.  Furthermore it conveys entitlement on the "expert"  to define the nature of relationships,

establish the boundaries, and evaluate others' behavior and experiences without being challenged

(Harvey, 2000).   In addition, it allows privileged persons to maintain their obliviousness to structural

inequities by attributing them to personal choice.  When asked to describe how the organizations change

community conditions, a White female Financial Administrator at MLK Center responds; "I believe we

fail to realize the role personal choice plays in the process.  Lack of personal responsibility is a primary

problem both in this community and in the nation as a whole."  White respondents tend to use

paternalistic language and authoritarian tones in their language; they invoke the White racial frame, which

allows them to maintain their sense of superiority and entitlement (Feagin, 2010).  In addition, invoking

the White racial frame allows White employees to avoid critically reflecting on how their position in the

social structure might influence how they receive benefits or become legitimate authorities.  Invoking the

White racial frame simultaneously masks and maintains White privilege.

Interestingly, when discussing relationships and interactions with clients and community

members, employees of color did share similar paternalistic frames associated with providing for "those

who are less fortunate."  For example when asked to describe ways that she sought out and used the

strengths of community members, a Black female employees  at Nazareth Center responds, "I seek

individuals who are cooperative and willing to accept change."  This response reflects several

paternalistic characteristics.  First, it is difficult to determine whether she believes her clients and co-

workers have any strengths because the respondent does not acknowledge them.  Second, her use of the

phrase "willing to *accep*t change" implies that she provides change for her clients and it diminishes their

ability to make or create their own change.  This response mirrors responses by White employees in the

sample organizations.  As discussed in the resources section of this chapter, although employees of color

may share similar races or ethnicities as their clients, their socio-economic status and educational levels,

combined with their access to necessary resources, may convey them with a limited amount of power and

privilege based on class.  However, the use of paternalistic language by employees' of color of superiority

and privilege may be mitigated by their overall acknowledgement of their clients' contributions to the

agency.  For example, the CEO of Nazareth Center, a Black female, discusses how community members

participate in the organization;

> People in the community are on our Board.  Our various programs have Advisory Boards.
> Advisory Boards are informed about budgets, etc.  Customers are asked about their
> strengths as they prepare action plans for problem solving.

The above response illustrates how community members contribute to the Nazareth's Center's

functioning by offering their time and input.  Moreover, the Vice President of Programs and Child

Development at Nazareth Centers acknowledge that parents and community members contribute to

program development, "we have parent and community based committees in the center.  This is to have

clients to be part of the decision-making in the program."  Furthermore, respondents of color describe the

ways that working with community members have enriched them personally; I provide knowledge for the

future leaders of this country (Teacher, MLK Center).  The former responses reveal the employees'

feelings of honor and personal gratification working with their clients.  Although their White

counterparts, describe their working relationships with clients as collaborative, their responses lack

acknowledgment of the clients' and/or their co-workers contributions to the organization or to themselves.

Compared to their White counterparts, respondents of color framed their relational experiences, access to

resources, experiences with organizational communication, and feelings of agency in the organizations

differently.  Furthermore, privilege of employees of color is mitigated by the tones of their responses

when describing inter-organizational interactions.  Generally, employees of color used passive language

to describe their responses;

> The organization I work for allows me to help our patients in every which way we can and as much as possible, … so long as we follow rules, policies, regulation. (Patient Advocate, Healthy Cities)

> I am able to be somewhat flexible in program design and implementation. (Senior Services Coordinator, MLK Center)

> [I] am able to teach patients, or to help those who are in need. (Diabetes Case Manager, Healthy Cities)

The above use of language (i.e., "I am able to be somewhat flexible", "I have been given ample opportunities", "I am able to teach", and "the organization allows me to…") reveals an awareness by employees of color that their influence is tempered by their respective organizations. There appears to be a tacit understanding among employees of color that they are *permitted* to work in these positions. Employees of color acknowledge that their respective organizations promote collaboration, employees' agency and empowerment, nurturing, and positive relationships on the surface. However, their previously discussed responses about how they experience relationships, communication, and access to resources, combined with the tone of their responses, suggests that forces unbeknownst to them might temper organizational effort. In contrast, most White employees' convey their power and control in their positions by using active and often commanding language in their descriptions;

> I utilize the strengths of co-workers by holding them accountable for their budgets, with confidence that that is appropriate. (Financial Director, MLK Center)

> I provide leadership opportunities for current and former foster youth, a group who are often perceives to have few strengths. They have an opportunity to speak in public and give feedback to DCS, and I build on strengths in preparing them to do that. (Youth Advisory Council Coordinator, Island Center)

The above responses indicate that White employees believe that their source of power and control is largely internal. Using active language such as "I use my strengths…", "I provide leadership" or" provide expertise", implies that the above employees believe that they control how they implement their roles and responsibilities. Furthermore, the use of language that positions them as leaders and experts communicates organizational authority. Comparing how two of the sample organizations' CEO's describe their roles may more clearly illustrates the differences in use of tone and tenor based on race;

A senior management leader … I greatly influence the strategic direction of the organization as well as its day-to-day operations….I am a 'voice' for it [the organization]; having it influence the organization's strategic direction, etc…. Chief cook and bottle washer.  (President and CEO, John Snow Foundation)

[I am the] Leader (CEO, Health Cities)

Plan w/B[oa]rd, staff and community for programs and advocacy that meets community needs. Provide organizational leadership with  B[oa]rd and Staff. Recommend policies. Maintain communication w/b[oa]rd, staff & community. Employ and supervise employees.   (CEO, Nazareth Center)

The responses CEO of John Snow foundation, a White male, reflects his power and authority in the organizations.  It is clear that he is the authority in that organization.  He makes decisions and guides, directs, and leads the agency.  He may solicit input from others in the organization; however, his "word" is the final "word."  Similarly, although Healthy Cities' a White female CEO, "fixes problems," her single word description of her role and her descriptions of how she is "called upon to problem solve" and address new challenges implicitly describe her approach to leadership in the organization as slightly single-handed.  Missing from these responses are indications of how they are accountable to others in their respective organizations, the clients or their community.  Conversely, the language of the Black female CEO from Nazareth Center, appears to be more collaborative.  She describes the way in which she works with board members, the community, and her staff to achieve goals.  Furthermore, her inclusion of communication with others as a function of her position implies that she acknowledges some accountability to others in the organization.  Her tone also implies that others temper her organizational power and control.

The findings illustrate how use of language and tone of language can become indicators of organizational privilege.  The use paternalistic language by respondents of color when describing interactions with clients may indicate their privilege in those relationships.  Their responses reveal how class influences power dynamics in these relationships and can yield class-based privilege.  However, their tone is mitigated by acknowledgements of how clients contribute to their interactions for enrichment or service improvement.  Moreover, their privilege is largely external.  The use of paternalistic language, establishing themselves in authoritarian relationships by White employees reinforces their ideologies of

superiority conferred on them by society (Feagin, 2010).  White employees' use of paternalistic language when discussing co-workers as well as clients combined with their experiences described in previous sections of this chapter may indicate that privilege is internal as well as external and may reflect how societal dynamics such as race and class greatly influence power and privilege in the sample organizations.

Conclusion

Based on the findings described in this chapter, varied conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship between race, class, gender, and privilege.  First, privilege is a complex and often-fluid experience for employees in the sample organizations.  Similar to power, it exists at individual, relational, and collective levels (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002).  In addition, privilege, like power, manifests in multiple ways and across a variety of dimensions of the organizations.  Furthermore, organizations embed and assign power and privilege through their rules, culture, ideologies and relationships (P. H. Collins, 2000).  Thus using Foucault's (1980) power theory to observe organizational privilege reveal some of  the dimensions in which organizational privilege manifests—access to resources, relationships, communication, and employee agency.    Although all employees have access to organizational resources (i.e., training, time, organizational support and networks), White employees have access to a wider variety of resources.  Furthermore, they are able to construe themselves as resources within the organizations and their organizational positions afford them more opportunities to control co-workers access to resources.  In addition, White employees can leverage their resources, especially networks with powerful community members (i.e., donors, board members and politicians) for their professional and personal advancement.

Moreover, White employees with higher levels of educational attainment and higher organizational positions experience nurturing, validating, empowering environments that facilitate the cultivation of higher quality relationships with co-workers who can help them develop skills and position themselves for promotion.  Homophilly (McPherson et al., 2001) and  "paths of least resistance" (A. G. Johnson, 2006) are also factors that explain both how White employees are often propelled forward on

their career trajectories as well as why employees of color feelings of alienation and marginalization in their respective organizations. Furthermore, White employees with formal education (i.e., bachelor's degree or above) experience higher quality communication where they feel heard, they feel free to express their opinions and that their contributions are valued. Thus they participate in dialogue that facilitates growth and advancement (Ashcraft, 2001; Morrison & Miliken, 2000). In contrast, female employees of color and less educated White females believe that their contributions are devalued and ignored. Their systematic silencing within the organizations can cause personal damage as well as affect their professional relationships and opportunities for advancement (Franklin, 2006). The findings validate the argument that privilege is a production of social power (Harvey, 2000). Thus observing privilege as a dichotomous factor (i.e., whether it exists or not, or those who have it as opposed to those who do not) may be insufficient to fully understand how White privilege, male privilege and class privilege, operate in organizations or society.

Second, all employees at the sample organizations experience some degree of privilege. Employees of color exercise power in relationships with clients because the have access to organizational resources (i.e., they provide vital programs and services to their clients). In addition, society endows them with more legitimacy and credibility because of their socio-economic statuses and they may have more education and/or training than their clients. However, their privilege is usually limited to external spaces and their positions in the community rarely afford them access to organizational benefits. In contrast, the sample organizations' may inadvertently convey privilege on White employees with higher educational attainment through their cultures, practices, and policies in addition to the privilege society attributes them by virtue of being members of the dominant racial group. It should be noted that training and expertise in the sample companies may vary based on roles and responsibility. Therefore, access to training may vary based on role. However, there are distinctions in access to other organizational resources such as finances and interactions with influential persons. However, comparatively employees believe that they have sufficient access to training to be successful in their jobs. The formerly discussed findings demonstrates Collins' (2000) intersectionality theory that explains how society defines and

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assigns social positions and identities based on race, class, and gender.  Furthermore, it confirms

contentions that privilege and domination exist on a continuum.  My findings confirm that privilege is not

a dichotomous variable but that it exists on a continuum (P. H. Collins, 2000; Disch, 2000).

Third, organizations tend to inadvertently legitimize White persons with formal by hiring them in

positions such as CEO, Director of Finances, Director of Marketing and Publicity and Director of Fund

Development where they are more visible, respected and considered credible within the community.

Because of their education and/or training, they may have specific skill sets that qualify them for these

positions.  Therefore, they may be the most qualified and available persons for the job.  Yet, employees of

color in the organizations have similar educational levels and training.  Individual's membership in the

dominant group may influence, the kind of education (i.e., college major) that individuals choose in

college and the kinds of skills sets acquired in jobs.  The data suggest that members of the dominant

group have resources and relationships in the organization that may foster their acquiring skills that help

put them in better position for advancement or promotions.  Furthermore, organizations who rely on

donors and grants to maintain their current operations and to grow may hire persons in the

aforementioned positions who are similar in race and class to potential donors, board members, and

policy members because they may be able to build relationships faster or leverage existing relationships

to help the organization.  Though their efforts to hire people in these positions who may lend credibility to

organizations or who may have access to financial and human resources to benefit the organizations

(Kolb, 2007), they may perpetuate societal power dynamics that privilege some and oppress others

(Feagin, 2010).  In addition, the organizations also place a higher value on these positions through pay

and prestige because they garner financial and powerful human resources for the organization.  In

contrast, female employees of color believe that they are undervalued, ignored, alienated, and isolated by

their co-workers specifically and the organizations in general.  Franklin's (2006) invisibility syndrome

explains such persons have been rendered invisible through several unintentional and unacknowledged

slights by their co-workers.  Furthermore, scholars who study privilege focus on legitimacy and visibility

to gauge privilege in society.

Finally, whether they are cognizant or not, the tones and tenors of employees' responses are indicators of how privilege is conveyed.  Generally, White employees invoke White racial frames by using paternalistic tones when discussing their interactions with their clients and co-workers.  These frames have dual purposes.  They maintain and perpetuate distorted identities of persons from cultures different from the dominant culture and reinforce and maintains White privilege (Feagin, 2001).  Furthermore, the uses of evaluative tones reflect White, elite employees' feelings of authority and entitlement (Blumer, 1958).  Furthermore, White employees use active authoritative language in their responses that could elevate their status and credibility through self-promotion.  When female employees of color attempt to use skill that White employees use for advancement (i.e., self-promotion and taking initiative) their attempts are usually often thwarted and their co-workers alienate them.  The negative and devastating results are not surprising.  They are characteristics and consequences of White privilege, male privilege, and class privilege.  Societies establish characteristics and standards to measure and determine success and those characteristics often associated with members of the dominant culture.  When marginalize groups attempt to reflect these characteristics they are often penalized because to do so is inconsistent with the identities society has assigned them (P. H. Collins, 2010).

The findings show how society's power dynamics (i.e., race, class, and gender) can infiltrate the sample organizations cultures, practices, and employee relationships to yield social inequalities.  Specifically, they reveal the ways that White privilege, male privilege, and elitism manifest in organizations to benefit employees who are members of the dominant culture at the expense of their co-workers.  Furthermore, privilege is cyclic process that allows members of the dominant group more access to social institutions money and education lead to higher paying positions with higher social status.  Findings suggest the need for a much more nuanced about the very real decisions that organizations are forced to make that perpetuate privilege and the choices individual that individuals make and have access to that position them to experience privilege or be denied it.  Lastly, the findings show that observing privilege is complicated for two reasons.  Societies maintain and perpetuate privilege because it is usually unacknowledged and invisible.  Therefore, it is often difficult to observe in organizations.  Second,

organizations are environments where the results of unearned privileges such as more access to education, powerful networks, and skill sets that are conducive to mobility often lead to earned privileges such as higher positions in the organization. Therefore, one's organizational role can be a confounding factor in observing how employees access and experience privilege. Thus in the proceeding chapter, I examine how organizational roles influence organizational privilege.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS:  EXAMINING POSITIONS, ROLE, AND TENURE IN ORGANIZATIONS

Organizational Structure

Three broad structural levels were examined to understand employee narratives about power and privilege in the sample organizations —upper management, middle management, and frontline workers. Upper management positions encompass those employees who are responsible for developing and managing the organization.  Their responsibilities include board development, strategic planning, financial management, and day-to-day operations management.  Middle management positions include employees who are responsible for:  direct supervision of frontline staff; project or program development including implementation; and, financial and programmatic record keeping.  Lastly, frontline positions comprise employees who work directly with clients or targeted community members.  Their responsibilities primarily entail project and service coordination and provision.  Narratives from sample respondents demonstrate that power and privilege manifest in modes mechanisms (i.e., policies and job descriptions), vehicles (i.e., individuals and relationships), and identities at multiple levels of organizational structures (P. H. Collins, 2000; Foucault, 1975, 1980; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). However, the level at which power and privilege become visible and the degree to which employees are expected to experience them may vary based on location in the organizational structures.  The following analysis and representative quotes illustrate some to the ways power and privilege manifest and are perceived based on organizational roles in health and human service organizations.  These findings also illumine some of the mechanisms that can convey or undermine privilege among the five same groups.

*Upper Management*

The primary responsibilities of upper management employees (i.e., CEO, CFO, COO, Vice President, and Executive Director) are to develop the organizational identity (i.e., mission, vision, and philosophy), as well as construct practices that embody said identities such as policies, financial plans,

and procedures in organizations. Therefore, they can exercise power in many ways. First, they inform

cultures and staff relationships by creating structural processes (i.e., polices, rules, and practices) in

agencies (Agashae & Bratton, 2001; Popper & Mayseless, 2003; Senge, 2006; Torbert, 1991). Second, as

top organizational leaders, they determine their strategic directions. For example, when asked how he

uses his strengths, the CEO of John Snow Foundation reported, "as senior management leader whatever

strengths I possess greatly influence the strategic direction of the organization as well as its day-to-day

operations." The above response explicates a CEO's role as a leader. More importantly, it illustrates the

amount of authority employees in upper management positions hold and wield. Because they steer their

respective organizations, sample leaders can inadvertently or intentionally shape cultures by instituting

values and agendas that are consistent with their personal philosophies and agendas. Finally, although

most non-profit organizations have embedded mechanisms to hold leaders accountable (i.e., supervision

by the Boards of Directors), leaders are instrumental in board recruitment and development. For example,

the CEO of Nazareth Center describes her role as CEO; "[I] provide organizational leadership to b[oa]rd

and staff". Therefore, they may indirectly influence evaluation and promotion processes.

In addition, such leaders control multiple and diverse resources in the sample organizations and

communities. Because they are responsible for the overall financial, programmatic, or strategic well-

being of their organizations, they control their tangible resources. In addition, they make strategic

decisions about how monies are spent, manage the entire personnel, and make decisions about the

strategic direction of their respective organizations. They directly or indirectly control all of the

organizational resources. Furthermore, they can create policies and practices as well as decide which

programs and services will receive funding and organizational support. Moreover, persons in upper

management positions tend to have greater access to learning opportunities such as training and

professional development, financial and human resources, and interactions with influential others.

Generally, responses from employees who occupy upper management positions in the sample

organizations indicate that they believe themselves to be agentic in their jobs. For example, when

describing how they use their organizational strengths, the CEO of John Snow Foundation responded; "as

senior management leader, whatever strengths I possess greatly influence the strategic direction of the organization as well as its day-to-day operations". Her response, similar to John Snow's CEO quoted earlier, illustrates her power as the organization's leader. However, their responses also reveal how their power is limited by procedures that embed accountability to the Board of Directors. Although the CEO at John Snow guides strategic planning process, the Board of Directors also has authority. Moreover, while the CEO of Nazareth Center provides leadership to the board, it is in the form of consultant. She has no authority over the board members once they join. Additionally, respondents in upper management positions believe that they can be self-determining in their work. However, the strategic plans in their respective organizations provide them with boundaries because their actions are guided by them. Moreover, upper management level employees may experience more agency because they have a larger role in decision-making processes. However, their access to intangible resources such as time or staff relationships may be limited. For example, when asked how she uses her strengths in her role, the CEO of Healthy Cities describes lack of time as a barrier; "my strengths are writing, relations, planning, development, etc. Demands on my time are enormous and don't allow me to be as good at what I do well as I can be." The responsibilities of leaders in organizations can seem all encompassing. They have multiple tasks, can expect several crises daily, and must respond to numerous deadlines. Therefore, the agency held by employees in upper management positions may be limited because they have an inordinate amount of work but insufficient time in which to complete it.

Although they have access to an abundance of resources, their power could also be hampered by limited relationships with their co-workers. For example, Mills (1956) conceptualizes a societal structure in which a few elite persons occupy top positions in society in which they influence the lives of many. They are the persons who are at the top of the social hierarchy. Furthermore, Lukes' (2005) description of Mill's "power elite" implies that even though they are the most influential or authoritative, they are also the most inaccessible members of society. They may have connections with other elites, but may become somewhat restricted to other persons who occupy similar lower social positions due to gate keeping (Stone, 1980). These kinds of traditional power theories undergird the construction of

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organizational hierarchies like those that exist in the sample agencies.  Organizational charts indicate that

employees in upper management positions have small networks in the organization (Refer to Figures 6.1

and 6.2).

**Figure 6.1 Healthy Cities Organizational Chart**
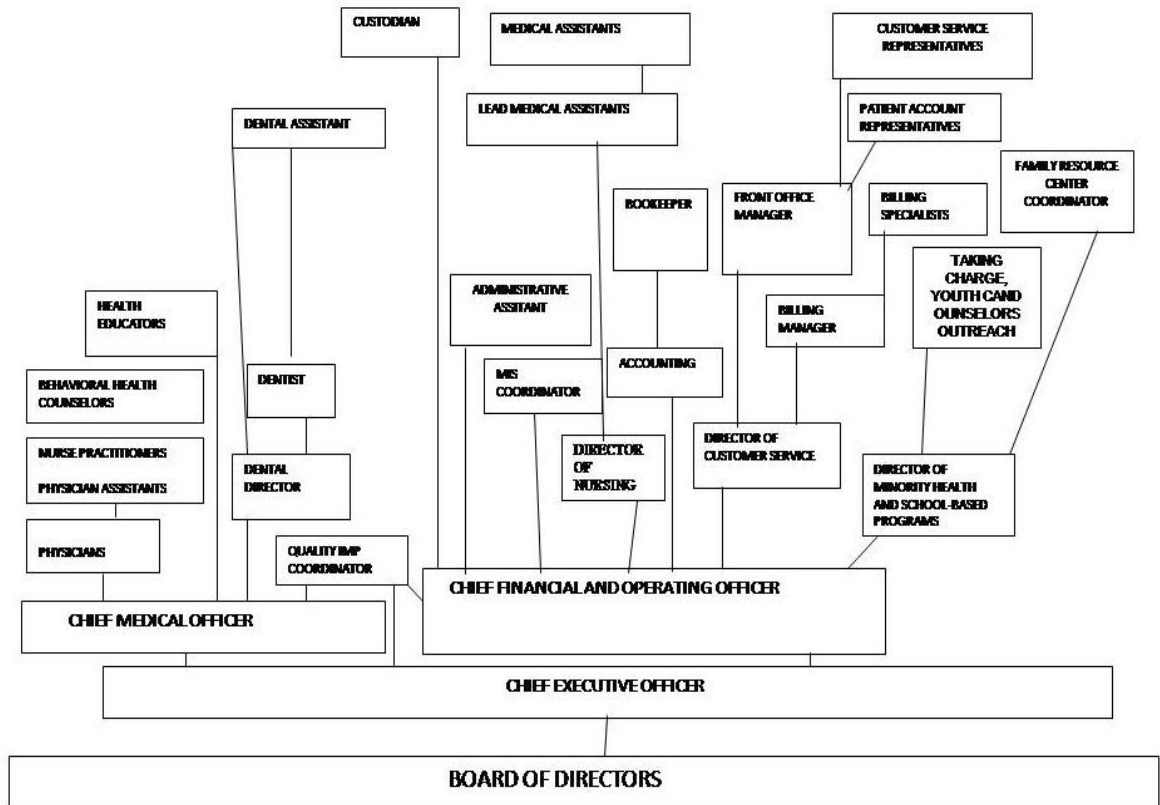


Note 6.1 The organizational chart for Healthy Cities is arranged based on the bottom up.  The
organizations formal leaders are located at the bottom of the chart.  The lines on the chart indicate direct
supervisory connection between positions.  The organizations may use a single box to describe one
department; therefore, one box may include multiple staff members.

The above chart illustrates that the CEO of Healthy Cities (positioned at the bottom of the chart

just above the board of directors) is only directly connected to three persons in the organization—the

Chief Financial/Operating Officer, the Chief Medical Officer and the Quality Control Coordinator.

Although she oversees between fifty and seventy -five employees and indirectly influences their roles, she

only directly supervises and regularly interacts with three persons.  Therefore, she may have regular

contact and communication with very few employees in her organization (i.e., her three supervisees) and they are her primary sources of information. Though the CFO and the CMO have access to more employees than the CEO does—the department directors— their interactions are limited to individuals who occupy middle management positions in the agency. Therefore, similar to the CEO, their access to diverse perspectives, skills, and intellectual resources in the organization may be tempered by their limited connections (Cantoni, 1993; Morrison & Miliken, 2000).

Figure 6.2 Organizational Chart for MLK Center
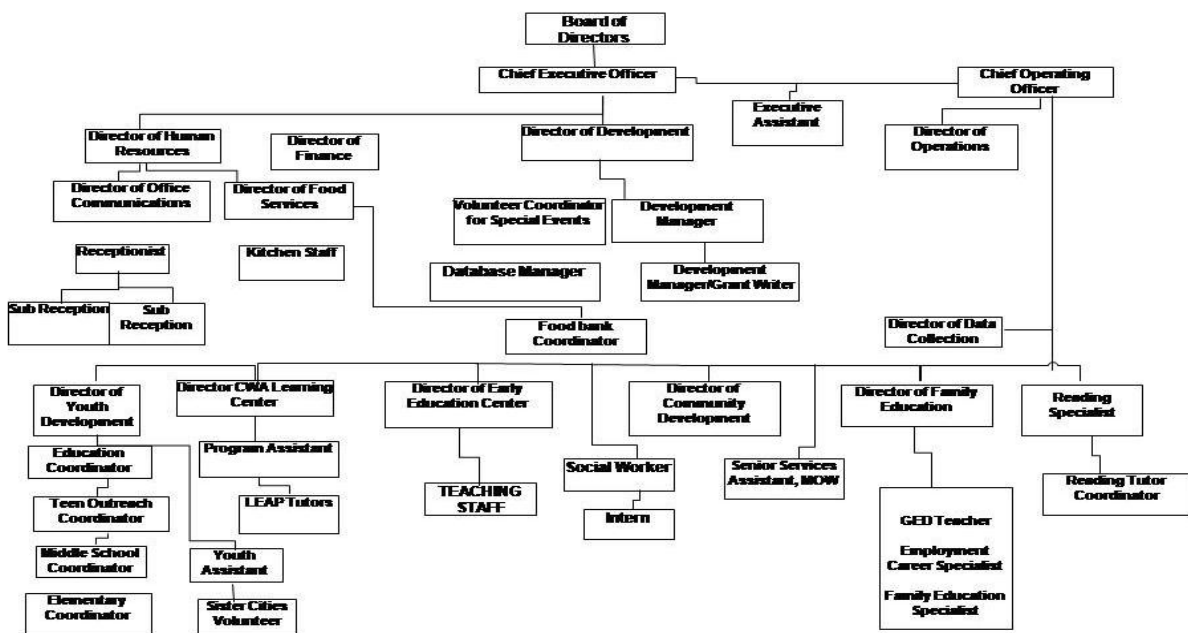


Note 6.2 The above figure for MLK Center displays the organization's structure from the traditional hierarchy. Those positions that are perceived to have and exercise more authority in the organizations are located at the top of the diagram. The lines on the chart indicate direct supervisory connection between positions. The organizations may use a single box to describe one department; therefore, one box may include multiple staff members.

In contrast to Healthy Cities CEO, MLK Center's CEO has direct access to more employees because she directly supervises the COO as well as some of the department directors. The upper management positions at MLK Center – the CEO and COO—may have limited interactions with employees in the Center and may have limited access to multiple perspectives or information about the organization. The basic structures presented in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 appear to exist consistently within each of the sample organizations with only minimal differences. They have few persons positioned in the

roles that are perceived to exercise the most power—upper management—and those positions are accessible to only a few employees. Therefore, they have limited interactions with few persons in the organizations. Scholars who study organizational change such as Torbert (1991), Marsick (1998), Garvin (2000), and Senge (2006) contend that the aforementioned organizational practices could be problematic and limit the growth and development of organizations as well as their leaders. Similarly, Morrison and Miliken (2000) assert that traditional organizational structures stagnate communication within the organization and the leaders often do not have access to vital information that may inform their decisions about how to guide or grow it. Therefore, their ability to exercise the power conveyed on them and their effectiveness as leaders could be limited. The formerly mentioned scholars challenge leaders in organizations to be intentional about accessing perspectives at multiple levels and make themselves accessible to employees in a myriad of organizational positions.

Even though the power of employees in higher positions of the sample organizations' structures may be moderated by the small numbers of employees with which they interact, they still wield great power and benefit significantly compared to their co-workers. Based on the data from 990 forms completed by the sample organizations and figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics[16], persons in upper-management positions earn up to twice as much as middle managers and at least three times as much as those in frontline levels. Furthermore, their posts mandate that they interact with major decision makers and funders within (i.e., boards of directors, powerful volunteers) and outside (i.e., potential donors, policy makers) the organization. Leaders could leverage these interactions and relationships to promote/advance their respective organizations and their positions and/or social standings. Thus their power manifests in the ability to construct the identities, ideologies, culture, and cultures of their respective organizations. Moreover, privilege manifests in their positions because they control the

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[16] Information taken from the National Compensation Survey: Occupational Earnings in the United States, 2007 conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

resources of their subordinates and can cultivate relationships with influential community members as well as across the sample organizations.

*Middle Management*

While employees in upper management construct identities, policies and "strategic directions" in the sample organizations, persons in middle management posts operationalize them. Middle managers such as directors and coordinators for services; directors of finance; human resources directors; media directors; and, satellite medical directors translate organizations' visions and missions into services, fundraising activities, and budgets. Because they directly design, oversee, and monitor operations, middle managers' power tends to manifest in their ability to apply their knowledge and skills to benefit their organizations. In organizations and societies, rules, assignment of roles, and practices are mechanisms used to control workers and members (Clegg et al., 2006; P. H. Collins, 2000; Foucault, 1980). Employees in middle management positions have acquired the knowledge and the skills to implement the aforementioned mechanisms of control in organizations. Sample respondents provide descriptions of their responsibilities and illustrate this positions;

> I produce financial statements, lead the budget process, and work with management and the finance committee of the board to develop policies and maintain financial strength and accountability. (Director of Finance, MLK Center)

> [I] provide human resources expertise to organization in areas of compliance, and guidance on employee related issues. To provide staff members with training and development, and consistent policies. (Director of Human Resources, John Snow Foundation)

> [I] provide training to others, lead programs and services, network, and collaborate. (Program Director, Organization Unnamed)

The above descriptions reveal the multiple and diverse responsibilities that middle managers hold in the sample organizations and give some insight into how the above employees exercise their control as middle managers at multiple levels. Because he designs and manages a service that overtly embodies the organization's reasons for being, he is in a position that may exercise a great deal of control. In addition, the program director's response, "lead programs, and services" reflects his understanding of his responsibilities and control. The director of finances in particular describes how she develops accounting

practices, procedures, and measures to hold her co-workers accountable.  The human resources director

trains all employees and ensures that employees comply with established policies as well as federal and

state mandates regarding human resources.  All three respondents' positions require that they implement

operations and hold their co-workers accountable.  Moreover, the above responses illustrate how middle

managers can use their knowledge and skills to become resources by providing training, guidance, and

opportunities for collaboration across their respective organizations.  Middle managers are in positions to

interact with co-workers at multiple levels (above and below them) to cultivate relationships within the

organization that could help them establish their power positions within said relationships.

Because of their responsibilities and roles, middle managers can develop networks and

relationships to greatly influence their supervisors and their subordinates.  In relationships with their

supervisors, middle managers often become advisors or teachers.  For example, when asked how she uses

her strengths in the organization, the Director of Finance at MLK Center responds, "my strength lies in

accountability in financial and non-financial work.  I am able to use those strengths in guiding

management and the finance committee toward greater focus."  Similarly, the Director of Human

Resources at MLK Center responds, "I provide organizational training and development to staff members

at various levels of the organization".  In her role, she trains supervisors and subordinates.  Both

responses indicate that part of their functioning is to provide guidance and training to management as well

as employees at all levels.  Thus their guidance and education can inform decisions made by the upper

management.  Even though they do not make final decisions, their ability to inform and shape said

decisions may convey a certain amount of power upon middle managers in their relationships with upper-

management.

Middle managers are also in positions to create relationships in which their supervisees feel

empowered, agentic, and nurtured. Scholars who study organizations and organizational change

challenge leaders in organizations to create empowering work environments and develop nurturing

relationships with their employees (Kanungo, 1992; Marsick, 1998; Mele, 2003).  Because employees in

middle management directly supervise the employees who implement plans, they have more opportunities

to rise to the formerly discussed challenges. Middle managers in the sample organizations believe that they are directly responsible for creating empowering settings and strong collaborative teams. For example, when asked how she uses her strengths in the organization, the director prevention at Island Center responds;

> As director of prevention, I am encouraged to build a strong and connected team, with recognition that our relationships matter. We just completed an overnight retreat as a way to know each other better and learn one another's' strengths so we can best utilize them." (Director of Prevention, Island Center)

Although the respondent does not explicitly admit that her supervisors require her to facilitate a specific kind of environment or working relationship, the statement suggests an expectation that she build strong, empowering relationships with her employees and foster nurturing environments for them. Moreover, her employees "encourage" this behavior. Furthermore, the organization sponsors workshops and team bonding trips to reinforce collaboration as a value. Finally, the above response indicates that, by virtue of her role, the direct supervisor of the employees in the prevention department, she is in a position to make the kind of relationships described above possible. Similarly, the director of Active and Empowered Youth programs at Island Center describes his responsibility to develop nurturing and empowering relationships with his staff; "I am a manager and I try to be proactive in dealing creating a work setting that is positive and empowering". Similar to the above-cited Prevention Director, he believes that he creates supportive environment for his supervisees. More importantly, both responses implicitly describe the directors' power within these interactions. The quotes above expose the middle managers' capacity to create and foster relationships that can either be detrimental or promote the professional and emotional well being of their co-workers. Krackhardt and Hanson (1993) contend that relationship quality is a very influential factor in how employees gain organizational credibility and legitimacy. They conclude that employees who cultivate high quality relationships (i.e., empowering, nurturing, respectful, and honest relationship) are perceived as more powerful and trusted.

Generally, employees in middle management positions in the sample organizations suggest that they have succeeded in cultivating enriching relationships with co-workers. For example, the HIV Initiatives coordinator describes her relationship with her supervisor;

> There is an extremely supportive relationship between me and my supervisor, which I believe, speaks the support she is given from her supervisor and so forth. I have also been given ample opportunity to participate in committee's, which allow me to utilize my strengths.

The response from Island Center's coordinator for their Youth Advisory Group parallels the above sentiments;

> I approach my work with young people the same way Island Center approaches supervision. I love the supervision style of my supervisors at Island Center, which is indicative of a strengths-based approach. The style is characterized by support, listening, [and] helping.

These two responses indicate that the employees have very positive relationships with their supervisors. They describe how these interactions have foster professional growth (i.e., taking the lead in working with committees) and model their approach to working with the community. Efforts of their supervisors create benefits for staff members; these relationships could also benefit clients and patients. For example, when asked to describe how she utilizes the strengths of her co-workers, the Medical Director of one of Healthy Cities's satellite clinics responds; "I utilize my life experiences as well as those of my coworkers in order to help improve patient care." Her reference of life experience as a strength that her co-workers can use to benefit patients reflects an understanding of both her co-workers and the multiple modes needed to become an authority. Her response also indicates that she respects her co-workers and considers them valuable and knowledgeable contributors to a patient's well being. Lastly, her response also indicates that she believes that she has acquired skills to motivate co-workers to leverage their skills to maximize services for the community.

*Frontline Employees*

Frontline employees are often in lower positions of an organization's hierarchy. Frontline employees such as interns, patient advocates, pre-school teachers and teacher's assistants, certified nurse's assistants, medical assistants, and customer service representatives provide services to clients,

patients, and/or customers in the sample organizations. However, they also include support positions such as administrative assistants, accounting billing associates, and custodial or maintenance staff. Although the later employees do not provide services, they tend to regularly interact with the public. Employees in frontline positions implement the plans of middle managers by teaching, providing counseling, health services, tracking accounting practices, or receiving and registering clients and patients. Typically, researchers who investigate power in organizations such as Torbert (1991) and Senge (2006) tend to focus on upper management and middle management positions in the organizational hierarchy. Therefore, there is a dearth of studies about contributions by lower ranking employees to the organization's well-being. Critics of organizational studies suggest that assuming that power is only located in higher organizational positions is problematic because it does not account for informal relationship structures that can be facilitative or detrimental to the organization (Kanungo, 1992; Kleiner, 2003; Krackhardt & Hanson, 1993). Furthermore, the formerly mentioned studies tend to overlook the ability of employees in frontline positions to negatively or positively influence organizational settings.

In health and human service organizations, employees on the frontline can be and often are clients', volunteers', and donors' first point of contact. Therefore, they may be the means by which community members form their first impressions. Respondents in the study recognize this fact and understand that it could be a means for them to make a considerable contribution to the sample agencies. For example, when asked to describe her responsibilities, the Administrative Assistant/Receptionist for Island Center responds; "I am first person people seen and the first person they speak with when they call." Although she does not directly say it, the receptionist's emphasis on being the first person seen and the first voice of the agency, implies that she understands the importance of her role as the first point of contact. Moreover, as the administrative assistant for the programs and services department at Island Center, she maintains records, monitors and tracks appointments, and coordinates correspondence with clients and other community members. Her efforts allow co-workers time to maximize their job performances. Thus clients at Island Center possibly receive higher quality services because of her efforts. Furthermore, similar to employees at middle management levels, her role positions her to interact

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with and cultivate networks with program and service employees at all levels within the Island Center's hierarchy. Administrative employees in frontline positions, such as the employee described above can become vital resources to their co-workers, thereby exercising power through the potential relationships they cultivate as well as their skills and expertise.

Generally, employees in frontline positions believe that they greatly contribute to organizations. For example, when asked to describe their responsibilities, the following representative quotes emerge;

> Currently I am an advocate for the prenatal program at the organization where I work. I use all my skills and experiences from this organization and past to create a better experience for our patients/clients. (Prenatal Patient Advocate, Healthy Cities)

> [I]Develop groups for youth that discuss alcohol & drug awareness, facilitate parent groups regarding awareness of alcohol & drug, sex, and importance of quality time with youth and discuss with each client risks of alcohol & drugs, sex, gangs, etc. (Direct Service Worker, Island Center)

> [I]work with patient population in the prevention health decline, child abuse, teen pregnancy, and inability to manage disease. (Direct Services Worker, Healthy Cites)

The above responses indicate that they believe that they contribute a great deal to their organizations and the community. Similar to the earlier cited receptionist at Island Center, they explain how they believe they specifically contribute to the promotion of their respective organizations' missions and purposes in the community. Moreover, these responses indicate how frontline workers exercise power within their positions through the provision of services. Moreover, their responses illustrate the power dynamics that could exist between frontline employees and the clients and/or patients of the sample organizations. The above employees provide services to meet basic physical and emotional needs and make determinations about who receives these services and how they are administered "on the ground". For example, when asked how she uses the strengths of clients and staff in her work, a Social Worker for Healthy Cities responds; "[I] seek out individuals who are cooperative and willing to accept change". This comment illustrates her level of commitment to cooperative patients and tacitly implies that she must serve uncooperative patients. However, power is suggested in her conscious decision about deservedness as well as how committed to working with them she will be. Additionally, most employees in frontline positions believe themselves to be self-determining in their roles. Use of active language in responses

such as "I develop," "I facilitate", and "I am an advocate" implies that they think they have some agency in their work. Moreover, similar to the administrative employees on the frontline, those in direct services can become resources for the community. However, few of the frontline employees in the sample can advance in their respective organizations without more formal education and training. Therefore, although they may have some degree of organizational influence and can exercise some control, their efforts do not usually translate into organizational benefits such a promotions, substantial raises, or increased status for them.

Although upper and middle management employees make decisions about practices and policies, frontline workers carry out the decisions. Their power typically manifests in the experiential knowledge that they bring to the organization. However, their influence may go unacknowledged by others or themselves. Foucault's (1980) description of subjugated knowledge can explain why frontline employees may exercise power in the sample agencies but may not experience organizational benefits or privileges. He describes processes by which "hierarchies of knowledge" are established by those in higher social positions to organize and prioritize what is known and how knowledge is generated. Non-traditional ways of knowing-- information gathered experientially and intuitively-- are often unrecognized and often undervalued by those in society. Foucault refers to this information as "subjugated knowledges". Though quite a few frontline employees in this study have some formal training, including associates and bachelor's degrees, the majority of their knowledge and skills has been developed through untraditional means such as work experience. Furthermore, positions that require less formal education and that earn less income are often devalued in the United States. Persons in these positions may be considered less powerful in society. Harvey (2000) contends that privilege is contingent upon social acknowledgement of one's power to gain legitimacy and authority in social settings such as in an organization. Therefore, such employees may not enjoy the same kinds of privileges (i.e., access to resources, participation in decision-making, leadership opportunities, and powerful networks) as their counterparts who held higher levels of organizational positions.

Organizational Roles

When investigating the distinctions between employees' narrative about their sense of power or privilege, accounting for one's role and responsibilities as well as position in the organizational structure is important.  Health and human service organizations could be broadly comprised of two role categories—administrative and direct service.  Administrative roles are those that involve developing, coordinating, overseeing, and implementing the internal logistics of agencies.  They recruit and manage the organization's human and material resources.  Direct service roles are those that build, manage, and implement programs and services.  The work of direct care employees is to provide services prescribed by an organization's missions and vision.  Within direct services, there are hybrid positions in which employees have administrative responsibilities such as record keeping and supervising employees as well as providing services.

Analysis of the data uncovered several findings about power dynamics that exist when comparing employees according to their respective organizational roles.  The data indicate that employee role narratives about their access to resources, relationships with co-workers, feelings of agency, and communication may be influenced by their race and their position in the organization's structure.  As discussed in Chapter 5, White employees occupy most of the administrative roles while employees of color tend to hold direct service positions in the sample organizations.  Therefore, employees' perceptions of their respective organization's culture are confounded by race and role.  Although persons in administrative roles have more access to tangible resources than their counterparts in direct services, position in the organization influences how employees perceive and experience power and privilege.  Moreover, employees in direct service positions may leverage their roles to gain credibility and legitimacy among clients and coworkers.  Finally, findings show that employees occupying direct service roles may experience intangible benefits by virtue of their roles.

*Administrative Roles*

Administrative personnel are as vital to health and human service organizations as employees who provide direct services.  Through fundraising, building maintenance, accounting and bookkeeping,

personnel management, marketing and public relations, and strategic planning, administrative staff keep agencies operational. Moreover, they tend to have direct access to the organizations' tangible resources (i.e., money, training, employees and volunteers, and physical spaces) and they make decisions about how those resources are distributed. Therefore, employees in administrative roles have the potential to hold tremendous power (Bachrach & Baraatz, 1970; Clegg et al., 2006; Flyvbjerg, 1991; Mills, 1956). Administrative employees in this sample included CEOs, CFOs, customer service representatives, data management directors, human resource directors, fund development directors, and public relations staff. The majority of respondents assigned to administrative roles categories are also located in upper and middle management positions in the sample organizations' structures. Therefore, their narratives indicate that they experience benefits by virtue of their ability to shape organizational ideologies, policies (i.e., rules), and practices as well as their access to community networks that may foster increased upward mobility and legitimacy. Respondents in these positions acquire resources that are vital to maintaining fiscal, strategic, and operational functioning in agencies. Thus their posts could be perceived as more valuable and powerful than their counterparts in direct service roles. Furthermore, many persons in these positions earn higher salaries than their counterparts who provide services[17]. Higher salaries are a benefit associated with such positions and can enable these employees to garner more credibility with powerful community members.

However, there are some exceptions to the above observations. The findings here suggest that some administrative employees, particularly those located in frontline positions, believe that they are powerless in their respective organizations. For example, when asked to describe how she uses her strengths in the organization, an administrative assistant at John Snow Foundation simply responds; "I don't see any". The brevity of her response suggests a sense of futility as she considers her place at work. Furthermore, her response connotes a disconnection between her feelings about her role. However, some administrative employees believe that their contributions are hampered by their role as well as their

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[17] Typically, salaries for various professions are based on trends in the area and professions associated with business and management command higher salaries than those associated with human services.

location in the overall organizational hierarchies.  For example, the receptionist for Island Center

describes feeling undervalued because of her role and position;

> I feel that I have a lot to offer the agency but I am just viewed as clerical help and because I don't hold a degree in Social [W]ork then I don't have anything to contribute…. I feel like the support staff is viewed like just the administrative part of the business there is a line between us and the hands on work in the community.

 Although she believes that she can contribute to the organization, she feels powerless to do so

because of her position.  Initially, the degree she references is in human services and does not appear to

be directly related to her current responsibilities.  Moreover, her additional statements, "there is a line

between us and hands on work in the community" indicates that she believes that the organization is

stratified by role.  Implicit in her assessment is the tendency to overvalue direct care positions and

undervalue administrative workers.  Her comments about not having a degree illustrate how class may

become a factor in employees' perception of power and privilege in organizations.  As noted earlier, most

direct service roles require some formal education (i.e., college or graduate degree) and societies and

organizations tend to privilege formal education over experiential knowledge (Foucault, 1980).

Therefore, employees in organizations may inadvertently diminish the contributions of those employees

who do not have formal education.

*Direct Service*

By designing, coordinating, and implementing programs, direct service workers embody

organizational missions, visions, and purposes.  They provide vital services such as education, healthcare,

food, counseling, and access to other necessities to sustain life.  Employees in direct service roles in this

study include counselors, teachers, program coordinators, physicians and medical assistants, and social

workers.  Their power and privilege tends to manifest in four modes.  First, hybrid positions in the direct

service category illustrate how direct service employees can have access to tangible organizational

resources.  Hybrid employees are direct service employees whose primary functions include providing

services to clients as well completing administrative tasks to maintain programs.  Roles such as these

include program directors and coordinators, medical site directors, lead teachers, initiative managers,

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coordinators, and specialists[18]. Hybrid employees are also often positioned at middle management levels. Therefore, they are often responsible for developing programs and services as well as implementing them, tracking program numbers, and assisting in developing budgets for their respective programs. These employees can often inform how resources, such as money, staff, and training, are designated. Furthermore, they often control how clients receive resources, which resources are received, and when. Because most employees in hybrid positions are also located in middle management positions in the organizational structures, they may experience organizational power and privilege similarly to those described by middle managers.

Second, direct service employees control client, patient, and community resources through program development and service provision. Direct service employees in this analysis describe multiple ways that they contribute to community empowerment. When asked how they use their strengths or those of clients the following employees respond;

> I direct a team of 8 staff and 10 [MediCorps] members to work within schools and community centers to help young people grow, thrive and create positive change in their lives and in our community. (Prevention Director, Island Center)

> I am able to teach patients, or to help those who are in need. I have experienced improvements in many patients who are willing to listen and take changes in order to improve. (Diabetes Case Manager, Healthy Cities)

> [I] interact more with the parents. [I] seek and document the needs of the children in a positive way. [I] motivate single parents to stay positive and keep their self-esteem at a higher level. (Assistant Teacher, MLK Center)

The above employees offer services and programs such as medical care, youth development, and education to vulnerable community members via age and illness. They provide opportunities for said community members to become physically able and agentic through awareness. Moreover, other direct service employees offer opportunities for self-efficacy and economic empowerment;

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[18] The final three positions specifically describe employees at the John Snow Foundation.

> [I]recruit residents for participation [in] and planning of activities and events, workshops and empowerment opportunities. [I] training clients and provide resources for clients/staff. (Department Manager, Nazareth Center)

> [I] Coordinate the Wealth Building Alliance, an initiative of the [John Snow Foundation], which is dedicated to promoting financial stability for low- and moderate-income in [name of city removed]. (Wealth Building Alliance Specialist, John Snow Foundation)

Healthy, empowered, knowledgeable individuals experience a sense of well-being and are able to promote community well-being. The above responses reflect some of the ways direct service workers contribute to the betterment of the community as well as their individual clients. Respondents believe that they "empower" and "collaborate" with their clients to promote "self-esteem". However, their answers also show attempts to change community conditions through efforts such as building wealth. The practices they provide have the potential to position health and human services to redress societal injustices by empowering community members. Conversely, they can maintain and perpetuate social inequalities by creating dependence, destroying community connections, and dehumanizing clients (Evans, Hanlin, & Prilleltensky, 2007; McKnight, 1995; Ture & Hamilton, 1967).

Furthermore, the above respondents show how employees can develop collaborative relationships with persons they serve and co-generate creative means to achieve specific outcomes. Several direct service workers describe the relationship they believe necessary to successfully work with clients;

> [I use the strengths of my clients by] accessing what resources are already available determining how effective and efficient programs are in promoting change and by holding clients accountable for stated goals. It is a partner relationship with client, not a re-enforcement of dependency. (Senior Services Coordinator)

> I look at teens as having knowledge and abilities that are underutilized. I expect them to participate in their lives and to reach out to others. So, I work with them to identify and use their strengths through service project planning and implementing…. Clients and community members are partners in most decisions in the agency. They are part of meetings, discussions, the agency governing board and an integral part in day-to-day operations. (Prevention Coordinator, Island Center)

The above responses reflect an understanding that to achieve positive results, requires combining the most effective organizational services and resources with client strengths and facilitating accountability within that relationship. Implicit in their views is the use of consensual or collective forms of power (Arendt, 1969; Craig & Craig, 1979). Specifically, Craig and Craig (1979) describe *synergic power,* "the capacity

of an individual or group to increase satisfactions of all participants by intentionally generating energy and creativity all of which is sued to co-create a more rewarding present and future"(p.62). The ultimate outcome of synergic power processes occurs when persons in relationship achieve a common goal or decision that benefits all group members. According to these same scholars, the *synergic initiator* (i.e., leader) is a charismatic leader who helps other group members recognize new possibilities and new visions and inspires them to move towards achieving that vision. Because they "set up experiences where clients can discover their strengths", "helping people explore their voice and choice" and "facilitate[e] higher self esteem in parents", these direct service employees could potentially position themselves as charismatic leaders who can inspire community change. Yet, their efforts must move beyond superficial efforts to elicit client and community member participation. For example, The Senior Services Coordinator at MLK Center challenges the organization move toward efforts of substantial community change;

> My organization does provide open forums for community members to verbally participate. However, action speaks louder than words. I would like to see more opportunities provided for economic empowerment and training on what it means to become a voice in the community.

This employee acknowledges that MLK center is making efforts to empower neighborhood members through inclusion and hearing their perspectives. However, she recognizes that more action is required for communities to become forces of change. Furthermore, her reference to genuine action sends a message to the community about the organization's commitment to change. She contends that organizations must offer services that teach people how to use their power to affect change and help clients develop financial resources. Embedded within the above response is the services providers' ability to make significant change or continue to maintain and perpetuate the status quo.

Third, although direct care employees are in positions to greatly influence the well-being of the sample organizations, human service positions such as teachers, counselors, nurses, and social workers, tend to command significantly lower salaries than other positions with similar educational levels. For

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example, attorneys and accountants earn almost twice as much as counselors and teachers[19].  However,

direct service employees may receive intangible benefits from their work.  Generally, responses from

direct care employees indicate that they believe that they experience relatively strong connections with

clients and the community.  For example, the Prenatal Patient Advocate at Healthy Cities reported feeling

"extremely blessed" to work with her patients.  Her words show that she gains a sense of satisfaction and

reward from her work.  However, it also reflects a strong emotional connection with clients as well as a

strong connection to her role.  Similarly, other direct care workers describe their positions favorably;

> I advocate for any of my council members who need it to make sure they are getting what
> they need from the Courts, DCS, Schools, etc.  We [Island Center] also work on
> improving policy and practice of Court, DCS, etc. to help other foster youth have a better
> experience. (Coordinator for the Youth Advisory Group, Island Center)

> We [Nazareth Center] provide a safe environment for children to learn, grow, and thrive.
> (Teacher, Nazareth Center)

The above respondents clearly describe their responsibilities within the organization.  However,

embedded within their sentiments is a strong sense of purpose and reward from their work, similar to the

expressed feelings of the diabetes manager cited earlier.  Their use of active language such as "I

advocate" and "provide safety" suggests feelings of power and conviction in the work they perform.

Furthermore, both employees have closely identified themselves with the organization, and use the term

"we" to illustrate their connection to organizational efforts.  Moreover, the above responses illustrate how

their work affects the construction of their identities as helpers and community members.  Collins (2000)

contends that members of historically marginalized groups, specifically Black women, must and have

constructed their own epistemologies and identities.  She describes a process that prioritizes lived

experiences, values, and connectedness as modes of building individual and group consciousness and

identity.  Similarly, direct care employees may construct their identities based on their lived experiences

(i.e., the work they do) and their strong ties to community members they serve.  Furthermore, the kinds of

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[19] Information taken from the National Compensation Survey: Occupational Earnings in the United States,
2007 conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

work they do and connections they make in their work could offer opportunities for them to become powerful forces for social and community change.

Finally, because most direct service employees in the sample organizations have close connections with their clients (as demonstrated by the above) and because they facilitate clients' access to resources, they may gain community credibility and visibility. For example, a Satellite Center director for MLK Center describes the role of employees in the community; "we are treated as experts in our fields... we each have our role to fill and are called on when something requires our expertise". Her response indicates that the she and the organization are considered authorities in the neighborhood because of the skills employees possess and the resources that the organization offers. Neighborhood credibility and legitimacy may not yield financial resources, but they can lead to higher numbers of persons who seek organizational services and increased numbers of program. More programs can lead to an increased community profile which may ultimately be a means of soliciting additional resources (i.e., money and volunteers) to expand services and expand the organization. Because the effects of direct-service workers contribute to influence and legitimacy with donors, decision makers, and other community members, they may be able to leverage their roles and experience to garner credibility and visibility with co-workers in the organization. As discussed in the previous section, this heightened sense of legitimacy could cause some staff members to believe that organizational personnel value the contributions of direct care employees more that those of administrative employees.

Employee Tenure

Informal organizational leaders can exercise their authority to influence co-workers' behavior and gain their trust. Researchers who investigate informal organizational leaders, such as Karackhardt and Hanson (1993) and Kleiner (2003), assert that an employee's tenure is one factor in determining informal leadership. Employees who have been exposed to the organization for longer periods, as either employees or volunteers, have more opportunities to develop networks and cultivate relationships; a greater knowledge of the organization's history, processes, and culture; and, access to more benefits and

privileges offered by the organization (Bond, 2007; Kleiner, 2003; Krackhardt & Hanson, 1993; Samuels & Samuels, 2003).  To make determinations about whether and how tenure influences employees' narratives, I divided the employees into two categories.  The first category included persons who had been at their respective agency for 4 years or less.  The second includes employees who have worked or volunteered at the sample organizations for 5 years or more. Initial analysis of demographic information, including length of employment (i.e., tenure) indicates that the mean and median tenure of survey participants was approximately 4 years, which was used as a division point for the formerly described groups.  Analysis of responses shows that an employees' tenure does not necessarily affect their feelings of agency or ability to cultivate relationships.  However, as expected employees with longer organizational tenure tend to express stronger connections with and to the organization.  Moreover, findings indicate that longer-term employees—those who have worked in the organization for five years or more—have experienced more upward mobility in their respective organizations.

*Connections*

Responses from employees with longer tenures (5 years or more), indicate that they tend to identify with their organization more than their counterparts.  Their connections become apparent when describing the services that they offer;

> We are involved in several community initiatives that are seeking to improve community conditions and have created Strategy Teams in four areas to help us think strategically about community condition change.  (Senior Vice President of Community Investments, John Snow Foundation—over 20 years)

> We work with youth to connect them to their strength bases and many times that needs to happen off site….  We work with 17-21 year olds, so they have a lot more freedom than a 13-17 year old population. Staff is often involved in philosophical struggles with each other about development, learning, consequences, etc.  (Clinical Case Worker, Island Center—5 years)

> We create opportunities for young people and adults to gain awareness of issues and to be involved in impacting institutions in the community.  (Youth Coordinator, Island Center—6 years)

> We have parent and community based committees in the center.  This is to have clients to be part of the decision-making in the programs.  (Vice President of Child Development, Nazareth Center—11 years).

The above responses indicate the employees' connection to and possible identification with their organizations. Although they may not directly provide a service, (i.e., the Senior Vice president at the John Snow Foundation and the Vice President of Child Development at Nazareth Center), the tones of their responses reveal an active tie to the organizations' services. The uses of terms that indicate ownership such as "we", "us", and "our" also illustrate that the above employees have a strong sense of organizational community or belonging. They believe that as a part of the organization, they participate in the provision of services and efforts to include the community.

Conversely, although employees with shorter tenures (i.e., 4 years or less) believe that they: are agentic in organizations; have and maintain supportive and nurturing environments; and, generally have access to organizational resources that will permit them to do their jobs adequately, their descriptions of organizational services seem more vague and disconnected than their counterparts;

> [MLK Center] goes out in the community and allows them to give them say so in decisions as far as community changes, etc… (Direct Service Worker, MLK Center—1 year)

> I provide leadership opportunities for current and former foster youth, a group who are often perceives to have few strengths. They have an opportunity to speak in public and give feedback to DCS, and I build on strengths in preparing them to do that. (Youth Advisory Group Coordinator, Island Center—4 years)

> Teen clinics and the prime [medical] form, that show if patient are in need of counseling; having more community meeting and finding out what the problems in the community are. What is needed to fix them; use of patient navigators and staff qualified to work with at risk teens. (Medical Assistant, Healthy Cities—2 years)

Unlike the views of employees with longer tenures that illustrate connections between their work and individual and community change, the above responses describe the organizations efforts, but they do not suggest broader connections to communities. Moreover, responses are individualized (i.e., use of "I" rather than "we" or "us." They list outcomes, describe their responsibilities, or detailed organizational efforts. Based on their responses, it is difficult to discern whether and how the above employees have internalized or integrated the values and practices of their respective organizations. Moreover, responses from employees with shorter tenure illustrate how time can influence employees' abilities to make connections and form networks with co-workers. Newer employees describe struggles to obtain

information about organizational programs and communicating with co-workers. For example, the Senior Services coordinator who has been at MLK Center four years describes difficulties both in connecting with co-workers and getting information; "in trying to access information regarding other programs and what they offer I am finding that most programs are entrenched with staff that are not motivated for change". Her use of the term "trying" to get information could imply that she has had problems in the past getting pertinent information about other agency programs. Moreover, her remark suggests some degree of isolation in the organization. Furthermore, she illuminates her feelings of alienation by expressing concerns that she feels unheard and that her voice is an "unpopular one" at MLK Center. Moreover, she indicates that she believes that her co-workers may not be open to new or different approaches to services specifically her ideas.

Time and exposure afford employees the opportunity to become acculturated in organizations and influence and inform as well as internalize their cultures and values. Community researchers such as McMillan and Chavis (1986) contend that developing a sense of community requires a shared history (i.e., knowledge of and experience in the organization) and shared participation in the development and maintenance of the group. Therefore, more involvement in the organizations can promote a stronger psychological sense of community there. The scholars define sense of community as a general feeling of connection or belonging to a specific group. Employees with longer tenure can have more opportunities to develop the formerly described kinds of connections. They tend to have high levels of participation and empowerment, as well as strong organizational connections (Hughey & Speer, 1999). Moreover, employees with longer tenures can benefit from this strong sense of community in two ways. First, persons who build strong connections can participate in the development and maintenance of the agencies' identity, norms, and values and simultaneously integrate values and norms, thereby creating a stronger connection. Second, employees can use the aforementioned organizational connections to accumulate social capital-- social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from individual connections (Putnam, 1993)-- which they may leverage for organizational credibility and legitimacy (Pooley, Cohen, & Pike, 2005).

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*Upward Mobility*

The combination of strong organizational connections, acquired skills, and social capital can also facilitate the upward mobility of employees with longer tenures. For example, the Vice President of programs at Island Centers began his career in middle management. When describing how he is able to use his strengths in the organization, he responds; "I came to the Island Center as a program staff. Now I am more able to use my macro view of systems to assure that each program area is more effective …." This Vice President describes how a promotion from middle management to upper management allows him to utilize skills that he has acquired to improve the organization's services. Yet also embedded in the response is his ability to use his history and connections in the organization to advance his career. Experiences such as this one are not anomalies in health and human service organizations. The sample organizations frequently promote current employees and volunteers. For example, the CEO at MLK Center, formerly an attorney, was a member of the Board of Directors at MLK before being hired as a director. She was later promoted to CEO. Her upward trajectory illustrates how longevity in organizations provides opportunities to gain knowledge and establish capacities to assume increased responsibility and advanced leadership roles. Moreover, longevity provides employees opportunities to network with peers and decision makers in other organizations. These cultivated networks can yield advancements into other organizations in higher positions. For example, the CEO of Healthy Cities of 15 years worked at a reputable women's center for five years before she moved to Healthy Cities. She explains how her networks facilitated being vetted for her current position;

> My first management job was to coordinate a domestic violence program …. I had written some grants and started working with [a large community agency] to write some grants for them, I got hired… So when the [Healthy Cities] position came up, their board approached me and asked me if I would take this on and I never imagined managing in health care, but I did, and, of course, I knew it would be very meaningful work.

The above employee was recruited because she had developed a reputation over time for her effectiveness as a leader and fund developer. Her description reflects how tenure can influence how employees in health and human service agencies can advance in their careers across organizations as well

as within them. Networking and collaboration across health and human service agencies is important. Therefore, the organizations require that employees in certain positions (i.e., upper and middle level managers and direct service employees) attend community meetings and develop connections within other human service organizations. As illustrated above, employees who have participated in inter-organization networks for long periods may gain credibility in their fields and leverage their reputations for professional development.

Conclusion

Based on the findings presented in this chapter, varied conclusions can be drawn about employees' narratives of power and privilege based on organizational positions, employee roles, and tenure. First, as expected, power manifests within every level of the sample organizations. However, the manners and modes of its visibility can differ based on the employees' locations in each agency's structure. Post-structuralist theorists such as Foucault (1975), Collins (2000), and Prilleltensky (2008) conceptualize power as a process that manifests through and within social structures and employs multiple forms in various domains. An examination of employees' perceptions based on their respective positions shows how power and privilege become visible in their different forms. Using traditional concepts of power such as those presented by Mills (1956) and Lukes (2005) assists in understanding how organizational structures facilitate the conveyance of privilege on employees located at higher organizational levels. They contend that power and privilege are often conveyed upon an elite few who are able to make decisions that impact many. Thus employees in upper level management positions are the organizations' "power elite" and wield enormous power. Because of their responsibilities, they shape the identities, ideologies, and cultures of the organizations studied here (Foucault, 1980). Furthermore, their roles afford them access to most of the organizations' resources. However, being a part of an elite few can also hamper leaders' influence because their interactions with employees in frontline positions. The organizations' structures can also inadvertently hamper leaders' power because of their limited

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access and/or inaccessibility to diverse networks and perspectives (Garvin, 2000; Marsick, 1998; Torbert, 1991).

Power in middle level management positions manifest through their ability to become vehicles of authority and influence (Prilleltensky, 2008). Middle level managers exercise authority through the capacities to become resources to co-workers by virtue of their skills and ability to cultivate multiple high quality networks across organizational levels. Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) contend that power is one's ability to facilitate or hinder individual and collective well-being. Because of their direct contact with most employees as well as their direct control over resources of some employees, middle mangers have the ability and responsibility to inspire staffs and promote growth and empowerment (Kanungo, 1992; Marsick, 1998). However, because their responsibilities necessitate that they interact with many employees and they have such influence with frontline staff, they can also cultivate alienating and oppressive relational environments. Furthermore, their subordinates confirm that their efforts to cultivate high quality relationships have garnered them credibility and legitimacy among co-workers—a mechanism through which middle managers can experience privilege (Krackhardt & Hanson, 1993; Mele, 2003).

In contrast to their co-workers who hold higher positions, frontline employees exercise control largely through the action and implementation of services to clients in the community and via co-workers. Respondents who work on frontlines understand that they greatly contribute to their respective organizations, but some believe that their contributions are often devalued. Their lack of formal education and their position in the organizational hierarchies appear to result in marginalization (Foucault, 1980; Harvey, 2000). Foucault's (1975, 1980) theory regarding subjugated knowledges and Harvey's (2000) social power work inform the aforementioned phenomenon. Although they have informal knowledge, frontline employees' efforts to advance within organizations may be hampered by their lack of formal education/formal knowledge. According to Foucault (1980), their experiential or "subjugated" knowledge may not be valued greatly by their organizations and/or by society. In addition,

Harvey (2000) contends that power and privilege require recognition by "third parties"[20] such as other members of society. Therefore, although frontline workers may be influential within their organizations, they are generally not viewed as such by other employees or community members. In addition, in a society that highly values credentialism, their vast experiential knowledge may not hold as much value as formal education or training. Thus, they are less likely to be able to leverage their influence for upward mobility or authority in their organizations. Therefore, frontline employees may experience a certain degree of informal power, but very little privilege.

In addition, Foucault (1980) and Harvey's (2000) theories could explain how and why some employees feel marginalized in their organizations and in their fields. Administrative employees in this sample who are also located in frontline positions believe that their organizations are stratified based on one's role. Because their roles do not directly reflect the missions and purposes of their organizations, the contributions of frontline administrative employees become devalued (i.e., subjugated) or rendered invisible (Foucault, 1975; Harvey, 2000). According to their responses, some feel marginalized because they do not provide services directly to clients and community members. These employees' sentiments illustrate how class can function to confound employees' perceptions about both their power and powerlessness in the sample organizations. Race, further complicates these findings because the majority of employees who occupy direct service roles are employees of color and the majority of persons in administrative roles are White. Therefore, Collins's (2000) theory about subjugated knowledge in marginalized communities appears to illuminate how direct service employees exercise power and experience privilege in their roles. The scholar contends that historically marginalized groups, specifically Black women, must and have constructed their own identities, ideologies, knowledges, and truths. She asserts that, said constructed identities are informed by their lived experiences, relationships, and communities. Applying Collins thesis here implies that, although direct care employees have limited direct access and control over the organizations' tangible resources (i.e. materials, personnel, and funds),

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[20] Harvey (2000) defines "third parties" as persons who are not active members of the relationship in question; however, they influence those in it.

they can garner legitimacy and credibility by virtue of their ability to provide high quality services, which heightens the organizations' profiles in the community . Furthermore, though they may occupy frontline positions, their work in the community may bolster their social status. Finally, although direct service employees earn lower salaries and have fewer interactions with persons higher in the social hierarchy, some appear to construct intangible benefits such as feelings of satisfaction, purposeful lives, and connections to communities that allow them to construct their own identities and ideologies about power and legitimacy (P. H. Collins, 2000). However, their counterparts who fail to construct their personal profiles similarly appear to have lost their voices because of disempowerment.

Finally, employees' tenures can greatly influence perceptions about how they experience organizational power and privilege. Community psychologists McMillan and Chavis' (1986) work regarding one's sense of community can contribute to understanding how time can create a psychological sense of belonging within an organization that facilitates an employees ability to internalize the organizations' culture and values. Responses from employees with in this analysis longer tenures indicate a stronger connection to the organization than their counterparts. Moreover, they have tend to have a strong psychological sense of community that mandates participation in the construction of organizational values, practices, and ideologies, as well as internalizing the existing values and ideologies (McMillian & Chavis, 1986). In contrast, employees' with less tenure seem to have fragile ties to and within organizations. They appear to struggle to make connections, gain standing, and to be heard. Furthermore, Pooley, Cohen and Pike (2005) contend that longevity that fosters a strong sense of community internally facilitates the ability to build social capital that can then be leveraged to influence and control other employees and advance in an organization. Their findings are corroborated here. Furthermore, employees with more tenure may use the internal and community networks, credibility, experiences, and skills (i.e., social capital) that they have gained in their organizations to acquire higher positions in other health and human service organizations. By doing so, their experiences of power and privilege may transfer to their organizational settings-- and the cycle continues. The findings in this chapter suggest that positions, roles, and tenure can be as similarly influential as race, class, and gender

by employees' in shaping their perspectives about how they experience organizational power and privilege. These results inform existing research on organizational processes, but also have important implications for the ability of health and human service employees to both effectively provide culturally relative services that empower clients and foster social justice. However, other factors such as environment, culture, and leadership can also facilitate empowerment and marginalization. In order to broaden the empirical lens to study this dynamic, Chapter 7 presents a quantitative analysis to compare employees' perceptions based on the aforementioned factors.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS:  EXAMINING THE EFFECTS OF RACE, CLASS, GENDER, POSITION, ROLE AND

TENURE ON ORGANIZATIONAL PRIVILEGE

Increasing numbers of scholars contend that if health and human service organizations wish to

minimize the systems of domination associated with racism, sexism, and classism within the communities

they serve, a paradigm shift is required from problem focused, reactive practices to those that promote

empowerment, diversity, and justice (Evans, 2005; Evans et al., 2007; Foster-Fishman & Behrens, 2007;

Foster-Fishman, Salem, Allen, & Fahrbach, 2001; Trickett et al., 1994).  Changing external procedures,

such as practice and service provision, requires organizations to change internal policies, values, and

cultures.  Furthermore, sustainable change efforts mandate attention to several factors, including internal

power dynamics (i.e., internal processes that influence employees, relationships, and organizations).  I

have used Foucaultian (1975, 1980) theory as a framework to investigate organizational power

systemically, with various vehicles at multiple domains (P. H. Collins, 2000; Prilleltensky, 2008).

Representative quotes from employees from health and human service organizations in previous chapters

illustrate how race, class, and gender, as examples of external power systems, influence perceptions about

organizations' cultures, values, relationships, and staffs as well as external practices (Andersen & Collins,

2007; Clegg et al., 2006; P. H. Collins, 2000).

The current chapter uses various quantitative approaches to examine whether and how these same

dynamics inform our understanding of employee perceptions about participation, control, relationships,

and resources (i.e., learning opportunities) in health and human service organizations.  Using wide-

ranging conceptualization of power allows for an investigation of perceptions about the ways that societal

factors (i.e., race, class, and gender) convey organizational advantages to members of dominant social

groups within organizations.  Using employees' survey data from the current sample of health and human

service organizations, I examine the possible effects of race, class, gender, position, role, and tenure on

employee perceptions of their access to organizational resources (i.e., learning opportunities), feelings of agency (i.e., participation in decision-making and self-determination), and organizational relationships. Results from this exploratory analysis will augment existing qualitative results and may further illuminate employees' views about their experiences regarding organizational privilege.

## Research Questions

This analysis endeavors to measure employees' perceptions about their access to intangible and tangible forms of organizational privilege. First, broad bivariate comparisons of employee profiles based on race, class, and gender may yield data patterns that make privilege visible across the sample organizations (Phase 1). The research questions about race, class, gender, and organizational privilege include: (1) is there correlation between employees' race, gender, and organizational role; (2) is there correlation between race, class, and organizational role; (3) is there correlation between gender, class, and organizational role; and, (4) do race, class, and/or gender influence employees' tenure with their respective organizations? Phase 2 will consider the possible simultaneously impact race, class, and gender may have on employee perceptions about aspects of organizational privilege. Specifically, the multivariate analysis will examine whether and how power processes tied to race, class, and/or gender as well as employees' work profiles (i.e. tenure, organizational role, and organizational position) influence employees' perceptions about their agency : defined as level of participation in organizational decision-makings and/or feelings of control and self-determination in their work; access to organizational resources (i.e., learning opportunities);and , relationships within their respective organizations.

## Sample, Methods and Operationalizations

*The Sample*

The data source includes fifty-four (N=54) employees from the five health and human service agencies described in Chapter 3. The mixed-format survey consists of 101 questions using a six point, Likert-type scale, multiple-choice questions, and open-ended questions. The questionnaire is designed to

measure both external as well as internal organizational practices, processes, and culture based on three content areas: 1) perceptions about individual and organizational practices in relation to the four SPEC domains (as described in the New SPECs section in Chapter 3); 2) perceptions about dimensions of learning organizations; and, 3) perceptions about empowerment. I focus my analyses on Likert-type questions that measure employees' perceptions about their: ability to participate in decision-making processes and feelings of self-determination within their roles (i.e., agency); ability to access training and other learning opportunities (i.e., resource distribution); and, perceptions of how and whether their work environments facilitate or hinder collaboration and/or empowerment. Specifically, the analysis concentrates on survey questions adapted from the Dimensions of Learning Organizations Questionnaire because they measure employees' beliefs about power, staff agency, relational environments, and opportunities to access learning within the organizations in which they work (Yang, Watkins, & Marsick, 2004). I examine four dimensions of organizational power and privilege. Using factor analysis to construct scales that measure employees' perceptions, I compare them based on employees' demographic factors such as race, educational level, gender, organizational role, and position in the organizations' structures.

Questions regarding respondents' race, class (broadly defined here as education level), gender, organizational role (i.e., direct care workers or administrative workers), position in the organizational structures, and tenure (i.e., length of time in the organization) are constructed base on multiple-choice questions. When their demographic profiles are examined, respondents vary based on race and educational level. However, the sample contains a disproportionate number of female respondents (n= 44) as compared to males (n=10). Respondents' roles in the agencies as well as their positions in the organizational hierarchies are diverse. Average organizational tenure of employees is 4 years. However, the greatest number of respondents report working about 10 years. The modal category is provided here because the secondary data include tenure in pre-determined categories. Respondents' tenure varies in range including 3 months (n= 6), 6 months (n=0), 9 months (n=6), 1 year (n=7), 2 years (n=4), 3 years (n= 6), 5 years (n=7), 10 years (n=10), 15 years (n=6), and 20 or more years (n= 3). A summary of the

respondent's demographic characteristics is presented in Table 7.1 and discussed extensively in the subsequent Findings section.

Dependent Variables:  The Four Domains of Privilege

This section includes the operationalization for each indicator that represents a proxy for privilege used in the quantitative analyses.  The dependent variables are a series of four scales that evaluate employees' perceptions about their agency (i.e., participation in decision-making and control/self-determination), relationships, and access to resources (i.e., learning opportunities) within health and human service organizations.  Details about each construct are provided in Chapter 2; each variable is described below.

*Agency*

Two *Agency* constructs are used to measure employees' perceptions about their capacity to control and influence the workings of their respective organizations and include participation in decision-making and control/self-determination.

*Participation in Decision-Making*

Employees who have more opportunities to participate in decision-making tend to exercise more power within an organization.  Thus their feelings of agency are often associated with higher incidences of participation in decision-making.  In addition, inclusion in decision-making reflects an employees' ability to access certain advantages to potentially promote their advancement (Devadoss & Muth, 1984; Jackie, 2003; Ostrander, 1999; Poster, 1995; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992).  Furthermore, such employees tend to remain with their organizations longer (Ashcraft, 2001; Ostrander, 1999; Poster, 1995). The *Participation* construct measures employees' perceptions about their ability to be involved and include/exclude others in decision-making about organizational practices, policies, and processes.  The five survey items that comprise the construct include:  (1) I have voice and choice in decision-making processes at my organization; (2) I feel I have adequate preparation and skills in order to have a say in decisions; (3) I feel I have enough opportunities in my job to have a say in decisions; (4) I feel I have

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adequate time to have a say in decisions; and, (5) I have adequate organizational support to have a say in decisions.  The items are highly correlated and rotated Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) suggests unidimensionality ($\alpha$=.93 and eigenvalue= 3.89).  Construct scores range from -2.56 to 1.47 where low scores suggest employees believe they have limited participation in making organizational decisions and high scores suggests more participation in decision-making.

*Control/Self-Determination*

The *Control* construct includes employees' perceptions about whether or the degree to which they are able to be in command of their actions in their roles to effectively to provide deliverables or outcomes. Employees' beliefs about their ability to be self-determining are directly related to feelings of job satisfaction, job mobility, and employee tenure (Balsamo, 1999; Davison & Martinsons, 2002; Frey, 1993; Geisler, 2005).  Thus empowerment and control are often associated with employees who are in higher organizational positions and who have worked within the organization longer periods. Furthermore,  Bond (1999, 2007) concludes that race and gender influence employees' ability to direct their work.  The five survey items used in the scale describe employees' feelings about voice and choice in the organization, ability to collaborate, and perceived communication styles and/or qualities in the organizations.  The items included are: (1) in my organization, people openly discuss mistakes to learn from them; (2) people view problems in their work as learning opportunities; (3) in my organization, the number of individuals learning new skills is greater; (4) in my organization, investment is skill and professional development is greater; and, (5) my organization enables people to get needed information at anytime.  The items are highly correlated and a rotated Principal Axis Factor Analysis confirms unideminsionality ($\alpha$= .88 and eigenvalue=3.37).  Scale scores range from -3.17 to 1.33.  Higher scores suggest employees believe that they are more empowered in their work.  Lower scores indicate that employees feel disempowered within their organizations.

*Relationships (Collaborative and Empowering Environments)*

The *Relationship* construct measures employees' beliefs about environmental factors that facilitate or hinder collaboration between employees and within organizations as well as their abilities to be self-determining in how they do their work. Scholars suggest that alienation and isolation contribute to employees' feelings of powerless. Furthermore, organizations that provide settings where employees can interact in empowering ways tend to be more socially just spaces (Bond, 1999; Griffith et al., 2007; Hoffman, 1985). The seven items that comprise the *Relationships* scale measure qualities within organizational relationships that may facilitate collaboration and empowerment (Marsick, 1998; Yang et al., 2004) and include: (1) my organization considers the impact of decisions on employees; (2) my organization encourages people to get answers across departments; (3) my organization builds alignment of visions across different levels and work groups reversed; (4) in my organization, people give honest feedback; (5) people are rewarded for new ways of working; (6) my organization gives people control of the resources; and, (7) my organization recognizes initiative taking. The items are highly correlated and a Principal Axis Factor analysis confirms unideminsionality ($\alpha$=.95 and eigenvalue= 5.42). Scores range from -2.25 to 1.64. Higher scores suggest that employees believe that their working environments and relationships are collaborative and empowering.

*Learning Opportunities*

Bond (1999) and Samuels (2003) contend that a detrimental outcome of race-, class-, and gender-based discrimination is the ability of the privileged group to limit the access of workers of color and female employees to resources that promote connections, advancement, and employee well-being (Bond, 1999; Samuels & Samuels, 2003). Specifically, research suggests that marginalized employees who work in learning environments (i.e., environments that promote creativity, democracy, and collaboration) will experience advancement (Bond, 1999; Samuels & Samuels, 2003; Tsui et al., 1992). The *Learning Opportunity* scale measures employees' beliefs about their abilities and chances to acquire organizational information and skills. Five survey items comprise this scale including: (1) in my organization, people openly discuss mistakes to learn from them; (2) people view problems in their work as learning

opportunities; (3) in my organization, the number of individuals learning new skills is greater; (4) in my organization, investment is skill and professional development is greater; (5) my organization enables people to get needed information at anytime; and, (6) leaders generally support requests for learning opportunities. The formerly mentioned items are highly correlated and a rotated Principal Axis Factor analysis confirms their unidimensionality ($\alpha$=.89 and eigenvalue=3.92). Scores range from -2.63 to 1.79. Higher scores indicate employees perceive their work environments facilitate learning, while lower scores suggest environments that hinder employee learning.

## Independent Variables

Six demographic indicators are used in bivariate and multivariate analyses: race, gender, education level, organizational role, tenure, and organizational position. The race variable is divided into two categories, employees of color who identify as Black or Other are coded "0" and employees who self identify as White as coded "1". Other dummy variables include gender (male=1), education level, organizational position, and organizational roles. Education level is divided into two groups. Employees who attained higher levels of education such as graduate, professional, and/or doctoral degrees are coded as "1" and those who had completed basic educational requirements for employment such as a diploma, associates degrees and/or bachelor degrees are codes as "0". For the organizational role variable, employees are separated based on their functions (i.e., administrative or direct care) and administrative=1. The tenure variable is separated into four categories—employees who have worked for 11 months or less, 1- 4, 5-15, and 20 or more years. Finally, the organizational position variable is divided into two categories based on their position in the organization's structure –frontline (i.e., direct service and support staff) and managerial (upper and middle management), managerial =1. Because I am attempting to asses privilege of dominant social groups (i.e., White, male, and/or highly educated employees), I use members of historically marginalized groups (i.e., employees of color, those with less formal education broadly defined as class, and females) as reference categories.

Plan of Analysis

All data analysis is conducted in SPSS computer software designed specifically for quantitative data analysis. Two phases of analyses are performed to investigate employees' perceptions about their access to resources (i.e., learning opportunities), agency (i.e., participation in decision-making and control/self-determination), as well as relationship quality and environment. The first phase of analysis involves three steps. First, bivariate crosstabulations are used to gain knowledge about the context of the sample organizations. Pearson's Chi-squares are generated for each crosstabulation to determine whether the independent variables are correlated. Two by two analyses of relationships between the following include: race and gender, race and tenure, race and organizational role, race and educational level; race and position in the organizational structure; education level and gender, education level and organizational position; education level and role; gender and education level; gender and position in organizational structure; and, gender and role. This initial step will uncover possible broad demographic patterns in the data. Second, after the construction of the four scales to represent dimensions of privilege, an ANOVA is used to compare mean group responses for the five organizations. Third, independent sample t-tests are conducted to compare means of factors across two categories of race, gender, and organizational role relative to each scale measuring privilege. Next, One-Way ANOVAs are used to compare the means of indicators with more than two categories such as educational level and organizational position relative to each scale. In phase two, because the dependent variables are continuous level scales, ordinary least squares regression is used to estimate employees' perceptions about participation in decision-making, control/ self-determination, access to learning opportunities, and relationships based on race, educational level and gender controlling for employees' tenure, organizational position, and organizational role. I estimate a series of models starting with controls for race (Model 1), then introducing conceptually related variables such as education level and gender (Model 2), and finally introducing employee tenure, organizational role and organizational position (Model 3). For the purposes of modeling responses for employees who identified as Black and Other were combined and comprise the employees of color category.

Findings

*Demographic Characteristics of Sample Respondents*

Table 7.1 and 7.2 provide demographic descriptions of the sample based on the three racial designations and educational attainment, respectively. Findings in Table 7.1 indicate that persons of color, or those who identify as Black (43 % female and 6% male) or Other (11% female), comprise a combined 60% of the sample respondents (n=32). Moreover, females comprise 81% of the study's sample (n=44) and employees of color make up the majority of sample respondents. Bivariate findings suggest no racial differences in employee tenure or race and employees' organizational roles. The average tenure of employees in their respective organizations is approximately 4 years. The majority of survey respondents (43% for 5-15 years and 6% for 20 or more years) have worked in their organizations for five or more years. Furthermore when organizational role is considered, a slight majority of the respondents in direct care roles are employees of color (52% Black and 4% Other). Although females of color are the statistical majority in this sample, a preponderance of White respondents tends to be upper and middle level managers. Specifically, 16 of the 22 White respondents hold managerial positions (7 middle managers and 9 upper managers) in their respective organizations. Thus White persons hold a disproportionate percent of the formerly described positions. Of the 12 upper managers who responded, 75% or 9 are White. Moreover, of 13 middle managers, 54% or 7 identify as White. These numbers are in stark contrast to their counterparts of color, who majorly occupy frontline positions. Particularly, of the 16 direct service employees who responded, 8 or 50% identified as Black and 3 or 19% identified as Other. Additionally, of the 10 support service respondents, 80% and 10% identified as Black or other respectively. When education is assessed, employees of color tend to have significantly less formal education than their White counterparts. Specifically, the majority of those who only have high school diplomas are employees of color (92%). Specifically, 75% Black employees and 17% employees who identify as Other have diplomas, which is substantially different from White employees (8%). Furthermore, Chi square analyses illustrate a significant correlation between race and education level

($X^2$=9.48) as well as race and organizational structure ($X^2$=12.94). Thus White respondents tend to have higher education levels and they also tend to hold the majority of the higher level positions.

As Table 7.2 illustrates, the majority of respondents have some formal education beyond high school (78%) such as undergraduate degrees (39%) and graduate and/or professional training (39%). The results suggest that a disproportionate percentage of male respondents have advanced degrees (50%) than females (36%). Significantly more White employees (i.e., 21 of 22) or approximately 95% have bachelor's degrees or higher than their counterparts of color-- approximately 65% of Black and 50% of Other. Results from a Chi square analysis suggest a relationship between education and race ($X^2$=9.48, p<.05). A disproportionately higher percent of White respondents (59%) had advanced degrees than their counterparts of color (27% for Black and 17% for Other). Moreover, the majority of employees who hold upper and middle management positions have advanced degrees, 75%, and 62 % respectively, while the majority of frontline workers have Bachelors degrees, (63% of direct service staff, and 50% of support staff). Furthermore, Chi square results show a relationship between education and organizational position ($X^2$=21.33, p<.001). Additionally, employees with advanced degrees comprise the majority of persons who have the longest tenures. Finally, a greater percentage of employees with advanced degrees are direct service employees, while administrative employees hold considerably more undergraduate degrees (54%). These results suggest that White employees may have more formal authority than employees of color because they have higher levels of formal education and hold the majority of the leadership positions (S. Collins, 1997). Comparisons of employees' mean scores for the four dependent variables (i.e., privilege scales) will help determine whether differences exists based on employee demographics.

**Table 7.1 Demographic Characteristics of Sample Respondents**

| | | Race | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Employees of Color | | | |
| **Employee Traits** | Total | Black | Other | White | $X^2$ |
| **Gender** | | | | | 4.79 |
| Percent of Females | 81% (44) | 43% (23) | 11% (6) | 28% (15) | |
| Percent of Males | 19% (10) | 6% (3) | 0% (0) | 13% (7) | |
| **Tenure** | | | | | 5.48 |
| 3- 9 months | 13% (7) | 43% (3) | 0% (0) | 57% (4) | |
| 1-4 years | 38% (20) | 55% (11) | 20% (4) | 25 % (5) | |
| 5-15 years | 43% (23) | 43% (10) | 9% (2) | 48% (11) | |
| 20 years or above | 6% (3) | 33% (1) | 0% (0) | 67% (2) | |
| **Organizational Role** | | | | | 2.43 |
| Administrative | 55% (28) | 39% (11) | 18% (5) | 43% (12) | |
| Direct Care | 45% (23) | 52% (12) | 4% (1) | 44% (10) | |
| **Education Level** | | | | | 9.48* |
| Percent of Diplomas | 22% (12) | 75% (9) | 17% (2) | 8% (1) | |
| Percent of Undergraduate degrees | 39% (21) | 48% (10) | 14% (3) | 38% (8) | |
| Percent of Advanced Degrees | 39% (21) | 33% (7) | 5% (1) | 61% (13) | |
| **Organizational Structure** | | | | | 12.94* |
| Frontline Employees | | | | | |
| Percent of Direct service | 31% (16) | 50% (8) | 19% (3) | 31% (5) | |
| Percent of Support Staff | 19% (10) | 80% (8) | 10% (1) | 10% (1) | |
| Percent Middle Management | 26% (13) | 31% (4) | 15% (2) | 54% (7) | |
| Percent Upper Management | 23% (12) | 25% (3) | 0% (0) | 75% (9) | |
| Total Number (percent) | 54 (100%) | 26 (48%) | 6 (11%) | 22 (40%) | |

Note: *p< .05, **p< .01, *** p< .001 level.  Key:  Education Level: Diploma= High School and GED; Undergraduate= Associates, Bachelors' Degrees; Advanced= Masters' and Professional levels or Doctoral degrees

**Table 7.2 Organizational Positions by Education Level**

| Employees' Traits | Total | Diploma | Undergraduate | Advanced | $X^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Education* | | |
| **Gender** | | | | | 1.85 |
| Percent of Males | 19% (10) | 30% (3) | 20% (2) | 50% (5) | |
| Percent of Females | 81% (44) | 21% (9) | 43% (19) | 36% (16) | |
| **Race/Ethnicity** | | | | | 9.48* |
| Black | 49% (26) | 35% (9) | 39% (10) | 27% (7) | |
| Other | 11% (6) | 33 % (2) | 50% (3) | 17% (1) | |
| White | 40% (22) | 5 % (1) | 36 % (8) | 59 % (13) | |
| **Organizational Structure** | | | | | 21.33*** |
| Frontline Staff | | | | | |
| Direct Services Staff | 31% (16) | 19% (3) | 63% (10) | 19% (3) | |
| Support Staff | 19% (10) | 50% (5) | 50% (4) | 10%(1) | |
| Middle Management | 26% (13) | 0% (0) | 39% (5) | 62% (8) | |
| Upper Management | 23% (12) | 8% (1) | 17% (2) | 75% (9) | |
| **Tenure** | | | | | 4.07 |
| 3- 9 months | 13% (7) | 14 % (1) | 43 % (3) | 43 % (3) | |
| 1-4 years | 38% (20) | 25 % (5) | 50 % (10) | 25% (5) | |
| 5-15 years | 43% (23) | 22 % (5) | 30 % (7) | 48 % (11) | |
| 20 years or above | 6% (3) | 0% (0) | 33 % (1) | 67 % (3) | |
| **Organizational Role** | | | | | 4.46 |
| Administrative | 55% (28) | 11% (3) | 54% (15) | 36% (10) | |
| Direct Care | 45% (23) | 26% (6) | 2 % (6) | 48% (11) | |
| **Total Number (percent)** | 54 (100%) | 12 (22%) | 21 (39%) | 21 (39%) | |

Note: *p< .05, **p< .01, *** p< .001 level.  Key:  Education Level: Diploma= High School and GED; Undergraduate= Associates, Bachelors' Degrees; Advanced= Masters' and Professional levels or Doctoral degrees

*Mean Analysis for Demographic Characteristics*

Table 7.3 provides a summary of mean scores for the four perception scales based on gender, race, tenure, organizational role, organizational position, and educational level.  T-tests and One-way ANOVAs are used to identify significant differences in mean scores.  Findings show significant gender differences on the scale that measures participation in decision-making.  Male respondent scores are higher than female respondents (0.54 versus -0.08), which suggests that males perceive that they participate more in organizational decision-making than females.  Moreover, results suggest that employees perceptions about organizational privilege, as defined in this study, vary based on race and views across the two groups are significantly different.  This means that White employees score significantly higher than their non-White peers for three of the four privilege scales including; participation in decision-making (.036 versus -0.22), relationships (0.42 versus -0.27), and learning opportunities (0.34 versus -0.22).  Their higher mean scores suggest that respondents have significantly distinct perceptions about their organizational experiences based on their race.  Specifically, White employees generally believe that they: participate more in decision-making that affects the workings of their organizations; have access to learning opportunities; and, have relationships that are collaborative and empowering.  Yet their counterparts of color express these sentiments less ardently.  These findings are consistent with results from the representative quotes presented in Chapter 5.  Furthermore, they reinforce Bond's (2007) conclusions that US work cultures tend to create spaces in which White employees experience more agency, greater access to resources, and higher quality work relationships.

When organizational tenure is assessed, employees' perceptions about access to learning opportunities and relationships vary.  For example, employees who have worked in their respective organizations for 5 years or more scored significantly higher on scales that assess relationships (0.19 versus -0.12) and learning opportunities (0.06 versus -0.07).  These results suggest that employees who have worked in their respective organizations longer believe that their work relationships are empowering and collaborative as compared to their counterparts who express these sentiments less ardently.  Additionally, employees with longer tenure generally believe that they have satisfactory access to

learning opportunities as compared to their lower tenured counterparts who express this sentiment to a lesser degree. It should be noted that although employees mean scores are not significantly different on the participation scale, employees with longer tenure score *substantively* higher than their counterparts. However, findings do not evidence significant differences across the four scales based on organizational roles. As suggested in the literature, employees in this sample with longer tenures generally perceive that they have a greater sense of community and more social capital that allows them more access to resources, feelings of agency, and higher quality relationships (McMillian & Chavis, 1986; Pooley et al., 2005; Putnam, 1993).

Contrary to expectations, employees' positions only significantly influence mean scores on the participation scale. Thus respondents who hold higher organizational positions score significantly higher on the participation scale than their counterparts in lower level posts. Post hoc tests show that the scores of upper management employees are significantly higher than their counterparts who work in support staff positions (0.65 versus -0.90) for this same scale. In addition, results suggest that middle management employees' mean scores are significantly higher than their counterparts in support positions (0.37 versus -0.90). Furthermore, *substantively* higher scores for the control scale as well as participation scale suggest that upper and middle level managers tend to believe that they participate in decision making more and have greater control than frontline employees report (support staff and direct service). Therefore, persons in manager's positions may feel more agency in their roles. These results parallel scholars contentions that leaders or upper management employees tend to have more agency and power in organizations (Rooke & Torbert, 2005; Senge, 2006; Torbert, 1991). Finally, when education level is assed, although employees' mean scores do not differ significantly across the four privilege scales, substantive differences illustrate the possibility that employees with advanced degrees may feel more agentic and tend to have better quality relationships than their counterparts with less formal training.

Overall, these results suggest common perceptions, on average, based on gender and organizational role. However, differences in perceptions based on race and tenure illustrate how demographic and work profile indicators can influence employees' views about privilege-related

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dynamics.  Many of the demographic indicators seem to result in substantially distinct scores on one or more of the privilege scales.  However, race is the only variable that affects most of the scales statistically (three of the four) and suggests possible differences in employee perceptions when the indicators are examined simultaneously in the next section.

**Table 7.3 T-test and ANOVA Results for Mean Scores Based on Employees Demographics**

| | Results from T-tests | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Agency (Participation) | | Agency (Control) | | Relationships | | Learning Opportunities | |
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| **Gender** | | | | | | | | |
| Female | -0.08 | 1.02 | -0.14 | 0.99 | -0.00 | 0.98 | -0.05 | 0.99 |
| Male | 0.54* | 0.51 | 0.47 | 0.65 | 0.16 | 0.95 | 0.29 | 0.76 |
| **Race/Ethnicity** | | | | | | | | |
| Blacks and Other | -0.22 | 1.06 | -0.18 | 1.10 | -0.27 | 1.07 | -0.22 | 1.15 |
| Whites | 0.36* | 0.73 | 0.20 | 0.75 | 0.42** | 0.75 | 0.34** | 0.40 |
| **Employee Tenure** | | | | | | | | |
| 4 years and below | -0.17 | 1.01 | -0.29 | 1.03 | -0.12 | 1.12 | -0.07 | 1.18 |
| 5 years and above | 0.22 | 0.91 | 0.20 | 0.81 | 0.19** | 0.76 | 0.06** | 0.66 |
| **Organizational Role** | | | | | | | | |
| Direct Care Workers | -0.07 | 1.05 | -0.03 | 1.03 | -0.00 | 0.91 | 0.04 | 0.98 |
| Administrative Workers | 0.07 | 0.97 | -0.09 | 0.94 | -0.00 | 1.05 | -0.08 | 0.98 |
| | Results from ANOVAs | | | | | | | |
| | Agency (Participation) | | Agency (Control) | | Relationships | | Learning Opportunities | |
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| **Organizational Position** | | | | | | | | |
| Frontline | | | | | | | | |
| Direct Services (D) | -0.27 | 1.14 | -0.38 | 1.12 | -0.10 | 1.11 | -0.22 | 1.18 |
| Support Staff (S) | -0.90 | 0.80 | -0.35 | 1.20 | -0.36 | 0.92 | -0.02 | 1.03 |
| Middle Management (M) | 0.37**[S] | 0.65 | 0.16 | 0.73 | -0.06 | 1.16 | -0.12 | 1.01 |
| Upper Management (U) | 0.65***[S] | 0.62 | 0.39 | 0.61 | 0.45 | 0.42 | 0.32 | 0.55 |
| **Education Level** | | | | | | | | |
| Diploma (DI) | -0.28 | 0.87 | -0.10 | 1.03 | -0.25 | 1.04 | -0.24 | 1.11 |
| Undergraduate Degree (UD) | -0.15 | 1.09 | -0.12 | 1.09 | -0.03 | 1.05 | -0.07 | 1.01 |
| Advanced Degree (AD) | 0.35 | 0.84 | 0.11 | 0.81 | 0.21 | 0.86 | 0.21 | 0.83 |

Note: Mean differences confirmed based on t-tests and ANOVA with Scheffes' and Benferroni post hoc tests. For t-tests * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Scores range from lower to higher on each scale as follows: Participation -2.56 to 1.47; Control -3.17 to 1.33; Relationships -2.25 to 1.64; and, Learning Opportunities -2.63 to 1.64.

*Employees' Perceptions of Organizational Power and Privilege*

Bivariate tests comparing means indicate that all but one of the selected demographic characteristics have substantive influences across each of the four dimensions of privilege. However, only the indicator that captures employee's race has statistically significant influences for three of the four scales. Preliminary regression models confirm that race appears to be a significant predictor in tests on the participation, control, relationships, and learning opportunities scales. Therefore, each of the four scales that measure some dimension of privilege are initially regressed on race, then followed by controls for race, class and gender, and finally based on all indicators including employee tenure and organizational position[21].

*Participation in Decision Making*

Table 7.4 provides nested ordinary least squares results to assess the possible influence of the five independent variables on employees' perceptions about organizational participation. When race is tested in Model 1, findings show that White employees score considerably higher than employees of color on the participation scale (b=.64, p<.05). These results suggest that White employees believe that that they participate in organizational decision-making to a greater degree than their counterparts of color ($R^2$=.010). However, when considering education level and gender in Model 2, race becomes insignificant. White employees' scores are no different from those of employees' of color. Furthermore, education is not a predictor of employees' perceptions of their participation in organizational decision-making. Finally, males are no more or less likely to score differently than females. Yet when tenure and organizational position are added (Model 3), the effect of organizational position becomes significant (b=.85, p<.01) and the model's explanatory power over the baseline tests significantly improves ($R^2$=0.29). Thus for every one point increase in frontline employees scores, upper and middle management employees score approximately one point higher. Therefore, when simultaneously

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[21] The "organizational roles" variable (i.e., administrative and direct service) is expected to explain employees' scores on the privilege dimensions. However, initial comparisons of means (i.e., t-tests and ANOVAs) indicate insignificance. Based on these preliminary results and concerns about statistical power and sample size, I chose to exclude organizational roles as an independent variable in the regressions.

controlling for other indicators such as race, education level, gender, and employee tenure, organizational position is the greatest predictor of employees' perceptions of abilities to participate in organizational decision-making ($\beta$=.43, p<.01). The results suggest that overall, managerial employees (i.e., upper and middle management) believe that they participate in organizational decisions more than their counterparts in frontline positions. These results are consistent with descriptions from managerial employees from the qualitative analysis in Chapter 6. Based on their positions and responsibilities, upper and middle managers tend to participate in organizational decision-making to a greater degree than frontline employees. Furthermore, the findings parallel scholarship about organizations (Gherardi & Nicolini, 2001; Senge, 2006; Torbert, 1991)and traditional theories of power (Bachrach & Baraatz, 1970; Mills, 1956), that contend that organizational leaders wield tremendous power because they make decisions that affect employees, the organization, and the community. Moreover, they experience privilege because they can make decisions that forward their organizational agendas.

**Table 7.4 Linear Regression Estimated Coefficients and Standard Errors for Participation Scale**

|  | Model 1 Race Only | | | Model 2 Race, Class, and Gender | | | Model 3 Race, Class, Gender, Tenure and Position | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. Error | β |
| Race (White =1) | .64* | .26 | .32 | .43 | .30 | .21 | .22 | .30 | .11 |
| Education Level (Advanced Degrees=1) |  |  |  | .43 | .28 | .22 | .05 | .30 | .03 |
| Gender (Males=1) |  |  |  | .29 | .40 | .11 | .24 | .37 | .09 |
| Tenure (3 months to 20 years) |  |  |  |  |  |  | .01 | .06 | .03 |
| Position in Organizational Structure (Upper/Middle Management=1) |  |  |  |  |  |  | .85** | .34 | .43 |
| (Constant) | -.28 | .18 |  | -.42* | .20 |  | -.61** | .24 |  |
| $R^2$ |  | .10 |  |  | .16 |  |  | .29 |  |
| N |  | 49 |  |  | 49 |  |  | 49 |  |

Source:  New SPECs Survey Time 2 (2006).  Scores range from lower (-2.56) to higher (1.47).  + $p<.10$ level, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p< .001$.

*Control /Self-Determination*

Results from ordinary least squares regression in Table 7.5 indicate that albeit minimal, race is influential in determining employees' perceptions of their ability to be self-determining in their organizations. Results from Model 1 show that White employees perceptions about their control in organizations are slightly different from employees of color (b=.46, p<.10). However, when considering gender and education level, the effects of race become undetectable (Model 2). Finally, Model 3 indicates that employees' profiles (i.e., tenure and organizational position) are not predictive factors of employees' perceptions about their ability to be self-determining in their roles. These results are consistent with bivariate findings previously discussed in this chapter (Table 7.3). Although there appeared to be some substantive differences in means, perceptions are not statistically significant when the indicators of interest are examined simultaneously. These results suggest that the perceptions of control of members of dominant social groups (i.e., White, middle class/wealthy, males) do not differ statistically from those of their counterparts who are members of historically marginalized groups (i.e., persons of color, poor/working class, females).

Initially, these results appear inconsistent with findings in the previous chapters. However, further consideration of the findings shows how the results may parallel earlier findings. For example, results from the qualitative analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 indicate employees in the sample organizations believe that they have some control over in their jobs they contribute to their organizations and respective communities. However, employees' sense of self-determination may manifest differently based on their roles, race, or position. For example, findings from chapter 5 indicate that the beliefs of employees' of color about control and self-determination tend to manifest in their work with clients and community members, while White employees believe that they generally control their work in their respective organizations as well as with clients. Thus their feelings of control seem to emanate from distinct spaces in distinct spaces inside and outside the organization. These diversely driven but similar sentiments about empowerment seem evident in the regression results. Moreover, findings from Chapter 6 suggest that although some respondents may feel that their contributions are not valued, employees at all levels, with

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various roles believe that they make significant contributions to their respective organizations. These findings are consistent with research and theory that suggests that employees will find ways to gain control in their roles (Kanungo, 1992; Janice M.; Prochaska et al., 2001). Furthermore, the results are also consistent with theoretical positions that contend that individuals  construct identities and ideology about power and empowerment based on their lived experiences (P. H. Collins, 2000; Kegan, 1994; Solomon, 1987). Finally, these results illustrate the importance of examining constructs such as power, empowerment, and privilege in many nuanced and continuous ways instead of dichotomously as well as the need for more detailed indicators to potentially tease out the quantitative differences.

**Table 7.5 Linear Regression Estimated Coefficients and Standard Errors for Control Scale**

| | Model 1 Race Only | | | Model 2 Race, Class, and Gender | | | Model 3 Race, Class, Gender, Tenure and Position | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. Error | β |
| Race (White employees=1) | .46+ | .27 | .24 | .32 | .30 | .16 | .18 | .31 | .09 |
| Education Level (Advanced Degrees=1) | | | | .15 | .29 | .08 | -.09 | .32 | -.05 |
| Gender (Males=1) | | | | .38 | .37 | .15 | .35 | .37 | .14 |
| Tenure (3 months to 20 years) | | | | | | | .04 | .07 | .10 |
| Position in Org Structure (Upper/Middle Management=1) | | | | | | | .49 | .35 | .25 |
| (Constant) | -.26 | .18 | | -.33 | .20 | | -.53* | .25 | |
| $R^2$ | | .06 | | | .08 | | | .15 | |
| N | | 49 | | | 49 | | | 49 | |

Source:  New SPECs Survey Time 2 (2006).  Scores range from lower (-3.17) to higher (1.33).  + $p<.10$ level, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$.

*Relationships*

Table 7.6 shows the nested modeling results concerning employee perceptions about relational environments in organizations. Findings indicate that when controlling for education level, gender, tenure, and position, race is the most important predictor and increases perceptions about privileges. Findings from Model 1 show that when compared to employees of color, White employees tend to score higher on this scale (b=.77, p<.001). Thus they believe that they engage in collaborative and empowering work relationships to a greater degree than employees of color. Moreover, when educational level and gender are included in Model 2, race continues to be the most important predictor (b=.78, p<.01). However, differences in education levels do not result in higher or lower scores. Furthermore, males are no more likely to score differently than their female peers. Finally, when also considering employee tenure and organizational position (Model 3), they have minimal effects on employees' scores. For example, employees with longer tenures are no more or less apt to believe that their organizational environments are more empowering and collaborative than their counterparts with less tenure. Additionally, score differences are not apparent based on organizational position. Ultimately, considering all indicators simultaneously in Model 3, race continues to be the greatest predictor of how employees perceive relational environments in the organizations ($\beta$= .40, p<05). Moreover, race is the only variable that significantly influences employees' beliefs about organizational relationships (b=.78, p< .05).

Thus these findings suggest that the degree to which White employees believe that they experience empowering, collaborative relationships is greater than their counterparts of color. These results are also consistent with those from the qualitative analysis regarding the influence of race on organizational relationships (Chapter 5) that indicate that White employees tend to believe that they have more and diverse connections with co-workers across their respective organizations. Moreover, these findings validate contentions in the literature that individuals tend to cultivate relationships with others who have similar characteristics, specifically race (McPherson et al., 2001). Moreover, these results bolster existing research that members of historically marginalized groups often experience isolation and disempowerment in organizational settings (Bond, 1999, 2007). Therefore, some White employees may

advance within the organization based on what Johnson (2006) refers to as a path of least resistance. Furthermore, White employees may enjoy the benefits of work relationships that are nurturing, encouraging, and supportive and that ultimately foster skill development, a sense of belonging, personal efficacy, and promotions (A. G. Johnson, 2006; Mele, 2003; Solomon, 1987). Thus White employees would generally be expected to experience personal as well as professional benefits as compared to their non-white peers. These quantitative findings tend to suggest that they do.

**Table 7.6 Linear Regression Estimated Coefficients and Standard Errors for Relationships Scale**

| | Model 1 Race Only | | | Model 2 Race, Class, and Gender | | | Model 3 Race, Class, Gender, Tenure and Position | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. Error | β |
| Race (White employees=1) | .77*** | .26 | .39 | .78** | .30 | .40 | .78* | .31 | .40 |
| Education Level (Advanced Degrees=1) | | | | .18 | .28 | .09 | .17 | .32 | .09 |
| Gender (Males=1) | | | | -.24 | .39 | -.09 | -.26 | .39 | -.10 |
| Tenure (3 months to 20 years) | | | | | | | .04 | .07 | .10 |
| Position in Organizational Structure (Upper/Middle Management=1) | | | | | | | -.03 | .34 | -.01 |
| (Constant) | -.35* | .17 | | -.39* | .20 | | -.49+ | .25 | |
| $R^2$ | | .15 | | | .17 | | | .18 | |
| N | | 48 | | | 48 | | | 48 | |

Source:  New SPECs Survey Time 2 (2006).  Scores range from lower (-2.25) to higher (1.64). + $p<.10$ level, * $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p< .001$.

*Learning Opportunities*

The final set of nested models (Table 7.7) test the possible effects of race, education level, gender, tenure, and organizational positions on employees' perceptions about their access to organizational resources, specifically learning opportunities. Although there is slight fluctuation in coefficients across models, race remains a significant variable that affects employees' scores on the learning opportunities scales. For example, Model 1 illustrates that when comparing the scores of employees' of color with White employees, the latter group tends to score higher ($b=.65$, $p<.05$). However, after adding controls for gender and education in Model 2, the race indicator is only minimally predictive ($b= .59$, $p<.10$). Thus White employees continue to believe that they have access to learning opportunities to a greater extent than their counterparts of color. Yet the influence of both education level and gender are insignificant. When assessing tenure and position with the demographic variables into Model 3, race continues to be minimally influential on employees' mean scores ($b=.65$, $< p.10$) and suggests that White respondent score slightly higher than their respondents of color on the learning opportunities scale. Although minimally predictive, the results suggest that despite differences in organizational positions and tenure, White employees in this sample believe that they have greater access to resources than employees of color.

Although, my qualitative findings in Chapters 5 do not specifically examine learning opportunities, they do inform these modeling results. According to their direct comments, employees' beliefs about their access to organizational resources appear to vary in kind and quality based on race and class. These results are also consistent with Bond's (1999) contention that societal ideologies about race and gender are embedded within organizational policies and practices to provide members of socially dominant groups such as White persons and men with more access to resources that facilitate their professional advancement. Thus White employees, by virtue of their membership in the dominant racial group, tend to experience more organizational privilege. These modeling results illustrate that White employees, from the health and human service agencies studied here, may perceive that they have such privilege in terms of learning opportunities.

**Table 7.7 Linear Regression Estimated Coefficients and Standard Errors for Learning Opportunities Scale**

| | Model 1 Race Only | | | Model 2 Race, Class, and Gender | | | Model 3 Race, Class, Gender, Tenure and Position | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. error | β | B | Std. Error | β |
| Race (White employees=1) | .65* | .27 | .33 | .59+ | .31 | .31 | .65+ | .33 | .33 |
| Education Level (Advanced Degrees=1) | | | | .24 | .29 | .12 | .31 | .33 | .16 |
| Gender (Males=1) | | | | -.08 | .40 | -.03 | -.07 | .41 | -.03 |
| Tenure (3 months to 20 years) | | | | | | | -.02 | .07 | -.04 |
| Position in Org Structure (Upper/Middle Management=1) | | | | | | | -.16 | .35 | -.08 |
| (Constant) | -.31 + | .18 | | -.37 + | .20 | | -.29 | .26 | |
| **R²** | | .11 | | | .13 | | | .13 | |
| **N** | | 47 | | | 47 | | | 47 | |

Source: New SPECs Survey Time 2 (2006). Scores range from lower (-2.63) to higher (1.64). + p<.10 level, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p< .001.

Discussion and Conclusion

The quantitative results in this chapter generally parallel findings from qualitative analysis in previous chapters about how race, class, and gender influence employees' perceptions about power and privilege in organizational settings. Although a largely exploratory endeavor, these findings confirm that using Foucault's (1980) conceptualizations of power as a multileveled process provides broad dimensions for examining employees' perceptions of organizational power and privilege—specifically access to resources (i.e., learning opportunities), relationships, and employee agency (i.e., participation and control/self-determination). Moreover, consistencies between the qualitative and quantitative findings suggest that examinations of privilege require a more nuanced understanding of how privilege may manifest in such organizations. Scholars who examine social inequality (specifically privilege) contend that the insidious nature of privilege mandates this kind of inquiry (M. Fine et al., 2004; A. G. Johnson, 2006; Kimmel & Ferber, 2010; McIntosh, 2010). Similar to the results in previous chapters, there are patterns in employee profiles that reflect disparities in organizational positioning and roles.

Contrary to expectations, class and gender are not correlated with the factors considered in the current quantitative study. Furthermore, although organizational position and role tend to be loosely associated with race, employee tenure is not significantly associated with any of the factors. However, broad bivariate comparisons of employee demographics reveal some disparities in education between White employees and employees of color as well as disparities based on organizational positions. Analyses of relationships between demographic variables indicate a correlation between education level and organizational position (Table 7.2), which suggests that an employees' level of formal education influences his/her location in their respective organizations' structures. Furthermore, findings from the qualitative analysis suggest that higher organizational position and more formal education facilitate employees' upward mobility in their agency or into a higher position in another organization. These results are expected and consistent with Foucault's (1980) description of the how societies and organizations tend to value formal education more than experiential or "subjugated knowledge". Additionally, the bivariate analysis uncovered a relationship between education and race (Table 7.1).

Although women of color comprise the majority of survey respondents, they tend to have considerably less formal education and therefore, hold lower organizational positions. Moreover, comparisons of employee mean scores indicate that they tend to differ significantly based for race on three of the four of the privilege scales (Table 7.3). Findings from Chapter 5 suggests that access to resources such as learning opportunities and experiencing high quality organizational relationships can facilitate more upward mobility. Difference in mean scores based on educational attainment and organizational location inform Collins' (1997) findings that disparities in educational attainment is an important factor that influences the upward mobility of Blacks in organizations.

Consistent with expectations, organizational is a significant predictor of employees' beliefs about their ability to participate in decision-making and managerial staff believed that they participated in making decisions in the organizations to much greater degrees than frontline staff (Tables 7.3-7.4) and support existing studies (Boulding, 1989). The results described in this section, combined with findings from Chapters 5 and 6, that suggest that top-tiered employees believe that they are conveyed more authority and legitimacy by the organizations, co-workers, and communities, illustrate how organizational privilege manifests based on organizational positions (Harvey, 2000; Kolb, 2007).

Multivariate analyses illustrate how societal power processes tied to race, class, gender, and organizational factors can influence employees' perceptions about organizational privilege. Ordinary least regression models indicate that race is a consistent predictor of employees' perceptions for two of the four scales—relationships and learning opportunities. Despite the lack of differences when control is assessed (7.5), when controlling for all other factors, White employees consistently score higher on the learning opportunities scales (Table 7.7) and support Bond's (1999) conclusions that members of the dominant group tend to have greater access to organizational resources than historically marginalized groups. Moreover, White employees tend to believe that their respective organizational environments are conducive to empowering employees and fostering collaboration as compared to respondents of color (Table 7.6). "Homophilly" (McPherson et al., 2001) and "paths of least resistance"(A. G. Johnson, 2006) -- the ways that members of dominant social groups reap the benefits of more and qualitatively different

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relationships by virtue of homogeneity-- could elucidate the relational dynamics reflected in the employees responses. Moreover, considering race, class, and gender as embedded social forces that normalize values and practices of dominant social groups (i.e., systems of power) can facilitate opportunities for members of the dominant group to access more organizational resources and cultivate more and healthier relationships—thus conveying privilege (Andersen & Collins, 2007; P. H. Collins, 2010). These findings do not confirm whether White employees, in fact, have more privilege, nor does it suggest that they acknowledge their privilege. However, these findings suggest that they believe that their experiences in and of the organization are more beneficial.

These results based on five health and human service organizations can inform the literature in two important ways. First, the use of Foucault's (1975, 1980) power theory as a framework can provide a means to observe White, male and class privilege in organizational settings. Second, these analyses provide opportunities to observe some of the subtle ways that views about privilege manifests in organizational settings. However, this analysis is not without its limitations. For example, the small sample size (N= 54) mitigates how the findings can be applied to other employees and the larger population. Furthermore, the sample size prevents the examination of interaction effects. Additionally, the models yielded no distinctive differences in employees responses based on gender. However, disproportionately small number of male respondents may have affected these results. Finally, the small sample size and concerns about statistical power restricted the scope of the modeling process. Therefore, aspects of power such as leadership or access to other types of organizational resources are not considered. In addition, factors that might influence employees' perceptions such as specific organizations' settings are not examined. However, evaluating these quantitative results in conjunction with findings from employees' narratives in previous chapters provide a unique opportunity to examine perceptions about dimensions of power and privilege not considered in earlier studies.

CHAPTER 8


CONCLUSION


The findings presented in this study provide an opportunity to understand and investigate organizational dynamics through the prisms of race, class, and gender. Specifically, they offer insight into employee perceptions about privilege in health and human service organizations. These results bolster scholars' contentions that race, class, and gender can be mechanisms of power that inform organizations' cultures, practices, identities, and relationships (Andersen & Collins, 2007; Bond, 1999, 2007; Nkomo, 1992). Moreover, the mechanisms exist at individual, relational, and collective levels and manifest in multiple ways and across a variety of organizational dimensions (Harvey, 2000; Prilleltensky, 2008; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). Furthermore, organizations embed and assign power through their rules, culture, ideologies and relationships (P. H. Collins, 2000). Privilege and discrimination are manifestations of these forms of power (Harvey, 2000). The findings illustrate that privilege is a complex and often-fluid experience for employees in the organizations studied here. Using a organizational power framework informed by Foucaultian (1975, 1980) theory offers an opportunity to begin investigating how societal power processes (i.e., race, class, and gender) influence employees' narratives about their feelings of agency, relationships, ability to communicate effectively, and access to resources that facilitate benefits such as promotions, higher salaries, emotional well-being, credibility, and legitimacy. The following section provides a brief summary of results from Chapters 4 through 7, specific conclusions informed by findings and theory, and implications for future research and action.

Initial conceptualizations of organizational power for this study schematic, race, class, and gender are mediums of power or external factors that influenced how individuals would receive benefits and advantages in the organizations—refer to figure 2.3. Advantages were based on employees' perceptions of their access to intangible vehicles within the organization in which power dynamics exists (i.e., relationships, communication, resources, dissent, knowledge, agency, and leadership). However, the

findings put forward in this study show reciprocal relationships between external power (race, class, and gender), organizational functioning (i.e., role, position, and tenure), and privilege. Figure 8.1 shows how societal power mechanism, interact with employee functions, and internal vehicles of power to affect employee experiences of organizational culture. The degree to which to which employees express positive or negative experiences of their work environment inform the extent to which they benefit or their chances of gaining organizational benefits (promotion, increased authority, access to resources). Consequently, the amount of privilege an employee is conveyed informs their role, position, and tenure in the organization as how they engage internal power dynamics. Furthermore, organizational privilege can lead to social mobility, which can influence how employees are identify themselves and are identified by others based on their race or class.

Figure 8.1: The Workings of Organizational Privilege
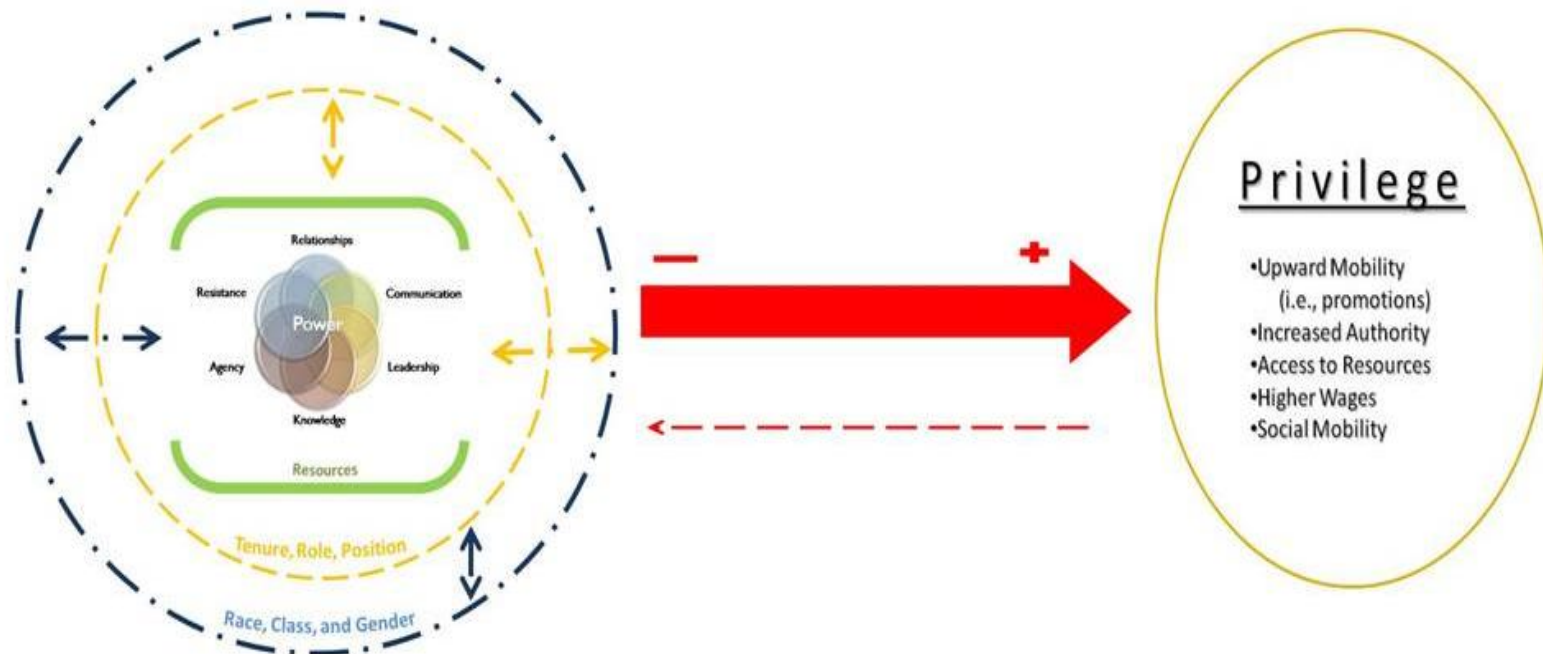


Note: This schematic illustrates how societal forces such as race, class, and gender can interact with employee profiles (i.e., tenure, position, and role) to produce organizational privilege. Privileges are the actual products received by employees such as upward mobility, increased authority, and/or higher wages that are largely unearned.

Several themes emerge when examining employee narratives about privilege in health and human service organizations. First, analysis of employee narratives yield themes that parallel four of the six domains in which organizational power manifested. Themes regarding resource distribution, relationships, and employee agency are predominant in the data. Additionally, further analyses, and examination of the literature illuminate other themes involving whether, how, and when employees' presence are legitimized or diminished in their respective organizations and communities (i.e., visibility and invisibility); and, intangible benefits that employees may receive from working in their organizations. Generally, the findings in this study suggest that race, class, tenure, and organizational position/role separately or jointly affect employee perceptions of privilege.

Findings from the analysis of employee responses categorized by their respective race, education level, and gender in Chapter 5 suggest that race and class inform how employees understand their access to resources, agency, and relationships in the organizations. Specifically, employee narratives reflect common themes based on race and class. For example, descriptions of employees' responsibilities and their reported roles illustrate that White employees tend to occupy higher positions and more administrative roles. Therefore, they tend to have more access to and control of organizational resources. Furthermore, consistent themes about organizational relationships, communication, and employee agency emerge according to race and education level. Generally, White employees believe that the sample organizations are environments where: they are nurtured and empowered; communication is clear; and, relationships are inclusive and collaborative. In contrast, employees of color experience these relationships with fewer co-workers and to a lesser degree.

Chapter 6 reinforces observations about how race confounds roles and organizational positions in the five sample organizations. As might be expected, respondents with longer tenures report stronger connections to and within their respective organizations. Furthermore, they describe beliefs that the are able to utilize their connections to gain promotions. Moreover, employees believe that they make valuable contributions in their roles and feel empowered. Persons in frontline positions and direct care roles experience intangible benefits (i.e., meaning, feelings of purpose linked to their, and credibility in

their communities) in their organizational capacities. They also believe that they gain knowledge through experience and training in their jobs. However, analyses of their narratives according to race and education level suggest that frontline employees of color do not seem to translate these benefits into promotions or organizational legitimacy.

Finally, quantitative analyses indicate that race and organizational position are the most influential factors in employee perceptions about privilege in these health and human service organizations. Analyses in Chapter 7 provide an exploratory dimension to the study that broadly supports the qualitative findings. Results from descriptive statistics show a correlation between race, education level, and organizational position. Specifically, White respondents have more advanced degrees and hold higher positions within the sample organizations. Additionally, bivariate analyses show significant differences in employee mean responses on three of the four privilege scales (i.e., participation in decision-making, control/self-determination, relationships, and learning opportunities) based on race. Thus White and non-White employees have significantly different perspectives about these aspects of work-life. Moreover, results from multivariate analyses illustrate that race is the greatest predictor of employees' perceptions about their access to learning opportunities and organizational relationships. White employees believe that they have access to learning opportunities and perceive their work environment and relationships as empowering and collaborative to a greater degree than their counterparts of color. However, modeling suggests that organizational position is the greatest influence of employee perceptions relative to one aspect of employee agency-- their ability to participate in making organizational decisions. As might be expected, employees in managerial positions believe that they participate in decision-making to a greater extent than frontline workers; yet these empirical findings illustrate this tendency. Several conclusions can be drawn from results described above about employee perceptions concerning organizational power and privilege.

How Employees' Perceptions of Their Work Environment Translate to Privilege

An examination of these five health and human service organizations illustrates even institutions that promote social justice and community well being can be vulnerable to negative societal ideologies regarding race, class, and gender. Scholars such as Senge (2006) and Clement (1994) argue that effective organizations tend to articulate missions and purposes that are clear, concise, inspire employees and facilitate a senses of purpose. Findings from Chapter 4 indicate that the health and human service organizations in this study accomplish this objective to some extent. For example, they each share core values of "empowerment", "justice", "care", and "beneficence" as described by scholars who investigate ethics and social service practice (Dokecki, 1992). Their respective programs and services reflect the agencies' endeavors to redress social inequities and promote well-being. Analysis of the organizations' respective financial information (i.e., budgets, IRS reports, annual reports, and profit and loss Statements) shows that, with the exception of one agency, they are financially sound and well resourced. Additionally, an examination of their financial information illustrates each agency's commitment to investing in their employees' learning and professional development. Moreover, their financial statuses, combined with descriptions of their services reflect commitments to redressing social inequities in their communities. Employee narratives suggest that they generally understand the missions and purposes of their agencies and believe that their personal values are consistent with those of their respective organizations. Respondents generally report that their respective agencies facilitate collaboration and professional development. Furthermore, employees believe that they help promote of their respective organizations' core values. Yet these same spaces appear to foster privilege for employees and undermine it for others.

Employee narratives suggest that organizations may, deliberately or inadvertently, facilitate and maintain processes and structures that convey privilege on members of dominant social groups (White, middle class/wealthy) at the expense of their peers from minority groups. Moreover, their responses point to some of the ways organizational procedures and processes can perpetuate and mask privilege based on organizational position and role. For example, results from analyses of employee role descriptions,

organizational demographics, and survey data show strong correlations between race, educational

attainment, and organizational roles. A disproportionate number of organizational leaders are White and

hold advanced degrees, while respondents of color with less formal education tend to occupy frontline

positions. Interestingly, themes in employees' narratives regarding access to resources, feelings of

agency, perceptions about relationships, and communication seem to coincide with the formerly discussed

trends. Because of the high concentration of White employees in managerial positions and administrative

roles, they tend to have control of others' resources as well as greater and varied access to their respective

organizations' resources. These findings are consistent with scholarly contentions that members of

dominant social groups such as men and Whites have more access to resource that enable them to

advance to higher positions and gain more organizational benefits (Bond, 1999; Flyvbjerg, 1991; Samuels

& Samuels, 2003). Analysis of employee narratives also shows that, because of their organizational

positioning, upper and middle managers (who are mostly White) exercise traditional forms of power; and

develop and implement organizational policies, including their respective evaluation processes (Bachrach

& Baraatz, 1970; Dahl, 1957; Lukes, 2005). They control the resources, directions, and well-being of

themselves, their respective organizations, and other employees. Furthermore, they are in positions to

leverage said resources for professional advancement in the organization and personal mobility in terms

of social hierarchy.

The confounding of employees demographic variables such as race and education level with work

characteristics (specifically organizational position), as illustrated in Chapter 6, could lead to divergent

conclusions regarding how race-, class- and gender based privileges are conveyed in health and human

service organizations. Johnson (2006) contends that privilege (specifically organizational privilege) is

often conveyed under the guise of merit, organizational position, and roles. Thus one could conclude that

White employees received earned benefits because of their positions. Conversely, the disproportionate

numbers of White employees in formal power positions in the organizations could be indicative of how

social forces embed within these organizations' hiring and promotion processes. So although the former

justification may appear logically initially, a larger body of literature suggest a much more complex and

deleterious process by which the dominant group members tend to rise to the top organizationally. Scholars who study privilege contend that members of dominant social groups are in positions to hire and promote persons who resemble them in race and education level (Bond, 2007; A. G. Johnson, 2006). Moreover, narratives from White employees suggest that they have relationships with other employees across departments and they perceive that their co-workers are nurturing and empowering. In addition, they tend to describe the organizational environment as empowering. Results from my analysis of relational environments (Chapter 7) confirm these findings. Respondents' race is the most significant influence on employee perceptions of organizational relationships and illustrate that White employees perceive their respective organizational relationships as supportive and collaborative to a greater degree than their counterparts of color.

Scholars who study organizations and organizational change such as Conger (1988), Marsick (1998), and Mele (2003) posit that employees' participation in diverse, collaborative, and empowering relationships is conducive to employee growth and development. Moreover, employees who can build these kinds of relationships with their supervisors as well as peers have increased opportunities to market themselves and their abilities. Research shows that White employees tend to have more of these opportunities within organizational settings because they share a common racial background this process is described the concept homophilly (Bond, 1999; A. G. Johnson, 2006; McPherson et al., 2001). Thus they are able to acquire skills and leverage relationships to facilitate their upward mobility. This experience is in contrast to that of employees of color and female employees in support positions. Although respondents of color in this study who are less formally educated or who hold frontline positions feel that they contribute to their organizations and control how they complete their assigned tasks with clients. Yet they tend to report feeling disempowered, isolated (i.e., lack of nurturing relationships), silenced, unheard (poor communication), and unappreciated. The culmination of these perceptions suggests a general sense of invisibility that may lead to stifled attempts to advance within their respective agencies (Franklin, 2006).

Researchers that study organizations argue that employees thrive, develop, and advance in organizations with: nurturing, collaborative, empowering work environments; effective and efficient communication processes; opportunities to learn and grow; opportunities to participate in decision-making; and, access to resources (Ashcraft, 2001; Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Garvin, 2000; Geisler, 2005; Marsick, 1998; Morrison & Miliken, 2000; Senge, 2006). Based on the findings in this study, one could broadly conclude that White employees tend to receive greater organizational benefits than their counterparts of color—or at least believe that they do. Furthermore, their general experiences of organizational culture as examined here contribute seem to promote upward mobility, which is correlated with increased privilege.

Theoretical Implications of Studying Privilege

The findings show that using a multi-dimensional framework to investigate privilege offers an opportunity to operationalize and investigate privilege empirically. A large body of scholarship has been produced that conceptualizes, illuminates, and defines various forms of privilege to understand their consequences (McIntosh, 1988, 2010; Wise, 2010; Woods, 2010). However illuminating, most of this work is anecdotal or theoretical. A few empirical studies examine members of privileged groups such as White persons, men, or wealthy persons (Bertram et al., 2000; Crosby & Blake-Beard, 2004). Yet theses studies do not specifically examine privilege. Scholars who specifically study social inequalities and privilege face the challenge of finding ways to empirically bolster their arguments about its existence and devastating effects. Using a framework informed by Foucault's (1975, 1980), Collins's (2000)and Prilleltensky's (2008) power theories provides opportunities to observe the domains in which organizational power dynamics and societal power processes (i.e., race, class, and gender) collide to promote or hinder organizational and employee well-being—even agencies that promote community justice and empowerment. Specifically, this study is an attempt to forward the conversation by offering a means to systematically observe privilege and its consequences. Critics of privilege studies and scholarship such as Blum (2008) argue that privilege is contradictorily conceived. He contends that it

tends to focus on a model of relative deprivation. Therefore, to him, discussions about privilege are actually discourses about oppression and discrimination. The quantitative and qualitative findings in this study tend to focus on perceptions from employees who are members of historically dominant groups (i.e., White persons, and highly educated), upper and middle managers, and those with longer tenure. To examine organizational privilege, I discuss the benefits that they potentially receive based on their perceived experiences. This study endeavors to re-conceptualize and observe how organizational factors that are accessible to all employees may benefit some because of their membership in dominant social groups and hinder members of historically marginalized groups.

Moreover, these results provide an opportunity to complicate the dialogue about privilege beyond the traditional binary (i.e., "haves and have nots"). Analyses of employee narratives indicate that investigating privilege to make determinations about to whom it is conveyed and from whom it is withheld is necessary. However, this information is insufficient to understand how privilege becomes present and persistent in the health and human service organizations studied here. For example, the organizations' employees tend to generally believe that they have access to both tangible (i.e., money, training, and materials) and intangible (i.e., time, organizational support, and human interactions) organizational resources. Yet the kinds of resources employees could access, the amount of access, and their ability to leverage said resources for advancement varies based on race, organizational position, and tenure. Findings indicate that White employees, managers, and employees with longer tenures may be able to leverage their social capital in organizations and with influential community members (i.e., donors, policy makers, and board members) to gain skills and promotions (A. G. Johnson, 2006; McPherson et al., 2001; Mele, 2003; Pooley et al., 2005). Furthermore, they are in better positions to leverage their resources and relationships for personal and professional gains.

Collins (2010) contends that current ways of conceptualizing race, class, and gender maintain and perpetuate domination and privilege. She discusses structurally embedded mechanisms that endorse the capricious use of stereotypical images to elevate and/or suppress society members. For example, masculine characteristics such as ambition, leadership, independence, and strength are often valued and

coveted within U.S. culture, especially in work environments. However, the value of such traits is often mitigated based on who holds them. Members of historically marginalized groups are often penalized for possessing the same characteristics that garner rewards and advantages for White men. Analysis of employee narratives in this study supports Collins's (2010) argument. Respondents of color believe that when they show initiative, accept more responsibility, and/or assume more leadership in these organizations, their attempts are often rebuffed, and they are further alienated from co-workers. Narratives of females of color in frontline positions suggest similarly demoralizing experiences. Moreover, female employees with less formal education and holding support positions express similar sentiments. The quantitative results give credence to this concern.

Collins (2000) challenges researchers and scholars to think beyond dichotomous categories when studying race, class, and gender to make the contradictions and subtleties of privilege apparent. She presents intersectional matrices as models for understanding domination and privilege. The matrix of domination analyzes the intersections of race, class, and gender at several dimensions (i.e., individual, group, and societal), using multiple mechanisms (i.e., rules, ideologies, and practices), and for multiple purposes (i.e., to disempower or privilege). Other scholars such as Disch (2000) contend that the matrix model could also be a means for observing privilege. Moreover, theories such as Feagin's (2010) "White racial frame" and Franklin's (2006) "invisibility syndrome" could augment Collins' model and further explain how these employees may be rendered invisible and/or perceive themselves as devalued because of their race, class, and/or organizational position. Using these theories to understand and observe privilege can also highlight some very real and material consequences of such social inequities on employees in these organizations and in general.

Examining how aspects of privilege such as visibility and credibility are conveyed within communities as well as organizations continue to shed light on subtle, seemingly insidious processes that maintain and perpetuate privilege in these settings (M. Fine et al., 2004; Franklin, 1999, 2006; A. G. Johnson, 2006; McIntosh, 1988; Woods, 2010). Analyses of employee narratives suggest the tendency of organizations to inadvertently legitimize White persons who are formally educated by hiring them in

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positions such as CEO, Director of Finances, Director of Marketing and Publicity, and Director of Fund Development where they are more visible, respected, and considered credible within the community. Additionally, the inability of the one Black female CEO to raise funds and garner the same caliber of resources for her organization could be indicative of how these organizations reinforce current racist, classist ideologies. Positioning White, well educated employees in roles that are highly visible to funders policy makers and other powerful community members provides opportunities to gain more credibility for the organization and the trust of donors that can be vital to its financial well being (Feagin, 2010; Kolb, 2007). However, their seemingly well-intentioned efforts maintain and perpetuate inequalities based on race and class and suggest that employees with different profiles and skills could not meet these same objectives. Additionally, said organizational roles and positions tend to garner higher salaries and greater authority than direct care roles and frontline positions.

Moreover, because credentialism is highly valued and coveted in the U.S., frontline employees' believe that their abilities to advance are often hampered by their lack of formal education (P. H. Collins, 2000; Foucault, 1980). Within the organizations studied here, some positions require specific formal training and credentials (e.g. physicians, nurses, counselors, attorneys, social workers, or teachers), which means that there are often regulatory boards and professional associations to which individuals within these roles are accountable. Thus they are required to provide a level of care, to continue developing their skills, and behave in accordance with a set of ethical standards set forth by the appropriate professional association. In these instances, employing credentialed professionals can insure that clients receive high quality care, have protection from exploitation and harm, and have avenues of redress if they do not receive the former or are victims of the latter. However, responses from employees with less formal training suggest that in these organizations may value the contributions and perspectives of those with "credentials" and devalue those who may have less formal training but may possess knowledge and skills gained informally. This process of privileging one group by legitimizing their contributions while simultaneously depriving others of opportunities and de-legitimizing their contributions could be

problematic for organizational leaders who construct their organizational identities based on values of justice, collaboration, and care yet the organizational cultures foster marginalization.

Employees generally believed they are empowered regardless of their position and/or role in the organization, race, class, or gender. Applying Collins (2000) contention regarding Black feminist epistemology could be applied to understand how employees garner legitimacy and credibility may provide reasons for the similarities in employees' mean quantitative scores across the multiple factors and their perceptions of their agency and empowerment in their work. She describes how persons construct their own identities based on their values and lived experiences. For example, findings from the study indicate that women of color across class express feeling empowered and valued by their clients and customers. They believe that they have forged powerful, constructive bond with community members. Thus, these results may reflect employees' valuation of their work based on personal standards. Furthermore, they believe that they make valuable contributions to their respective organizations. Though their work may not be acknowledged or appreciated by their co-workers and/or supervisors, they believe themselves to be agents of community change. These results illustrate how some employees focus on intangible benefits such as feelings of satisfaction, purposeful lives, and connections to communities when constructing their identities as well as ideologies about power and credibility. Yet although respondents' of color and employees' in direct service roles indicate that they receive intangible benefits (i.e., a sense of purpose and credibility with clients and in the community), these benefits translate into higher organizational positions, higher wages, authority, and/or organizational credibility. Having access to such material benefits has important implications for employees' social mobility in particular and social justice in general.

Scholars such as Johnson (2006) as well as Kimmel and Ferber (2010) contend that privilege is deliberately and unintentionally abstract, insidious, and subtle so that those individuals, groups, and societies that benefit can continue to do so. Because societies hide discriminatory processes, values, and ideologies by normalizing them, the rewards to members of dominant groups are often hidden and recipients often benefit without their cognizance and consent. Such studies inform my findings in three

broad ways.  First, although most scholars who study privilege suggest that it is often invisible, these results make perceptions about it more visible and identifiable (P. H. Collins, 2010; A. G. Johnson, 2006; McIntosh, 1988; Wise, 2010; Woods, 2010).  Second, these results emphasize how seemingly innocuous, objective, and reasonable organizational processes can yield detrimental affects for their employees based on factors such as race and class.  Third, they illustrate how being privy to organizational privilege (i.e., promotions and higher wages) often allows already privileged groups garner additional benefits within larger society.  Thus these respondents suggest that even well meaning organizations with altruistic goals have the potential to convey privileges internally that may perpetuate social injustice and reinforce the very negative systemic forces they are endeavoring to dismantle

Study Limitations

Although this study yields important findings, it was not without limitations.  The research team distributed surveys to the sample organizations' employees via internet, email, and hardcopy delivery, to facilitate accessibility to all staff members at each agency.  However, although the response rate between organizations was consistent, the total employee response rate was low.  Thus, the sample is small.  The small sample size may reflect some of the limitations of this study.  For example, small sample size hampered the ability to investigate whether and how intersecting racial, class, and gender identities inform employee experiences.  Moreover, the sample included very few males (N=10), especially males of color (n=2).  Therefore, the effects of gender on employees' perceptions and the consequences of male privilege were not clearly explored for the latter group of males.  Additionally, the sample size precludes generalizing these findings to organizations beyond this study.  Moreover, response bias among the sample may yield a limited glimpse of the organizations' cultures.  A larger sample would potentially allow quantitative analyses of interacting effects and the ability to apply the framework on a larger scale.  However, the value of this study lies in its exploratory nature.  The goal of this study was to explore the experiences of individuals within these five organizations to make determinations about how power and privilege manifests and is conveyed; and how racist, classist, and sexist processes may embed in

organizational structures, practices, and cultures. In addition, how these justice-oriented agencies may inadvertently perpetuate these processes. This study yields a framework that may help us to understand the experiences of some employees in the sample organizations. Now, it can be taken, tweaked, and tested on a larger scale.

Additionally, because the data collected were restricted to paid employees in the sample organizations. Thus, the sample was purposive. Moreover, purposive sampling techniques limited survey distribution to paid employees only. Therefore, the experiences of community members who may be influential in the organizations (i.e., board members, service volunteers, fund-raisers, unpaid interns, clerical volunteers, and consultants) was not captured or analyzed in this study. Furthermore, data regarding clients' perspectives and experiences of the sample organizations were not collected. However, the dimensions of observation of power were based primarily on factors that greatly informed paid employees' perceptions of their respective organizations. Moreover, measures of privilege--positioning for promotions, higher salaries, more authority, access to varied resources, legitimacy—may be outcomes that are more specific to paid employees. Although volunteers and clients can be extremely influential in developing organizational cultures, processes, organizational change efforts and their perspectives would yield a more comprehensive understanding of how power and privilege manifests in these organizations, the internal dynamics, recruitment processes, procedures, and policies may be different for volunteers and clients. Furthermore, paid employees have different experiences, expectations, and motivations than volunteers. Therefore, applying the current framework may not be appropriate. Future studies could include collecting data from volunteers and clients to understand how volunteers and clients (as future employees, consultants, social movement activists, critics, and advocates) influence organizational change. Moreover, client and volunteer perspectives of organizational dynamics could illumine how their race, class, and/or gender influence their experiences in the organizations. Furthermore, information from clients and volunteers may assist in determining the accuracy of employees' perceptions of their relationships with clients and volunteers. Finally, these data could provide an opportunity to apply the current framework and retool it to make it appropriate for studying organizations comprehensively.

Additionally, although, multiple sources of data (census data, archival data, and field observations) were analyzed, the study relies primarily on survey data to garner employee perspectives. The brevity of employee responses from the narratives hindered opportunities to more fully understand how they construct their identities and make meaning within those roles as well as how race, class, and gender inform "meaning making" (Kegan, 1982, 1994). In future studies, in-depth narratives could allow the use of theory such as Kegan's (1994) developmental model to asses meaning making. Finally, this study is based on secondary survey data, therefore, I used proxies (i.e., representative scales) to represent organizational benefits and advantages. Although previous research and theory to construct scales and constitute characteristics of privilege support the accuracy of my measures, additional studies are needed based on specific, more detailed measures to examine perceptions about privilege and test my findings. Future studies that include diverse methods of data collection and analysis could provide a more comprehensive understanding of organizational privilege. For example, longitudinal studies of employee tenure and employment records may validate or refute findings regarding the relationship between race and organizational position and role. Moreover, social network analysis may provide a chance to examine the quantity and quality of co-worker interactions as well as how these interactions affect employee mobility.

Additionally, respondents were not directly asked questions that assessed how they believe their race, class, and/or gender informed their experiences. In-depth interviews, focus groups, and field observations may afford opportunities to observe relationships and ask employees specifically about their experiences with regard to access resources, communication processes within the organization, learning opportunities, co-worker relationships and their feelings of agency and empowerment within the organization. In addition, intensive and diverse data collection and analysis may augment the current framework. For example, conducting social network analysis and interviews about relationships and resources (specifically human resources) may reveal informal leaders or influential persons who are positioned lower in the organizational structure and shed light on forms of privilege that may not be apparent in the current study(Kleiner, 2003). Furthermore, interviews and field observations could give

more information in the resistance/dissent dimension of the Foucaultian power framework. Understanding how employees at all levels of the organization and regardless of race, class, and gender show dissent and how leaders manage that dissent within organizations can contribute to our understanding of how power and privilege work in these organizations (Kanungo, 1992; Janice M.; Prochaska et al., 2001; Shahinpoor & Matt, 2007; Stanley, 1981). Finally, interviews, surveys, and focus groups could offer opportunities to gain employee perspectives of the leader's management styles in the organization and the effects of the different styles on employees' experiences. This study emphasizes common themes and trends based on race, class, and gender. Future studies that directly comprehensively gauge privilege must include questions that measure employees' beliefs about how race, class, and/or gender inform their experiences in organizational culture as well as the associated benefits and drawbacks. The current results provide a starting point for this type of query.

## Implications for Future Theory, Research, and Practice

Researchers who study organizations put forth a model or best practices for organizations that aspire to be social justice oriented. For example, Freeman ([1970(1996)]) cautions growing organizations against attempting to develop "structureless" organizations in which there are flattened structures, diffused power, no process for assigning roles or authority, and no clear organizational roles because this type of organizations could become as oppressive and inhibiting as their traditional counterparts. Moreover, she challenges socially just oriented organizations to develop "democratic structures" (p.4). She describes seven principles essential to democratic structuring. The include the following: 1) delegating authority to individuals through specific tasks and democratic process, 2) requiring that authority figures are accountable to the group for the decisions they make; 3) distributing authority and responsibilities to as many as reasonable (not too few, nor to many); 4) rotating tasks and authority among qualified individuals; 5) allowing individuals opportunities to learn new skills through apprenticeship and mentoring; 6) diffusion of information to everyone as frequently as possible, and 7) equal access to all resources needed by the group. Freeman conceptualized the aforementioned principles

for burgeoning groups forming in the wake of the civil rights and women's movements of the 1970s. However, contemporary scholars of organizational studies such as Senge (2006), Torbert (2005; 1991), Marsick (1998), and Garvin (2000) promote similar organizational change models. They contend that these organizations may maintain a similar hierarchical structure as traditional organizations. However, their leadership develops and promotes a culture that facilitates collaboration, mentoring relationships, clear-open communication processes, and open/equal access to diverse tangible and intangible resources in the organizations. Furthermore, scholars who study race, class, and gender in organizations assert that organizations should also consider how societally ascribed identities may influence how employees engage or believe that they can engage in their respective organizations (Cox & Nkomo, 1990; Creed & Scully, 2000; Gherardi & Nicolini, 2001; Gherardi & Poggio, 2003; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999). Moreover, community psychologists contend that to be affective at community change, health and human service organizations must become adept at including clients and community members in the formation of programs and services as well as development of organizational structures. Essentially, they must empower community members and clients finding ways for them to meaningfully participate in the organizations' development.

To my knowledge, no organizations that are proficient at or have the qualities described above in total. However, some organizations have parts of them. Freeman contends that developing them will require a period of trial and error. Specifically, responses from employees at the sample organizations indicate that in general, their respective organizations exhibit some of the aforementioned qualities. Employees in this sample report that they include community members and clients in the organizational decision making processes by including them on the board of directors, and as volunteers. However, data from clients and volunteers was unavailable; therefore, an accurate accounting of this is not available. Additionally, employees tend to believe that they contribute greatly to the organizations, that they generally have control over how they do their work, they have opportunities to learn (some to a greater degree than others do), and that their organizations are collaborative. However, some employees consistently believe that they are excluded, underappreciated and unheard while others believe that they

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are thriving in their roles, have positive nurturing relationships and have grown and advanced within their respective organizations. These differences in perspectives seem to be consistent along the lines of race and social class to a lesser degree.

This project represents an initial step in the dialogue. However, these findings center theoretical expectations about power and privilege in health and human service organizations. They suggest the systemic and complex ways that White privilege and class privilege exist in the organizations studied here. Observing power and privilege dimensionally can provide opportunities to understand how race, class, and gender manifests at societal, organizational, and individual levels and yield benefits to members to the dominant culture. Using a framework informed by Foucaultian (1980) power theory as well as race, class and gender as systems of power (Andersen & Collins, 2007) can illumine how larger societal ideologies are embedded within organizations to potentially aid and/or undermine employees. Furthermore, this study provides a framework for systematically observing power and privilege in organizations. For example, employees who can cultivate mentoring relationships with co-workers may be better positioned for advancement in their workplace (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Kanungo, 1992). However, developing nurturing work relationships is often complicated by societal factors such as race and class (A. G. Johnson, 2006; McPherson et al., 2001). Thus, members of historically marginalized groups are limited in their opportunity to build skills and interact with persons in the organization who could help them advance. Findings from the study presented here validate the former argument. Using social network analysis to investigate with whom employees interact and how they interact with co-workers could reveal where and how influential relationships are cultivated. Moreover, social network analysis could indicate employees who are centrally located in the organization (through multiple relationships with diverse persons across departments), and could possibly become hubs to developing mentoring relationships between higher-level employees and employees with potential to advance.

As a microcosm of society, race, class, and gender are societal factors that one can use to control organizational relationships, policies, structures, and beliefs. Using the framework presented in this dissertation as well as social constructionist theory such, Kegan's (1982, 1994) and Collins's (2000)

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Intersectionality theory to understand power could provide insights into how race, class, and gender inform the ways individuals construct their identities, assign identities, and relate to others socially as well as in the organizations. Furthermore, examining privilege systemically can uncover its complexities and nuances. Thus this kind of examination may extend the dialogue about social inequalities beyond access and denial of resources to understand how various aspects of access (i.e., kind, quality, and quantity) facilitate or hinder employees' professional growth, personal well-being and social mobility. Additionally, observing privilege within the aforementioned framework reveals the subtle yet persistent ways procedures and policies in the sample organizations reflect and maintain current inequitable systems. Thus this study of race-, class-, and gender- based inequality could be adjusted to observe other modes of social stratification. Moreover, using this framework to develop diverse means to measure and observe privilege provides data for organizations and society to understand how privilege works. Then, we can start to dismantle it and the systems that perpetuate it.

Moreover, this study can move us forward in terms of understanding organizational dynamics, organizational change efforts, training health and human service employees (i.e., counselors, case-managers, teachers, administrators, and healthcare workers) and developing best practices for working with clients. If health and human service organizations are to embody the ethic of justice, organizational leaders must be mindful of how their hiring policies and differentiated compensation perpetuate messages about employees' value in the larger society. Attempts at organizational change must entail considerations of how organizational benefits (both tangible and intangible) are conveyed as well as how membership in certain marginalized or dominant groups can influence how such employees relate to co-workers, their organizational points of entry (i.e., positions and roles in which their hired), and how co-workers relate to them. Furthermore, leaders may want to consider how race, role, and position influence employee ability and desire to participate in organizational processes as well as whether and/or how their contributions are valued (i.e., financially and in terms of credibility). These findings indicate a relationship between organizational role and position and race as well as the former and education level. Although the relationships between education and organizational role/position was expected because of

the nature of some service delivery, using the framework presented in this study and potential measures developed based on the framework could provide opportunities for organizational leaders to investigate how employees of color enter their organizations as well as their professional mobility within the organizations. Moreover, studies such as the organizations examined Poster's (1995) study provide a means for expanding hiring criteria beyond formal training to include personal and professional experience and to implement skill building and mentoring programs for those with less formal education. Moreover, understanding how race, class, and gender influence employees' perceptions of their work-spaces, can help organization leaders and employees understand how workers' social identities can facilitate or hinder their engagement in organizational processes. Therefore, organizational leaders may be challenged to incorporate processes and procedures that reflect the perspectives of multiple cultures and social identities reduce stigma and activate social change (Creed & Scully, 2000).

Finally, these results suggest that employee approaches and relationships with their clients are informed by racial and class identifications. Specifically, their race, positions, education, and roles tend to inform how employees perceive their relationships with clients. Although, the data here precludes one from drawing specific inferences about gender, it could be an important factor in client/employee relationships. Although employees of color, in this study, may not have experienced the same amount of privilege as their counterparts in the organizations, they did have experience power and privilege compared to their clients because they could access more and varied resources as well as control when and how clients could access the agencies' resources. Therefore, though employees of color are similar to their clients racially and perhaps economically, they may hold a higher social position. Understanding how deprivation and privilege work in their community to deter healing and well-being in their clients. Moreover, they should understand and acknowledge how their race, class, or gender privilege may inform how they authentically interact with their clients, empathize with clients, construe client progress, assess client strengths and assist them in leveraging strengths to achieve goals, can cultivate relationships that facilitate client growth and empowerment. Thus training curricula for health and human service organizations should challenge students to think critically about how the privileges conveyed to them by

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virtue of their race, gender, or education/training inform their views and interactions with clients and community members. This process should also consider how worldviews inform their conceptualizations of "sickness", "normativity", and healing. These types of academic and applied efforts better influence, equip, and empower employees of health and human service organizations to realize their goals of social justice inside and outside organizational walls.

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[i] Participatory-based research such as action research) offers frameworks for those interested in social justice to think about it, investigate it, and implement actions that promote it. Drawn from the perspectives of constructivist and critical theorist and Freire's (1970)praxis, participatory-based research provides a way to understand the social and cultural dynamics of an, and integrate the knowledge gained with action to improve their health and well-being as well as that of the communities they serve (Israel, Schulz, Parker, & Becker, 1998). Community based participatory research is a mutual effort between all stakeholders in the community (community members, organizational employees, and researchers) in an equitable manner to achieve community change and well-being (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). Essentially, the purpose of participatory-based research is to use research methods to create democratic , collaborative processes that promote community development, social change, and social justice (Dokecki, 1992; Montero, 2002).

[ii] Surveys—The employee questionnaire used in this stud is a revised version of the original survey, which contained a compilation of questions from the Organizational Empowerment Scale, the Zimmerman Empowerment Scale and the Dimensions of Learning Organizations Questionnaire. Four members of the New SPECs research team revised the questionnaire. It was administered to approximately two hundred employees at the sample organizations via pen and online through Survey Monkey—a web based services that allows users to create surveys online and distribute them via email. The research team gathered lists of employees with email addresses. Employees were assigned confidential identification numbers employees were sent e-mail links to the survey. For employees team members produced hard copies of the survey and delivered them to their respective workplaces. Employees were give two weeks to complete and return the survey on line or on paper. Members of the research team retrieved hard copy surveys from the organizations.